

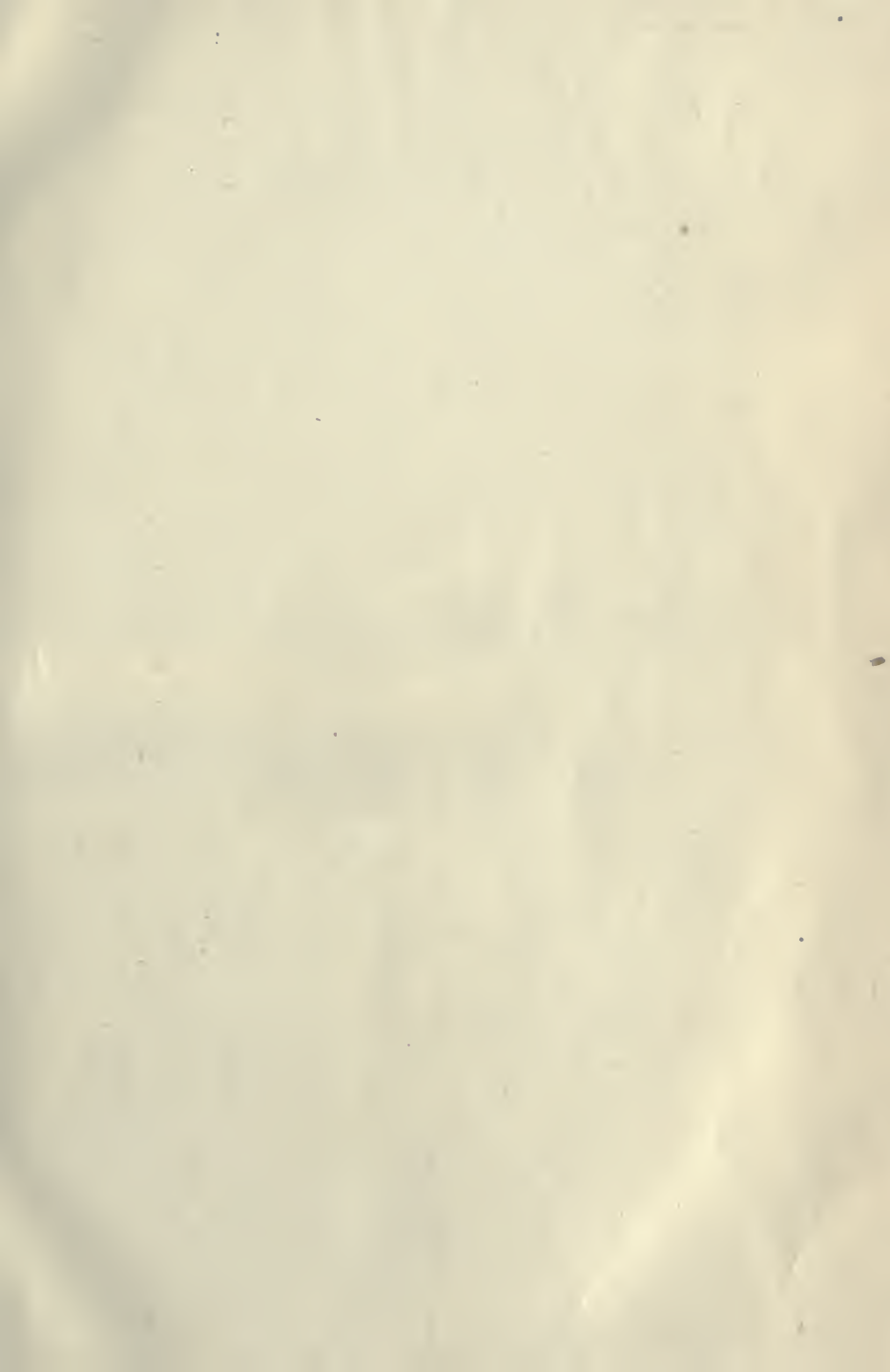


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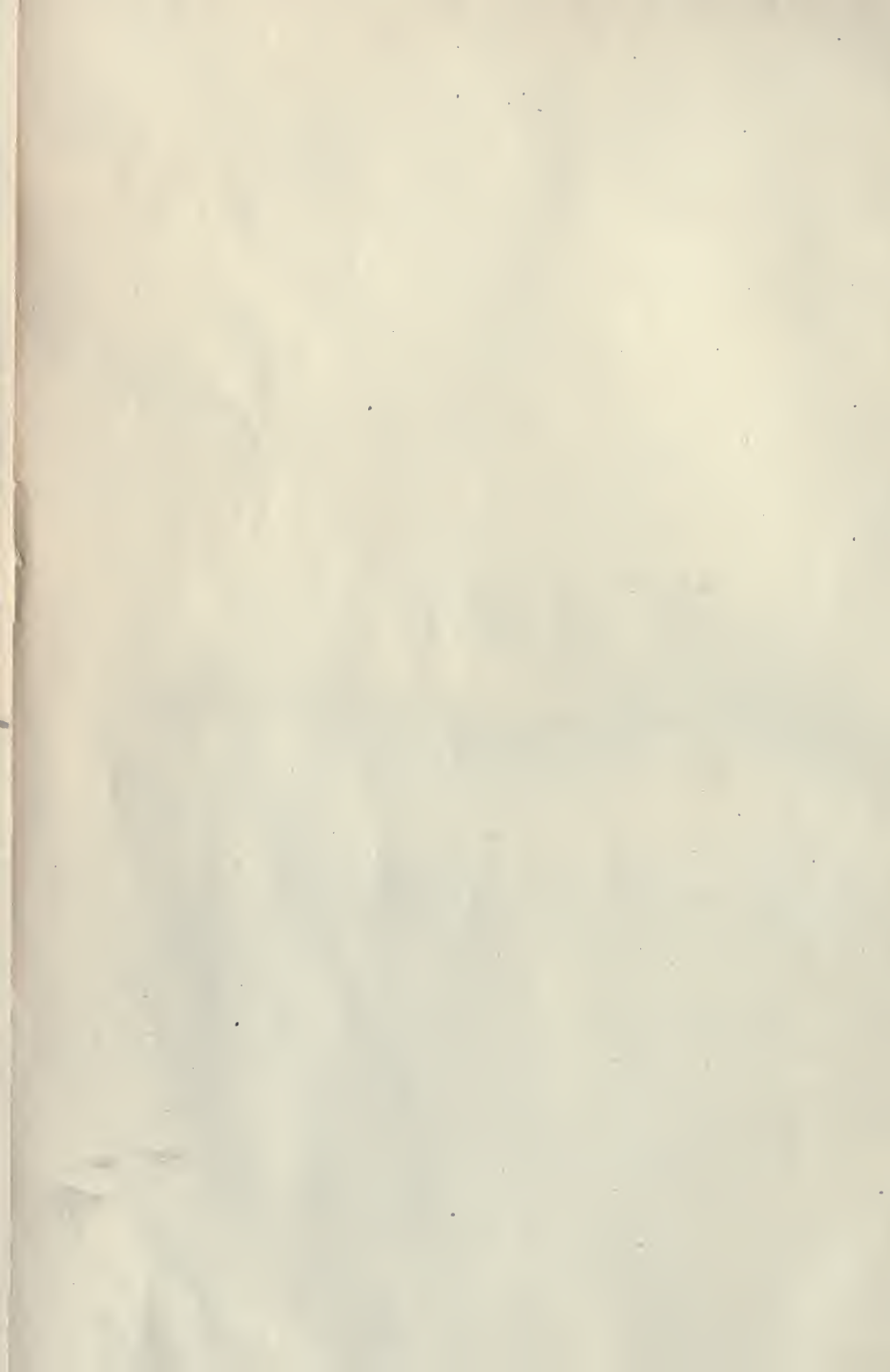
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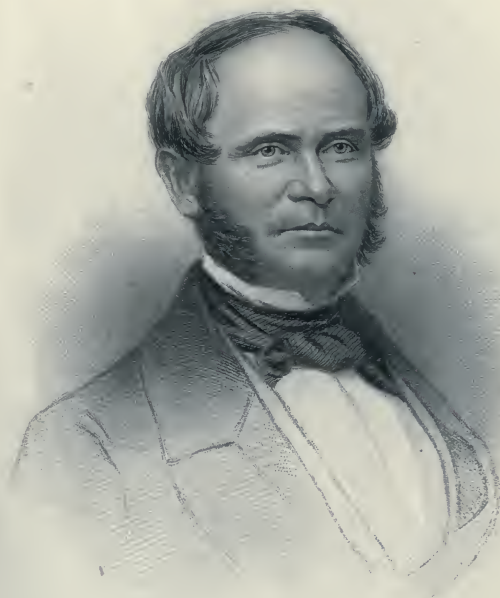












Engraved by H. W. Smith.

*Henry Barnard*

# PESTALOZZI

AND HIS

# EDUCATIONAL

# SYSTEM

BY  
HENRY BARNARD, LL.D.



SYRACUSE, N. Y.  
C. W. BARDEEN, PUBLISHER

1906

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GENERAL



## A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

No man did more to make the work of Pestalozzi known in America than Dr. Barnard. In Vol. III of the Journal he published von Raumer's Life of Pestalozzi, and Vol. VII is nearly half devoted to translations of Pestalozzi's writings, still the most complete exposition of them in English. One of the earliest and the most valuable of all his separate books was "Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism", of which a small edition was published in 1860. For von Raumer's opinion of this book see p. 128 of this volume. The edition was soon exhausted, and he planned an extended reprint under the title "Pestalozzi and Swiss Pedagogy". When his plates came to me I found several boxes so marked and containing most of the material in this volume.

This second book was however never printed, and meantime he had accumulated much more material about Pestalozzi, so that in issuing the book I have thought best to give it a title slightly different, to distinguish it from the book that was published, containing about two-thirds of the matter here given, and from the book announced but not published. This volume contains every thing about Pestalozzi that Dr. Barnard gathered, and is much the most complete exposition of the man and of his work that has appeared.

If it were rewritten it would be somewhat modified by books that have been published since it was completed, especially "Pestalozzi, his Aim and Work" by Baron Roger de Guimps (Paris, 1874, English by Margaret Cuthbertson Crombie, Syracuse, 1889; another translation by J. Russell, London, 1890). But I have not ventured to make any changes in Dr. Barnard's pages. They were a labor of love, and form a noble contribution.

The translations of Pestalozzi's works here given are, as I have said, the most complete in English. I have com-

pared them with the original German editions and think perhaps a few bibliographical notes may be of interest.

Of "Leonard and Gertrude", the earliest edition I have of the original is that of Zurich and Leipzig, 1790 for the first two parts, and 1792 for the third part. It does not number the chapters, or give nearly all the divisions and headings of chapters in the translation.

In Pestalozzi's complete works (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1820, see p. 167 of this volume) the first four volumes are given to Leonard and Gertrude. Here the chapters are numbered, and Vol. I gives Dr. Barnard's 100 chapters. In Mann's edition (Langensalza, 1878) Leonard and Gertrude occupies two of the four volumes, and in the little Reclam Leipzig edition it makes a single volume with 170 chapters. The last 70 chapters Dr. Barnard has condensed into "The School at Bonnal".

The translation is that of an English edition (London, 1825), though the punctuation is changed, and Dr. Barnard's headings are often fuller; as for instance to chapter LXXXII in the London edition "The old coachman", in Barnard, "A coachman who loves his master's son", in the original, "Ein Kutscher, dem seines Junkers Sohn lieb ist".

Another edition of Leonard and Gertrude was published in Philadelphia in 1801 and dedicated to William Wilberforce. The title page reads, "Written originally in German, translated into French, and now attempted in English, with the hope of its being useful to all classes of society." It gives the same 100 chapters. This is a wholly different text, the value of which may be judged the fact that the second sentence gives Gertrude five children instead of seven. It is cheaply printed.

Dr. Barnard evidently realized that "How Gertrude teaches her children" (Vol. V of complete works) was pedagogically more important than "Leonard and Gertrude", and has given more of it than had before appeared in English. The entire volume has since been translated (Syracuse, 1898), and in that edition "Pestalozzi's account of his own educational experience" in this volume is 12 pages of the first letter, written Jan. 1, 1901 (pp. 29-41). "Methods of Elementary Instruction" begins in the 6th letter and

1801?

extends through the 9th (pp. 145-219).

It might be wished that more of Pestalozzi's methods be made available in English. "Pestalozzi's Erziehungs-unternehmung im Verhältniss zur Zeitkultur" (Iserten, 1812) does not appear in the list of Pestalozzi's works in De Guimp and I do not know any extended reference to it in English. The first text-book of Pestalozzi's I have found is "Anschauungslehre der Zahlenverhältnisse" in three volumes (Zürich, 1803, see p. 168 of this volume). It has been adapted to American schools by James H. Hoose under the title "Pestalozzian Series of Arithmetic" (Syracuse, 1882), and is in considerable use in public schools. In 1821 P. H. Pullen who had previously translated Pestalozzi's "Buch der Mütter" (Zürich, 1803) published "Pestalozzi's Intellectual or Intuitive Arithmetic", not following Pestalozzi so closely, and the similar work in this country by Warren Colburn is well known.

"Lessons on Number as given at a Pestalozzian School, Cheam, Surrey. The Master's Manual by C. Reiner, teacher of mathematics at Cheam School. With a preface by Dr. Mayo, setting forth the basis of Pestalozzi's method," and a similar "Lessons on Form" were published in England in 1835. In 1893 I purchased the remainder of the edition and published it with a short preface; but the books have all been sold, and are not likely to be reprinted.

The original edition bears on the fly-leaf the general title "Pestalozzi's Elementar-Bücher", of which another volume is "A B C der Anschauung oder Anschauungs-Lehre der Massverhältnisse" (Zürich, 1803), which called out Herbart's "Pestalozzi's Idee eines A B C der Anschauung" (Göttingen, 1804; Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig, 1882, i. 169-291).

The "New Year's Address" is one of the "Reden an sein Haus" which are given in Mann's edition (iv. 1-158) for 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1818, the last being his "Address on his 73d birthday" (complete works, ix. 151)

"The Evening Hour of a Hermit" appears in all collected editions of his works.

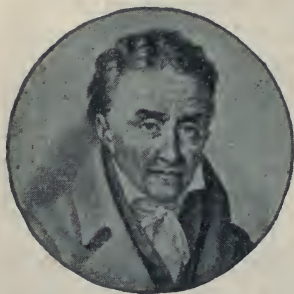
The Letters to Greaves were never published in German. The book is mentioned under its English title in Vol. XVI

of Seyffarth's edition of his works (Blandenburgh, 1872). They were printed in English in London, 1827, and reprinted in Syracuse, 1898.

The extracts from the "Swan Song" ("Schwanengesang", Mann iv. 159-361) are of course meagre. A better idea will be got from Chapter XVII of *De Guimp* (pp. 245-57)

The single page from the "Mother's Book" is certainly characteristic.

Except the portrait, p. 514, the illustrations were not a part of Dr. Barnard's plan, and have been added from various sources. Those of places are mainly from the lithographs in Christoffel's "*Pestalozzi's Leben und Ansichten*" (Zürich, 1846, see p. 169 of this volume). The two pictures of the school at Stanz, differing in detail but not in character, are familiar. While the portrait on p. 512 is well



known and was the one chosen by Dr. Barnard, two others are often printed, the one on the right from Biber's "*Henry Pestalozzi*" (1831). Of this William Woodbridge says in the *Annals of Education* (i. 597): "We regret that the portrait should present us with the mere remains of Pestalozzi. We are so fortunate as to possess a better one, whose correctness we have known from personal intercourse with this amiable man."









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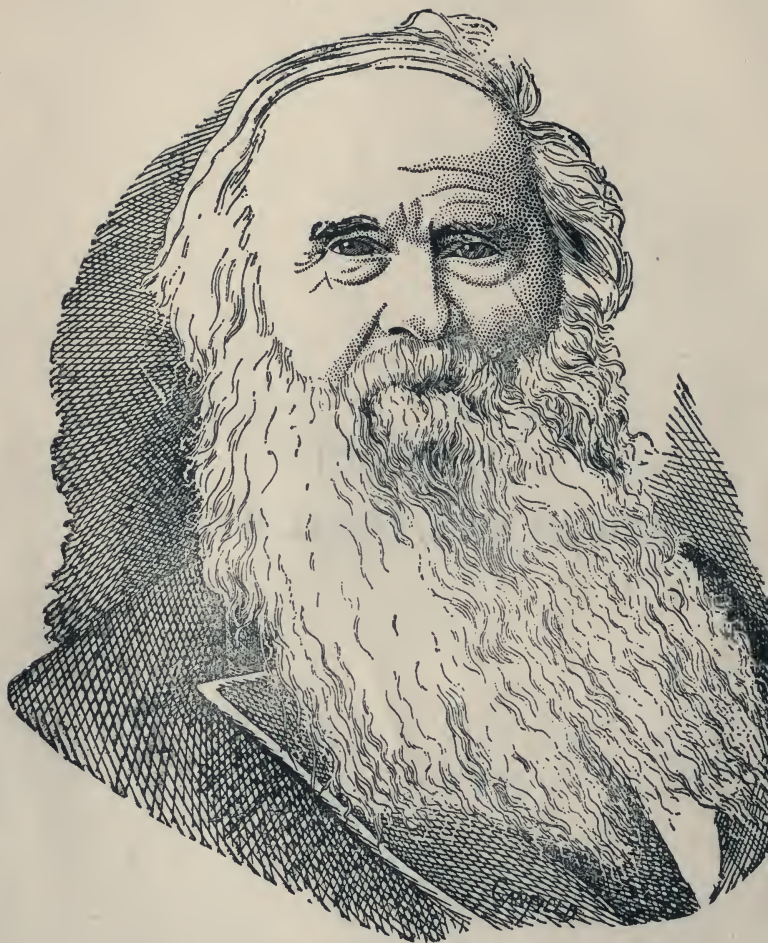


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PESTALOZZI  
AND HIS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM



HENRY BARNARD IN 1881

## PESTALOZZI AND PESTALOZZIANISM.

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### LAST WORDS.

We shall close our editorial studies and publications respecting the great Swiss educator with this, and possibly one additional chapter in the current volume of the Journal. The articles which follow will amply repay the closest attention.

The first gives an interesting picture of the daily life of Pestalozzi's Family School in the old castle of Yverdon, at a time when his reputation had drawn together pupils and assistants from every nation in Europe. In spite of the unappreciative spirit of the writer, and the evidence of the astounding incapacity of the principal for the administration of affairs, we see and feel the strength and warmth of his great heart which brought and kept together such widely differing antagonisms,—of his constant forgetfulness of self in his immense devotion to the interests of his fellowmen,—and of his insight into the true philosophy and means of human culture, without the trained faculties in himself, the result of his own imperfect education, to perfect and apply the methods.

The second article gives us at once an appreciative account of the principles of the Pestalozzian system, by one competent to understand it, and at the same time gives us the first glimpses of the Kindergarten, as it revealed itself to Froebel in his profound study of the child at play and in school.

The third article, in the list of over three hundred distinct treatises on Pestalozzi and his system, and which is far from being complete, shows both the originality and value of his views, so largely and variously discussed, and opens up a rich field of special study to the student of human culture.

These and other papers, published in the early volumes of the American Journal of Education, will appear in a separate volume (the contents of which is given on the next page), as soon as there is any evidence that a revised edition is wanted.

HENRY BARNARD.

HARTFORD, CONN., March 15, 1881.





PESTALOZZI IN HIS SCHOOL, AT STANZ.

## JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

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JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, whose educational as well as political speculations exerted a mighty influence on his age, was born at Geneva, in Switzerland, June 28th, 1712. His father was a watchmaker, a good mechanic, and fond of reading; and his mother a woman of considerable beauty, and great intelligence. She died in giving him birth, and for some years he seems to have had little or no instruction or guidance of any kind except from his father, who was too poor, too busy, and, apparently, not quite judicious enough, for the purpose. They read together, before the boy was seven years old, whole nights through, some romances which had been his mother's; and when those were finished, some books of divinity and translations of the classics. Thus the boy learned to love reading, but evidently could not acquire good habits, either physical or mental; and his "*Confessions*" show that he stole, lied, and played dirty tricks. In short, he was a "bright" boy, but indolent, irritable, mischievous, thoroughly unprincipled, untrained, and ill-bred.

With these wretched early habits, which had strengthened his natural evil tendencies, and in a condition of poverty which both prevented their ready gratification and made their precise opposites the indispensable conditions to prosperity and happiness, he entered upon the vagrant and unhappy series of wanderings and adventures which might have been expected. He was placed with an attorney, who discharged him for negligence; then with an engraver, whom he left, as he says, on account of his harshness,—which undoubtedly was only proper strictness. He next ran away from home, for fear of being punished for his vices; and he took refuge with Borney, Catholic bishop of Annecy. Here he asserted himself a convert to Catholicism, and was placed, for religious instruction, with a Madame de Warens, herself a recent proselyte. She in turn sent him to a Catholic seminary, at Turin, where he completed the required preparations, publicly recanted his Protestant belief, and then declined to study for the priesthood. Upon this they dismissed him, with twenty florins; which he spent, became servant to a countess, stole a ribbon, and managed to have the blame laid on a decent waiting-maid in the family. When the countess died he took a place in the family of a nobleman, whose son treated him like a companion, and instructed him. After a time, however, he was disobedient and insolent, and

was dismissed. Penniless, he returned to Madame de Warens, with whom he lived, as a sort of paid lover, for about ten years. She obtained for him a place in a surveying commission, established by the King of Sardinia, and other employments; none of which he had the decency or the industry to retain; forgave him for twice eloping from her; but, becoming at last disgusted by his unfaithfulness, secured him employment as a tutor in a gentleman's family at Lyons. But the desultory studies in music and mathematics, and occasional employment as music teacher, which had occupied him while with her, had not rendered him fit for the regular and decent duties of an instructor; and in a fit of anger and shame he resigned the place, in 1741. He now walked to Paris, with fifteen *louis*, his entire means, in his pocket; in some way got into good literary society; offered the musicians of the city a new scheme of musical notation, which was at once rejected; lived in penury two years, supported by music-copying and obscure employments. At the end of that time his friends obtained him a place as secretary to the French ambassador at Venice, where he stayed two years, living a shamelessly vicious life, quarreled with his superior, and returned to Paris.

Here he hired a small room, and became attached to Thérèse Levasseur, a vulgar and stupid girl, who lived with him as his mistress for twenty years, and whom he then married. They had five children, all of whom the father quietly placed in the foundling hospital, and whom he never afterward tried to identify; nor was he at all interested when some of his friends sought to find them for him. After his death, his wife married a hostler.

He earned a scanty living, after this last removal to Paris, by copying music; and failed in the attempt at operatic composition. After a time he obtained the place of clerk to one of the farmers-general of the revenue, from the profits of which he sent some little money to Madame de Warens, then in great poverty. About 1748, he was employed to write some articles on music for the "*Encyclopædia*," which he did, he says, "very quickly and very ill."

During his life in Paris, his associates were literary men, especially of the school of Diderot and D'Alembert, and a crew of licentious and swindling men of rank and fashion, whom he calls "very agreeable and very respectable."

In 1749, at the age of 37, he made his first successful attempt at authorship, by writing an answer to a prize question proposed by the Academy of Dijon, "*Whether the progress of the arts and sciences has tended to the purification of manners and morals.*" At the suggestion of Diderot, who reminded him of the greater notoriety which he could gain on the wrong side, he took the negative, and found his



line of argument exactly adapted to his modes of thought and feeling. He rapidly composed a violent, brilliant, and eloquent, but sophistical and inconsistent denunciation of civilized life, won the prize, and at once saw himself comparatively eminent.

In 1752, he once more tried operatic composition. His "*Devin du Village*," (Village Conjuror,) was very successful; and he also wrote a tragedy and three comedies, none of them of much value. During the following year he competed for a second prize offered by the Academy of Dijon, for the best answer to the question, "*What is the cause of inequality among men?*" but did not succeed. The character of this production, and the audacity of his philosophical methods, may be judged of from his own remark that, in composing this treatise, he purposely "looked away from all the facts of history."

The attacks which his first prize essay had occasioned, and others which were caused by a "*Letter on French Music*," in which he contended that the French had not and could not have any vocal music, by reason of the defects of the language, had now gained him considerable reputation. In fact, he had taken advantage of this, to revisit his birthplace, Geneva; and it was while there that he composed his unsuccessful prize essay. He was much caressed; became filled with republican enthusiasm; and, being, in his own words, "ashamed of being excluded from my rights as a citizen by the profession of a faith not that of my fathers," he made another recantation, and publicly professed himself a Protestant.

Having returned to Paris, he gave up, out of fear of persecution, a government appointment, for which he had exchanged his clerkship, and for a long time afterward lived chiefly upon the bounty of his friends, contributed in the shape of wages for copying music.

In 1756, Rousseau, in pursuance of an invitation from Madame d'Epinaÿ, established himself at a house called l'Hermitage, upon her estate at Montmorenci, not far from Paris. Here he remained for about ten years, and wrote some of his most celebrated works; "*La Nouvelle Heloise*," "*Emile*," and the "*Contrat Social*."

The "*Heloise*" is a novel, without a good plot, and without well-drawn characters; attractive for vigorous language, passionate feeling, and opinions dangerous but seductively expressed. It appeared in 1759, and was followed, in 1762, by "*Emile*," perhaps his greatest or, at least, most celebrated work. This was written for Madame de Luxembourg, and is a singular compound of acute observation, truth, sophistry, rhetoric, and irreligion. It was not so well received by the public as some of his other works, and was with justice condemned by the archbishop and the parliament of Paris. It had a powerful influence on a class of educators, both in Germany and Switzerland.

The "*Contrat Social*" came out very soon afterward. It is only

one part of a great work on political institutions, which he had designed as early as his stay in Venice, and is a scheme of entire social equality. Before the whole of it was printed, the author was informed that government intended to imprison him, and fled to Switzerland. Geneva refused to receive him, and, both there and at Paris, his work was publicly burned by the common hangman. He finally found rest with Marshal Keith, in Neufchatel, where he wrote an answer to the decree of the archbishop of Paris for the burning of "*Emile*" and his "*Lettres de la Montagne*," in which he attacked the clergy and the republic of Geneva, and renounced his citizenship of the latter. A mob, how instigated it is not quite clear, drove him away, and he fled to an island in the lake of Bienne. Having in vain sought an asylum in Berne, he now went to Strasburg, and thence to Paris, where he arrived in great destitution, and became acquainted with Hume, the historian, then English *chargé d'affaires* there. Hume, out of sympathy and kindness, carried him to England and placed him in a comfortable situation there. Rousseau, however, who seems by this time actually to have become monomaniac on the subject of persecution, soon imagined that Hume was secretly attacking his reputation, wrote him an abusive letter, renounced a pension which he had secured for him from the English government, and returned to France. Here he wandered about the country for a year or two, busying himself with botanical studies, which he pursued eagerly and with success. It was during this period that he published his "*Dictionnaire de Musique*," rewritten from his articles in the "*Encyclopædia*;" a work, like all his writings, containing many acute observations and just remarks, but full of errors, and misleading in tendency; and during the same period it was that he united himself in marriage to Thérèse Levasseur, with whom he had lived since 1745.

In 1770, he obtained, through his friends, permission to come to Paris, where otherwise he would still have been liable to imprisonment under the sentence passed on account of "*Emile*." He was, however, obliged to promise not to write upon politics or religion, which he accordingly did not do; and was officially cautioned against publicity; which admonition he took pleasure in setting at defiance, and, contrary to his previous shy habits, he went much into society.

He was, however, now reduced to an excessively unhealthy mental condition, had become extremely rude and testy in manner, irritable and suspicious; his health was also failing, and he was falling into deep poverty. In 1778, the Marquis de Girardin invited him and his wife to occupy a small house near his country-seat of Ermenonville, some thirty miles from Paris. He accepted the invitation, but had been established there scarcely two months when he died from a stroke of apoplexy, July 3d, 1778.

## ROUSSEAU'S EMILE

THE Emile of Rousseau is not a system of pedagogy in the usual sense of the term. "My system," says Rousseau, "is nature's course of development." After a short general introduction, he discusses, in the first book, the management of new-born children, and, in particular, of Emile, up to the time when he learned to talk; the second book treats of his education from that time to his twelfth year; the third ends when he is fifteen; the fourth brings him to his marriage; and, in the fifth, are described Sophia, his wife, and her education.

The work is rendered still more different from a system, because it contains a large number of digressions upon subjects which have little or nothing to do with pedagogy. It would be a vain endeavor to attempt to bring it into a systematic form. I shall, therefore, follow the author, step by step, (except in the digressions,) and thus give a general view of his book. Rousseau's skill as a writer renders it difficult for the reader of Emile to estimate calmly his paradoxes, and to see through his sophistries. It is my hope that the following view may serve as a clear plan of this labyrinth of Rousseau's, and that the remarks which I have added may form a guide through it.

*Preface.*—The book, says the author, was originally written for a thoughtful mother. Even if the thoughts contained in it are of no value in themselves, they ought to serve to awaken valuable thoughts in others. Every body writes and cries out against the usual methods of instruction, but no one suggests a better one. The knowledge of our century serves much more for destroying than for building up.

Childhood is not understood. The most judicious, in their teaching, confine themselves to that which it is necessary for a man to know; without considering what children are fit to learn. They are always seeking for a man in the child, without ever thinking what the child is before it becomes a man.

My system is nature's course of development. This term will be mistaken by many of my readers. They will take my book to be, not a work upon education, but the dreams of a visionary. I do not see as others do; but can I give myself others' eyes? I can not change my views; I can only suspect them. It has been often said to me, Propose only what can be accomplished. This means, propose something which is done now; or, at least, something good, of such a kind that it will come into agreement with prevalent evils. Such a collocation would destroy the good without healing the bad. I would rather adhere entirely to what is already received than to try any half measures.

In order that the plans proposed may be well received and practicable, they must correspond with the nature of things; in the present case, for instance, the plan of education laid down must be adapted to human nature. A second work must consider accidental relations, such as the relations of man in certain countries or in certain conditions. I do not concern myself with such relations, but treat only of the education of the human being in itself.

As Rousseau, in his treatises upon the inequality of man, traces the progress of our race from the natural to the civilized, he proposes here an entirely similar problem. Emile, his pupil, is humanity personified, in the natural condition of childhood; a tutor teaches this child of nature naturally. He is afterward to come into a civilized



condition, into the relations of the present world; even to live in Paris, under Louis XV. Would not Emile, appear in such a position as a natural Don Quixote in the higher circles, as Rousseau himself appeared?

With received notions Rousseau had no intercourse; he sets up his educational principles, as something absolutely good, against the former, as something absolutely bad. Without reading further, we may here conclude that there is only one who has the right to say, "Put not new wine into old bottles."

Whether it is right to deal with the education of man, in the abstract, to discuss the personified idea of human childhood, instead of the education of a Frenchman or a German, of a townsman, farmer, etc., we shall inquire more particularly hereafter. At this time it will suffice to say that, in this, Rousseau contradicts himself. Emile, upon careful consideration, will be seen to be only a Frenchman *in puris naturalibus*, who, as he grows up, is adorned with a laced coat, peruke on head, and sword by side. Still it would have been beneficial, if Rousseau had, by this, reminded the French that they came into the world naked, and that naked they will go out.

#### FIRST BOOK. INTRODUCTION. FIRST YEAR OF EMILE'S LIFE.

##### 1. *Nature and Art.*

All is good, as it comes from the hand of the Creator; all degenerates, under the hands of man. He forces one country to produce the fruits of another, one tree to bear that of another; he confounds climates, elements, and seasons; he mutilates his dog, his horse, his slave; turns every thing topsy-turvy, disfigures every thing; he will have nothing as nature made it, not even man himself; he must be trained like a managed horse; trimmed like a tree in a garden. If this does not happen, things turn out still worse; our race will not be satisfied with being half modified. Under present circumstances, a man who should live from birth upward, among others, and be entirely left to himself, would be deformed more than any other. Prejudice, authority, force, example, all the social influences which gather over us, could stifle nature in him, and set nothing in her place. He would be like the young tree which has grown up by chance in the street; it must soon be destroyed by the crowd of persons passing over it, who tread it down on all sides, and bend it in every direction. I turn to the fond and wise mother, who knows how to remove the child from the street, and to preserve the growing tree from contact with human opinions.

Bacon defines art, "*homo rebus additus*," by this we may understand that to man, as to the image of God, is given not only the dominion over nature, but also the charge of a sort of education of her, so that under his hands she may look more beautiful; even human. Rousseau, instead of honorable and divinely-intended art, sees, in his bitterness, only a caricature; only what depraved men have done to disfigure nature; and, at the same time puts forth such perversions as these, as most refreshing improvements. Would he prefer the crab tree to a Borsdorfer apple, as he does the ignorant savage man

to one of enlightened mind? The child would become, according to him, under the usual education, a caricature; it is the mother's duty to prevent this as far as possible. Education is her business much more than that of the father. In this Rousseau is a forerunner of Pestalozzi.

## 2. *Three Teachers. Education of Men and of Citizens.*

We come weak into the world, and need strength; bare of every thing, and need assistance. All which we have not at our birth, and have when we grow up, we acquire by education. This education we receive either from nature, from man, or from things. The inner development of our powers and organs is the education of nature; the use which we are taught to make of this development, is education by man; and what we learn by our own experience of the circumstances which have an influence upon us, the education by things.

We have no power over education by nature; and, therefore, we must shape both the other kinds of education by it. It is said; nature is nothing but habit. This is true so far as habit corresponds with nature, and is not forcibly and unnaturally constrained.

Born with perceptions, we seek or flee from things which are agreeable or disagreeable to us; which seem to promote or hinder our happiness and our improvement. Such desires and aversions, so far as they do not suffer variations through the actions or the opinions of others, are what we call nature. Every thing in education must be so related to these, that all three of the modes of education may constitute a harmonious whole. But nature and the conditions of citizenship are at variance in many ways; and it is necessary to determine whether we will educate a man or a citizen. Every partial society, as of one nation, &c., estranges from universal human society. Yet it is necessary, before all things, to deal rightly with those together with whom we live. Trust no cosmopolitan, who loves the Tartars, in order to be excused from the duty of loving his neighbors.

The natural man is complete within himself; his is the numerical unity; an absolute whole, which has relations only with itself, or with its like. The man of society is only a fraction, which depends upon its denominator, and whose value is determined by its relations to the whole; to the social body. Those modes of education are best for society, which are most efficient in perverting men from nature; in robbing him of his absolute existence, in giving him the relative one, such that after it he will feel and act only as a member of a society.

This opposition between education for a citizen and for a man, corresponds with the opposition between public education together, and private education in the family. The former existed in Sparta; but exists no longer, for there is no longer any fatherland, or any citizens.

Thus, there remains for us only private education, or that of nature. But what would the man educated only for himself become afterward, among others? To know this, it is necessary to know the completely educated man; and also the natural man. This book is intended to assist in gaining such knowledge.

What now is necessary to be done to educate the natural man? Much, no doubt; chiefly in order to hinder any thing from being done.

The child should be educated for the common human vocation, not for any special situation; he must merely live, in good or evil, as life should bring them; and should learn more by experience than by teaching. Considering the instability of human affairs, and the restless, rebellious spirit of the present century; which is overturning every thing, no more unnatural method of education could be devised than that which deals with a child as if he was never to leave home, or the companionship of his own friends. As soon as the unhappy pupil has gone a step away, he is lost.

Nothing is thought of but the support of a child; yet he must sometime die. Less care is taken to preserve him from death, than to contrive how he may live. But life is not merely breathing, but acting; the exertion of the organs, senses, faculties, all which gives us the feeling of our existence.

Thus far the introduction; partly in agreement with the preface.

The more they are considered, the more misty and indefinite do many of Rousseau's ideas here appear; and especially the idea of nature. She must instruct men, since she develops their powers and limbs; and again, she is an instinctive; a more or less rational sympathy and antipathy.

What is the use of the expression, "Education of nature?" When a seed is buried in the earth, and the plant develops itself and grows up, nobody calls this "nature's art of gardening." Art, on the contrary, is universally set in opposition to nature; and education is an art.

No one, who finds the basis of a well-ordered national life in a well-ordered domestic life, based upon family love, would set domestic instruction in violent opposition to that of the citizen; he would much rather consider it the only one from which good citizens can come; not citizens who see and criticise, in their kings and princes, mere employed agents, but who honor them as a power set over them by God. But is it to be wondered at that Rousseau, a contemporary of the wicked Regent, and of Louis XV., should speak thus, in presence of the coming revolution, which dissolved all sacred ties?

### 3. *New-born Children. Mothers' Nurses.*

Nurses shape the outside of the heads of children, and philosophers the inside; in this respect the Caribs are more skillful than we.

The swaddling of children is a most unnatural martyrdom; it hinders all the necessary movements of the limbs and of the blood. It is an invention of servants for the sake of convenience.

Mothers no longer nurse their children. Nurses share the children's love with the mothers, while they follow their pleasures. Here is the chief cause of the dissolution of all family relations, of all mutual love among members of a family; each one is thinking only of himself, and pursuing his own pleasure. And the influence of family life is the best antidote to bad morals.

Of quite opposite character is the effeminate spoiling of children by mothers. Nature does not treat children so; by teething and various other ways she causes them many pains, for the sake of hardening them. Why do they not imitate nature in this? Especially are young children managed worst. Either we do every thing they want, or require from them every thing we want; we are subjected to their whims, or they to ours. Thus the child commands before it can speak, or obeys before it can act; a child is trained into a being after our imagination, not into a natural man. If its peculiarities are to be preserved, the maintenance of them must be cared for from the moment of its birth until it grows up to be a man.

These remarks of Rousseau upon the duties of mothers, which are in agreement with Comenius, had a very good influence.

### 4. *Father.*

As the mother is the proper nurse of the child, the father is its proper teacher. The custom is, for him, not to have the necessary time; and thus children are placed in boarding-schools, seminaries, &c., where they are deprived of all love; and the scattered members of one family scarcely know each other. A heavy curse lies upon those who neglect their paternal duties.

Rousseau was thinking here of his own sins. How forcibly does he speak of the dissolution of family ties!



5. *The Tutor. The Pupil.*

The father who is otherwise occupied, must find a tutor. This tutor must be well educated and young; and, above all, he should not be employed for money; should be no hireling.\* He must put himself into close relations with the pupil; must be his play-fellow; must remain with him from his birth to somewhere about his twenty-fifth year; must be his teacher and educator.

This pupil, Emile, is supposed not to have a particularly remarkable mind, but to be of good birth, rich, and an orphan. If his parents were alive, he should respect them, but should obey his tutor only. Tutor and pupil should look upon their relation with each other as indissoluble, in order that they may not become estranged from each other.

This pupil is supposed, also, to come from some country in the temperate zone, France for instance; and must be healthy. He (Rousseau,) could not be a waiter upon sick people, while tutor; he could not educate any child who should be a burden to himself or to others. The body must have power to obey the soul; the weaker it is, so much the more will it be faulty; and the stronger, so much the better will it obey.

Medicine makes us mean; if it cures the body, it destroys the courage. Moderation and bodily labor should supply the place of medicine. Doctors with their recipes, philosophers with their precepts, priests with their admonitions, make the heart faint; they are the cause why men forget death. By nature, man suffers patiently, and dies in peace.

Rousseau indicates clearly that such a tutor as he requires is not to be found, but if he was supposing such a one, why not rather a rich father like Pascal's, to devote all his time and powers to the education of his son? There would then have been no need of the chilling idea that Emile was to honor his parents, but to obey his tutor. The natural mutual love of father and child would have been a living motive of the whole course of instruction. But of such love nothing would be said by a man who sent his own children to the foundling hospital; or, if it is mentioned, it is never the heartfelt basis of his art of education.

Emile, it is clear from this description, is, by no means, an absolute, natural man, the personification of a child. His native country, climate, property, health, are all determined in advance.

The body is very well characterized, as the servant of the soul, but health is valued too highly, after the rude and Spartan manner. Rousseau would have thought the new-born juggler, who called himself the northern Hercules, well worthy of his instruction; not the new-born, weakly, seven months' child, the intellectual Hercules, Kepler. With characteristic exaggeration, Rousseau entirely rejects medicine, instead of giving some positive idea of it.

Had Rousseau seen a natural man die in peace, or did he feign this peace after the analogy of dying beasts?†

6. *First Instruction under the Tutor.*

If the mother does not nurse her child herself, the tutor must select a nurse,

\* Rousseau declares himself unfit to be a tutor; and, in writing upon pedagogy, he describes, in his tutor, himself.

† In the second book of Emile it is said that savages, like beasts, struggle little at death, and suffer it almost without complaints.



go with her and the child into the country, and not remain in the city, which is unhealthy, by reason of the closely packed crowd of men.\* Baths, and crawling about, are very good for children. We come into the world entirely ignorant, and with an incapable body, but with the capacity to learn.

The education of a child begins with its birth; and who can determine the limit to which it is possible for man to attain? By mere experience, without any instruction, a man will learn an incredible quantity in the first year of his life. If all human knowledge were to be divided into two parts, one common to all men, and the second peculiar to the learned, the latter would be very simple in comparison with the former; the former is, however, overlooked, because it is learned early, without knowing it, before we come to our understanding.

No habits should be taught to children, no regular hours for sleeping, eating, &c. He should be accustomed only to have no habits; should be trained to independence. And he should be suffered to acquire no fear of ill-looking animals, masks, reports of weapons, &c. Perception by the senses affords the first materials for childish knowledge; it is therefore important, that the impressions should be caused to occur to him in a suitable order. Especially he should be made to compare the impressions of sight with those of feeling. By moving they learn to recognize distances, so that they grasp no longer after distant things.

Rousseau's advice, to arrange methodically the first impressions upon the mind of the child, even before he can speak, has been followed repeatedly, and, as far as possible, by Basedow, Wolke, and even Pestalozzi!

Children speak, at first, in the universal natural language, which is not, it is true, articulate, but is extended, and intelligible. Nurses understand better than we do, and converse in this language with children; any words which they use in it are insignificant; their accent only being to be considered. These are assisted by the gestures and quick and varying pantomime of the children. Crying is their expression of hunger, heat, cold, &c. Their elders try to check and soothe this crying, but often misunderstand it, and try to silence them by coaxing or blows.

Children's first tears are requests; if attention is paid to them, they very soon begin to command. They begin with helping themselves, and with making others wait upon them.

All the bad conduct of children comes from weakness; make them strong and they will be good. He who can use all his faculties will not do ill.

Before we attain to understanding, there is no morality in our actions; "although expressions of it are sometimes seen in the sense which children show of what others do to them."

The destructive tendencies of children do not come from wickedness, but from an evident desire for activity. Their weakness prevents the greater evils which they might do. They very soon seek to make instruments of their elders; to make these repair the harm which their weakness has caused. Thus they become vile tyrants, and there is developed in them ambition, which they had not originally, but which they retain all the rest of their lives.

These strange and false assertions,—and we shall find many more such,—are meant to delineate the inborn innocence of children. Rousseau meant that it should follow, that all evil comes into men from without. And evil, whose source is untraceable, is not bad; is not sour, but sweet. How opposed is Augustine to Rousseau! "Can there be," asks the former, "any good in a child, when he cries for what could only hurt him if he got it? When he gets into a violent rage at grown-up people who are not under his authority, and even

\* "Man's breath is fatal to his like. This is true, both figuratively and literally. Cities are the charnel house of the human race."

at his own parents; when he tries to injure, by blows, those wiser than he, if they do not obey him at the moment? it is the weakness of the limbs of infants, not their minds, that is innocent."

Children, (to return to Rousseau,) must be helped where it is necessary, but their faults are not to be attended to, and they must be left to help themselves as much as possible.

The needless crying of children will be best quieted by paying no attention to it; for even a child does not willingly exert himself for nothing. Crying can be stopped by turning the child's attention to some striking object, without letting him see that that is what is meant.

Children should be weaned when the teeth come.

Expensive playthings are superfluous; cheap and simple ones are sufficient.

Children hear talking before they understand it or can speak themselves. Nurses may sing to them, but should not be continually talking before them what they do not understand. Some easy words should be repeatedly spoken before them; words which mean things, and the things should be shown at the same time. The unfortunately easy habit of being satisfied with words which we do not understand, begins earlier than we think; before school age. The vocabulary of children should be as simple as possible; they should have no more words than ideas. Children have their own grammar. Their syntax has rules more general than ours; and follows remarkably certain analogies, which are not, however, always recognized by them. Thus, *e. g.*, a child says, *irai-je-t-y?* after the analogy of *vas-y*. Errors of children's language should not be pedantically corrected; they will disappear of themselves with time; only always speak correctly before them.

It is a great mistake to take so much pains to make children speak so early; for by these very means they get a knowledge of language more slowly and confusedly.

The children of laborers speak more distinctly than the distorted children of the rich. The recitations in the schools improve the delivery so little that the boys are in the habit of making use of learning by rote, and gabbling over what is to be recited; and in the recitation they hesitate and stammer, whenever their memories fail.

Children who are made to speak too soon, have not time enough to become acquainted with what they are made to talk about, and acquire wrong impressions of it. A child ought not to speak any further than he can think. A great fault is an accentless, expressionless, feelingless, way of speaking. The expression is truer than the words; and perhaps this is the reason why well-bred people are so much afraid of the former, and why they speak, all of them, in the same tone; or they fall into a ridiculous, affected, modish accent, such as is so disagreeable in a Frenchman.

Many of these views of Rousseau upon the instruction of the earliest childhood have deservedly found approval, although here and there approaching to extravagance, especially in this; that he would have French and German children, &c., managed like young savages, while the whole course of their life is still unvariedly French. Young princes are to go barefoot. In requiring that children should talk no further than they can think, Rousseau coincides with Comenius.

#### SECOND BOOK. EMILE'S CHILDHOOD TO HIS TWELFTH YEAR.

##### 7. *Unnecessary Sympathy. Unnecessary Teaching. Sacrifices of the Present to the Future.*

A new period of life begins with speech, which replaces much crying.

Unnecessary sympathy should not be shown for the griefs of children; they should learn to bear them.

They should be taught nothing which they will learn themselves; walking, for

instance. Leading strings and other such helps are useless; let them fall and get up again, on some soft meadow, a hundred times. With the powers of children there grows up in them the capacity for managing those powers; and, by this means, the self-conscious, individual being. Life becomes a unity by memory; and thenceforward children must be treated as moral beings. Ignorant teachers make the children miserable, by not regarding the present time of childhood, and by only considering the child's future; to which perhaps he may never attain. Childhood, it is said, is the time when evil tendencies can most easily be remedied. Is your knowledge then certain, that this fine teaching of yours will, in future, insure the happiness of the child; And what is happiness? He is happiest who suffers least; and he unhappiest who enjoys least pleasure. Do not the evil tendencies come rather from your mistaken pains, than from nature? Let the child be only a child.

Rousseau is right in opposing the useless teaching of what the child will learn of himself; such teaching as is found in too many of our elementary schools. His rejection of the belief that punishment operates against evil in children, follows from his disbelief in original sin.

#### 8. *Dependence of Children instead of Obedience.*

He who is truly free wishes only for what is attainable; and thus does only what pleases him. This principle should be applied to children.

The child should feel his weakness, but should not suffer under it; he must be dependent, but obedient; he must ask, but not command. He enjoys an incomplete freedom.

There is a dependence upon things, based in nature; and a dependence upon man, based in the social state. The former has nothing to do with morals, and therefore does not interfere with freedom; the other is a source of vice. The child should be kept in a material dependence only; physical hindrances, that is, such punishments as have their origin in his own actions, should be opposed to his assumptions. Experience and weakness must be his laws.

In what nature requires for the development of the body, the utmost possible freedom should be permitted to children, as in running, jumping, &c. But if they demand any thing which must be done for them by others, great care should be taken to distinguish whether it is a real necessity, or a whim, which occasions their demand.

No attention should be paid to the perverse crying of children; and, on the other hand, they should be taught not to issue commands in courtly forms of speech. The "If you please," of the children of the rich, means only "I please;" and "I beg," only "I command." It is better that the child should say, without circumlocution, "Do this."

If every thing is given to the child which he demands, his requirements will have no limit; only God himself could satisfy them. By such granting, also, children's covetousness and love of power are cultivated; and they will be made very miserable when, as must sooner or later be the case, they receive refusals.

Capricious tyrannizing over their elders is as little suitable for children as giving commands. Your child should not have any thing merely because he asks for it, but only because it is necessary for him; he must do nothing from obedience, but only from necessity; the words "obey" and "command" should be stricken out from his dictionary; and still more the words "obligation" and "duty;" but the words "power," and "necessity," and "weakness," and "force," must be the principal ones in his vocabulary. Until the child comes to his understanding he can understand nothing of moral existence or social relations; and for this reason words which refer to them should be avoided, and the child should be restricted entirely to the physical world.

Rousseau's vocabulary wants the most important word of all, love,—thankful love; and, therefore, in the place of obedience, which is in essence the same with love, must be but a hard, heartless, material



necessity. How different is the theory of Pestalozzi! Rousseau's observation is an acute one, that children pervert the forms of request into commands; his warning is very just, against the unlimited giving to them of every thing they desire.

#### 9. *Reasoning with Children.*

Locke's maxim is now universally followed; that children should be reasoned with. But the results do not speak in favor of the practice; no children are sillier than those who have been much reasoned with. Of all the faculties, the understanding is developed the latest; and yet it is overstrained to make it help in developing the others. This is beginning at the end. If children understood reasoning, they would need no education; the stating to them, from an early period, what they do not understand, accustoms them to be satisfied with mere words, to criticise every thing which is said to them, to think themselves as wise as their teachers, to be disputatious and perverse, and to do what they are supposed to do from reasonable considerations, only from covetousness or fear or vanity, which are the motives which are of necessity added to those of reason.

Let children be children. If we choose to reverse the order of things, we shall get premature and flavorless fruits, which soon decay; we shall have young doctors and old children. We might as well expect children to be five feet high, as to have judgment in their tenth year.

In trying to convince children of the duty of obedience, force and threats are used, or, what is still worse, flattery and promises. Thus they pretend to be convinced by reason, when they are baited by self-interest, or driven by force. You think you have convinced them, when you have only wearied or frightened them. Thus you accustom them to conceal their real motives behind pretended ones, and to make sport of you. With children exhibit strength, and not authority, which is a motive for men. Give to them willingly, and refuse them unwillingly; but let what you refuse be irrevocably refused, and let no importunity induce you to withdraw your "No." Here there is no medium; either you must require absolutely nothing from the child, or you must force him, without ceremony, to the most implicit obedience. The very worst education is that in which you leave the child in uncertainty between your will and his own, and dispute with him without end which of you shall be master. A hundred times better is it that the child should be master, once for all.

Exceedingly important truth.

#### 10. *Against Jesuitical Means of Education.*

Ever since children have been instructed, no other means have been invented of managing them, but emulation, energy, jealousy, covetousness, and debased fear; those easily excited, most dangerous and soul-destroying passions. At every injudicious lesson, you plant a vice deep within the heart. Foolish teachers think they have done wonders, when they have made the children bad, in order to communicate to them the idea of goodness. Then they say gravely, "Such is human nature." Such is your discipline, rather.

The continual presence of your tutors constrains children; when their backs are turned they make up for it by playing roguish tricks.

Very true.

#### 11. *Against Original Sin.*

There is no original depravity in the human heart; there is not one single vice in the heart, of which it can not be told how, and by what road, it came in thither. The only inborn passion is self-love, which is, by nature, good.

The child can do many bad things without being bad; that is, without the purpose of doing harm. If he should once have such a purpose, he would be almost hopelessly bad.\*

#### 12. *Negative Instruction to the Twelfth Year.*

The usual education of children is such as if children leaped, at one bound

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\* On this point I refer to the introduction

from the mother's breast to the age of reason. An entirely opposite method is the necessary one; an entirely negative one; which does not teach virtue and truth, but seeks to preserve the heart from vices, and the understanding from error. If you can bring your pupil to his twelfth year healthy and strong, even if he could not distinguish his right hand from his left, the eyes of his understanding would open to your first lesson in reason; for he would have no prejudices, habits, or any thing to stand in the way of the efficacy of your efforts. He would soon become, under your hands, the wisest of men; and although you began with doing nothing, you would have accomplished a wonder of education.

Do the opposite of what is usual and you will almost always do right.

From the effort to make the child not a child, but a doctor, come the multiplied fault-findings, flatteries, threats, and reasonings of fathers and teachers. Be reasonable enough not to reason with your pupil. Make him practice his body, his limbs, his senses, his faculties; but keep his soul as inactive as possible; let the character of childhood ripen in the child. By such delay you gain time to learn the gradually developing character of your pupil, before you undertake to guide it, and make precipitate mistakes.

Rousseau rightly opposes the unwise endeavor to give a child the wisdom of an adult, as early as possible; in preferring rather to teach nothing, than to use such inappropriate means. There is, however, a positive course of discipline of which Rousseau, as we shall see, knows nothing, and refuses to know any thing.

### 13. *Education in the Country.*

It is difficult, almost impossible, entirely to protect the child against bad influences; but best in the country. The teacher must here endeavor to gain the love of the neighborhood, and thus to secure its favorable influences upon his pupil.

### 14. *Judicial Instruction.*

It is unnatural to speak to children of their duties, and not of their rights; since the first idea of right comes to children, not from what they are bound to do, but from what others are bound to do for them.

The idea of property is first communicated to children by some means more effectual than mere explanations.

Nothing is said about love.

### 15. *Moral and Religious Education.*

The teacher is to blame for all the lies of children. Why does he make so many promises, and make so many inquiries, when any thing has happened?

If children are to be made pious, they are taken to church, where they get tired. By making them say over interminable prayers, they are made to long for the happiness of not being obliged to pray to God any more. To teach them benevolence, they are made to give alms; as if their teachers were ashamed to give them themselves. It is not the child, but the teacher, who should give. And what is the child made to give? Money; which has no value to him; or something which is always made up to him again. Locke's advice is, so to arrange matters that the children shall observe, for themselves, that those who give freely fare the best. That is to educate, apparently to generosity, but in reality to avarice.

The only moral instruction proper for children is, to do nothing bad. To this end they must be isolated as much as possible, since, in the social state, the good of one is, by necessity, the evil of another.

Children can not possibly become perverse, mean, false, and greedy, unless others have sown the seeds of these vices in their hearts.

What a frightful load of sins against children does Rousseau pile upon the souls of all parents and teachers merely to carry out his

mistaken doctrine of the non-existence of original sin! After his sophistical fashion, he gives his assertion the appearance of truth, by assuming that the teacher proceeds entirely wrongly, or in a most vexatious manner.

#### 16. *Forming Opinions about Children.*

Real weakness of intellect is difficult to distinguish from that apparent weakness which indicates a powerful mind. The really stupid child is unfit for any thing; the apparently so, seems to be. Accordingly, do not form opinions about children too easily; let nature operate a long time before you venture to step into her place. The facility with which children learn is only apparent; they only retain words which they do not understand.

Very true.

#### 17. *Conceptions. Ideas.*

Conceptions are only the absolute pictures of natural objects; ideas are notions of such objects, determined by their relations. A conception may be entirely alone in the mind; but every idea supposes other ideas. By conceiving, we see; by ideas, we compare. For mental impressions, we only hold ourselves passive; while, on the contrary, our ideas spring from the active originating principle. Before the child arrives at his understanding, he receives only impressions, such as sounds, &c.; he does not originate ideas in himself, and retain them. He is incapable of judgment, and has no real memory.

#### 18. *Words. Learning Language.*

The pedagogues teach children words, nothing but words, and no real knowledge.

What has been said I do not believe; that even one child, such as are called remarkable children, ever actually learned two languages, before his twelfth or fifteenth year. For each language has its own peculiar spirit, and the thoughts take the color of the idiom.

Until the child comes to its understanding, it has only its mother tongue. In order to be master of two languages, it must be able to compare ideas.

But, it may be answered, there have been children who have spoken five or six languages. But how did they speak them? the German child, for instance, speaks German-French, or German-Italian; so that, although its words were not German, its language was.

The old languages are dead. The imitation of what is found in the Latin classics, is called speaking Latin. Boys are made to translate French into Latin words, and afterward to patch together phrases from Cicero and verses from Virgil. Then the teachers think their scholars can speak Latin; and where are the people to contradict them?

The German boy, who speaks Latin, usually says something in German-Latin, or nothing, in Latin verses learned by rote.

Comenius had already zealously opposed the teaching of mere words without any real basis; the continual employment of scholars in the world of conceptions, the world of language, without concerning themselves, in the least, with the original things.

#### 19. *Geographical Instruction.*

In any science, a knowledge of representations, without that of the things represented, is of no value. In the instruction of children, however, such representations are adhered to. Thus, in geography, maps are shown, and the names of countries, places, &c., are taught, when, for the child, they only exist on the paper. A geographical manual began with the questions, "What is the world?" An answer once given was: "A ball of pasteboard." After two years of the usual instruction in geography, a scholar could not, by the rules given, find his way to St. Denis in Paris; or find his way in his own father's garden, with a plan.



And these are the doctors who have knowledge enough about Pekin, Ispahan, Mexico, and all the countries of the earth.

#### 20. *Instruction in History.*

Of the historical matters taught, the scholars do not perceive the manner and connection. When Alexander drank the medicine of his physician who was accused of treachery to him, a boy wondered at him, because he could swallow down such unpleasantly tasting stuff at one draught. So injudiciously has the matter been managed by the learned.

#### 21. *Learning by Rote.*

Children should not learn by rote; not even La Fontaine's fables, which, in spite of their apparent simplicity, no children understand, or if they do, so much the worse.

#### 22. *Learning to Read.*

Reading is the great misery of children. Emile must, in his twelfth year, scarcely know what a book is. How many artificial methods have been invented for facilitating learning to read! The most important means to this end is, that the teacher awaken an interest in the subject, in his scholars. The less he urges and forces his pupils toward any object, the more certain will he be to attain it; and, while it is of little consequence whether a boy can read before his fifteenth year, he may perhaps be able both to write and read, as early as his tenth.

The anxious and foolish apprehensions of parents, lest their children shall not learn to read soon enough, seem to be growing in our times, every year.

#### 23. *Education for the Present.*

If you follow rules entirely opposed to the usual ones, if you take pains to make your pupil always collected in mind and attentive to what concerns him, instead of keeping him forever busy in other climates and other times, even at the ends of the earth, and even in the heavens, you will find him afterward fitted to understand, to retain in his memory, and even to reason; for such is the course of nature.

Is this life in the present, one after the manner of the ancient Greeks, or after that of the Caribs?

#### 24. *Bodily Training.*

Exercise the body of the pupil in every way. It is a pitiable error to suppose that this will interfere with that of the mind. Only let the pupil grow up without being kept in leading-strings and tutored at every step; let him be obliged to act and advise for himself, and he will exercise mind and body at the same time. It is in this manner that free savages exercise their bodies; and not servile laborers. Let the pupil combine the understanding of a wise man with the strength of an athlete!

"Free savages," "athletes,"—words worthy of consideration.

#### 25. *Rules for the Conduct of the Tutor.*

It is a difficult art to manage the pupil without constant orders, and to do every thing as if one were doing nothing.

A child usually reads the mind of the teacher much more easily than does the teacher the child's; so that the child usually has the advantage of the teacher here.

Govern so that the child shall think itself free, and shall not be stimulated to search for your weaknesses and watch you.

The caprices of children are mostly the result of a mistaken education; of their being permitted to command as they wish, and being obeyed.

Truths which Rousseau seems to have taken from his own experience; for he was a tutor.

#### 26. *The Body a Medium for Educating the Mind. Hardening.*

What the human receives is conveyed through the senses; the senses are the



basis of the intellectual ; our feet, our hands, our eyes, first teach us philosophy. For this reason we must train the members and senses as the instruments of our intellect, and for this reason the body must be sound and strong. Gymnastics gave to the ancients that strength of body, in which they so remarkably excelled the moderns.

Loose clothing should be given children, in which they may feel free and at ease. Even in winter they should wear summer clothing ; they should have no covering for the head, and should drink cold water even when they are hot.—They should not sleep in a soft bed. It is more important to be able to swim than to ride.

Rousseau praises Locke's method of hardening children's bodies, except that he rejects his cautions against drinking and lying on the damp ground, when the child is hot. His hatred of French effeminacy, and his admiration of the Carib mode of hardening the body, make him push every thing to exaggeration.

#### 27. *Education of the Senses. Feeling.*

The senses develop themselves earliest in children ; and therefore the attention should be first turned toward completing that development. But this is what most persons forget or neglect. Train not only the active powers of children, but all the senses which regulate those powers. Benefit each sense as much as possible ; and prove the impression made upon one sense by that upon another. Let the pupil measure, count, weigh, and compare. The blind have the most acute touch ; seeing children could cultivate the same by practice and plays in the dark ; by which those fears which the activity of the imagination occasions in the dark, would be removed.

The tips of the fingers should be fine skinned and susceptible ; many things can be known more clearly and certainly by the touch than by the eye. On the contrary the soles of the feet should be hardened by going barefoot.

Rousseau is quite right in laying stress upon the training of the senses. But he does it in such a manner that he seems to be showing how to train a Carib child for the exact sciences of the French, or a French child for the life of a savage. Nothing is said of the education of the eyes for the beautiful ; as nothing is said anywhere of the beautiful, but only of the useful.

#### 28. *Seeing. Drawing and Geometry.*

The vision often errs by reason of its wide field of operations and the multitude of objects which it embraces ; which render it liable to hasty judgments. The illusions of perspective are indispensable for the measurement of distances ; without the gradations of size and light, we could measure no distances, or rather there would be none to us. If a large tree one hundred paces distant, seemed as large and distinct as another only ten paces distant, it would appear to us that they stood together. If two objects appeared to us of their actual size, we should have no knowledge of places.

The size of the angle at the eye, at which we see objects, is determined by their size and distance. But how shall we distinguish, when one object appears smaller to us than another, whether this is by reason of its real size, or of its greater distance ?

Children must be practiced in estimating sizes and distances, as architects, field surveyors, &c., are. Without feeling, without movement, with measuring, the best of eyes can give us no idea of room. For the oyster, the universe is a point. With this exercise of children in estimating distances, is connected drawing, which depends entirely upon the laws of perspective. They should not however use copies, but should draw from nature ; and in this it is of more importance that they see and understand correctly, than that they should draw artistically.

Geometry, like drawing, is for children an exercise of the eye, based upon see-

ing. Make correct figures, put them together, place one upon the other, and prove their relations. By proceeding from observation to observation, you will go on through the whole of elementary geometry, without seeing any thing of definitions or problems, or of any other form of demonstration, except that of superimposition.

Correctness in diagrams is usually neglected; the figure is shown, and the demonstration given. But it would be of much more value to draw lines as straight, correct, and similar as possible, and squares and circles as true as possible.

In Turin, they gave a boy cakes of the same size, but of the most various shapes; he tried every possible means to determine which form held the most.

Children's plays should exercise their eyes, and all their members. How much can be accomplished in this direction is shown by the feats of rope-dancers. Is there any children's diversion which the instructor can not make instructive to them?

What Rousseau here says of teaching geometry is worthy of special consideration. From real pure geometrical drawings there are developed true and pure geometrical ideas.

### 29. *Hearing. Speaking and Singing.*

The child should compare such impressions on the sight and hearing as belong together; as, for instance, that the lightning is seen before the thunder is heard. The voice, as an active organ, corresponds with the passive one of the hearing; and they assist each other.

The pupil should speak in a plain manner. He should not be permitted to declaim; he should have too much sound sense to express, with tones and feelings which he has not, things which he does not understand. Teach him to speak distinctly, without hesitation, without affectation, and loud enough to be understood; teach him to sing correctly and in tune, but no operatic music; train his ear for time and harmony.

Rousseau's musical faculty made him forget his Iroquois ideal; and he does not ask the question, what is the use of music?

### 30. *The Taste.*

In the beginning, that nourishment was most healthful for simple men which tasted best. In children this primitive taste should be preserved as much as possible; their food should be common and simple, not high seasoned; flesh is improper for them. Of the proper food they should be permitted to eat as much as they wish. Eating is the passion of children. Therefore they should be managed by means of their palate; this natural and appropriate motive is far preferable to those of vanity. Love of eating will decrease and vanity will increase with years.

### 31. *The Smell.*

This is related to the taste, as sight is to feeling. In children it is not very active.

### 32. *The Common Sense. Formation of Ideas.\**

A sixth sense comes from a proper employment of the other senses; namely: "the common sense." This is resident in the brain; and its sensations are called perceptions, or ideas. (?) The number of these ideas indicates the extent of our knowledge; and the power of comparing them with each other is called human reason. The sensitive, or child's reason, forms simple ideas, by bringing together several impressions upon the senses; the intellectual reason forms compound ideas from several simple ones.

### 33. *Character of Emile, at Twelve Years Old.*

His exterior indicates self-possession and ease; he speaks with simplicity, and does not talk unnecessarily. His ideas are confined and clear; he knows nothing by rote, but much by experience. If he does not read so well in books, he reads

\* Sec. 17, 42.

better in the book of nature; he has less memory than power of judgment; he speaks but one language, but understands what he says. If he does not speak so well as others, he is much more capable of doing. He knows nothing of routine, custom, or habit; and what he did yesterday does not indicate what he will do today. Neither authority nor example impose upon him; he does and says only what seems good to him. He knows nothing of study, speech, or manners; but his language corresponds with his ideas, and his behavior arises from his wishes.

He has few moral ideas, but they are such as correspond to his age. Speak to him of duty or obedience, he does not know what you mean; order him, he does not understand you; but say to him, if you will do this to please me, I will sometime do something to please you, and he will instantly exert himself to comply with your wish; for nothing will please him more than to add to his legitimate influence over you, which he holds inviolable.

If he needs help himself, he makes use of the first that comes to hand, whether it be a king or a servant; for all men are alike to his sight. He shows to him whom he asks, that he does not consider any one bound to grant his request. He is simple and laconic in his expressions, and neither servile nor arrogant. Grant his request, and he does not thank you, but feels that he is your debtor; refuse it, and he does not complain nor urge you, but lets the matter drop.

Lively, active, he undertakes nothing too great for his powers, but which he has tried and understands. He has an observing and intelligent eye; and asks no useless questions about what he sees, but examines it himself. As his imagination is yet inactive, and nothing has been done to stimulate it, he sees only what really exists, does not over-estimate danger, and is always cool.

Business and play are the same to him, his play is his business; he finds no difference between them. Among city children, there is none more dexterous than he, and all are weaker; he is equal to country children in strength, and surpasses them in dexterity. He is fit to lead his companions, by his talent and experience, without any other authority, without wishing to command; he is at the head of the rest, and they obey him without knowing it.

He is a mature child, and has lived a child's life; his happiness has not been exchanged for his education. If he dies young, his death is to be mourned, but not his life.

Ordinary men would not understand a boy so trained; they would see in him nothing but a scapegrace. A teacher could make no parade with him, could ask him no show questions; and those are the chief of the education of the day.

A healthy, strong, dexterous, corporeally well-trained boy, systematically educated, for a purely earthly existence, and for cold independence; a Frenchified Carib, or Caribized French boy, without fancy, poetry, love, or God.

### THIRD BOOK. EMILE, FROM HIS TWELFTH TO HIS FIFTEENTH YEAR.

#### 34. *Desire of Knowledge. Methods. Regard for Authority.*

Curiosity will now begin to operate, and will henceforth stimulate the boy. With natural curiosity is connected the vain endeavor to appear learned. Impressions upon the senses must be developed into ideas; only, we should not pass too suddenly from material to intellectual objects. The world and things in books must be the teachers; mere words should not be learned.

The pupil knows nothing because you have said it to him, but because he has comprehended it; he does not learn his acquirements; he discovers them. If once you give him authority, instead of reason, he will no longer think for himself, but will be the sport of strange opinions.

One extreme introduces another. Because earlier, ignorant, and harsh teachers treated boys like empty vessels, which they were to fill up with Latin vocables, geometrical demonstrations, &c., therefore, according to Rousseau, now they must find out every thing for themselves; because earlier tyrannical teachers based every thing on author-



ity maintained by force, now all at once there is to be no authority at all. From the pedagogical age of Louis XIV., we are to be transferred at once into the age of the revolution.

Woe to the boy to whom no authority is sacred ; who is destitute of all reverence and love toward his parents and teachers.

### 35. *Rudiments of Astronomy.*

A beautiful sunrise. The teacher is in an ecstasy ; but the boy of thirteen is not yet ready to take pleasure in a beautiful spring morning. It would be foolish for the teacher to take pains to talk the pupil into his own enthusiasm.

No writings are proper for a boy, no eloquence or poetry ; he has no business with feeling or taste. Be to him clear, simple, and cold ; direct his attention to the places of the rising and the setting of the sun, and let him wonder how it gets back from the west to the east. The observation that it passes from the east to west every day will suggest an answer. Again, draw his attention to the change of the place of sunrise and sunset at different seasons of the year. All this must be done without any armillary sphere ; its circles confuse the pupil.

Either, according to Rousseau, we must boil over with pseudo-poetry, at a beautiful sunrise, or—as he recommends before the boy of twelve—freeze with astronomical observations. Is there no medium ?

### 36. *Rudiments of Geography and Physics. Methods.*

Geographical instruction should begin with the house and place of abode. The pupil should draw maps of the neighborhood, to learn how they are made, and what they show.

It is of less importance to teach the boy sciences, than to give him a taste for them, and methods for learning them when that taste shall have been more developed. At this age, also, he should be taught to follow up one subject with persevering attention, but yet not to weariness. If he asks questions for his own information, answer him just so much as is necessary, in order to stimulate his curiosity ; but do not let him weary you with endless silly questions. Philosophy develops the sciences from their principles ; but instruction does not. In this, each subject explains and introduces another, and thus curiosity keeps alive the attention.

If the pupil has found out the noon-mark, by a shadow, and drawn it, show him that the compass will give him the same line.

Instruction in physics should begin with the simplest experiments, not with instruments. These must follow after such experiments ; and, though ever so imperfect, should be constructed by the teacher and the pupil, themselves. By such independent efforts are attained ideas of greater clearness and certainty.

The numerous instruments which have been invented to guide us in experiments, and to make up for the defective accuracy of the senses, are the reason why the senses are less used. The more perfect our tools are, the more blunt and inefficient will our organs become.

Purely speculative knowledge is not for children ; not even when they approach the age of youth. Yet it must be contrived that their experiments shall form a chain, by the aid of which they may be better retained in the memory ; for facts and demonstrations entirely isolated do not remain there.

In investigating nature's laws, begin always with the more common and obvious phenomenon.

This is a most valuable observation upon elementary instruction in the natural sciences. Comenius already, and Pestalozzi afterward, commenced the study of Geography with the immediate neighborhood. Any bright boy will, however, make himself acquainted with it, if he is permitted, without taking wearisome topographical walks with his

teacher. Nothing should be taught which the boy will freely learn himself, without any assistance. Rousseau's tutor, always teaching the boys something in every trip, and even in every game, would necessarily become intolerable to them.

37. *No Authority.*

The boy should do nothing at the word; nothing is good to him except what he himself recognizes as good. By your wisdom you rob him of his mother-wit; he becomes accustomed always to be led, and to be only a machine in the hands of others. To require obedience of the child, means to require that, when grown up, he shall be credulous; shall be made a fool of. It is of no use to say to the boy that he is ordered for his own good, and that, when he is grown up, he will see it. To do so is to play into the hands of every visionary charlatan and impostor, who shall in after life desire to entangle the boy in his nets.\*

38. *Against premature Learning. "What is the Use?"*

The child should learn what is necessary for his own age; and not, prematurely, what will be necessary in after years. But, you say, can what is necessary be learned, at the moment when it is to be applied? I answer, I know not; but this I know, that it can not be learned before; for our real teachers are experience and feeling; we only learn what is right in the experiences of actual life. When we have given the pupil the idea of usefulness, we have thus a new mode of guiding him; he sees that this word is related to his present well-being. "What is the use of it?" is the sacred question, the word which must decide every thing between the teacher and the scholar; it is the question with which the former can answer the host of useless questions of the latter, and which he again can, upon occasion, put to the teacher.

There are harmful anticipations in learning, but there are also necessary ones. Seeds may be planted in the child's mind which shall sleep for years as if dead, but which shall spring into life at the right moment. Old men encourage themselves, in the hour of death, with verses from the funeral hymns which they learned when children.

39. *Strengthening the Weak. Laconicism. Vanity as a Motive.*

Who is the teacher who can confess to the scholar that he has erred? If the teacher has no answer at hand to the scholar's question, he should say so without more ado.

Above all, avoid tedious explanations, which are often made by teachers, only with a view to show themselves off to visitors who may be present.

Adhere to facts. We lay too much stress upon words; and our talking education trains up talkers. A boy who is lost will find out better how to set himself right by the sun, than he would by a long demonstration. Wherever possible, teach by things themselves.

What the boy learns only through an appeal to his vanity, he had better not learn at all.

Very true.

40. *Books. Robinson Crusoe. Workshops.*

From books men learn to talk about what they do not understand. But there is one book which may be considered as a most valuable treatise upon natural education; a book which might, for a long time, constitute the entire library of the pupil; namely, Robinson Crusoe. Robinson, alone upon an island, obliged himself to make every thing necessary to him, becomes the boy's ideal; he will ask only for what would be necessary for him upon a Robinson's island.

The teacher should frequent workshops, with his pupil, and should permit him to take hold of the work himself; and by this means he will learn to understand

\* See 34.

them better than by many explanations. He will learn at the same time to value more highly really useful artisans, than the so-called artists, who are so much esteemed by the world. He will esteem more highly a locksmith than a goldsmith; engravers and gilders will be, in his eyes, only idlers, busy in useless amusements; even watchmakers will be of small account with him. He will respect all human labor, and in like manner all productions of nature, in proportion as they contribute more to his necessities, his knowledge, and his comfort. He will value iron more highly than gold, glass than diamonds.

It is not meant that the pupil should become acquainted with every trade, but only that he should know the most necessary ones, and their connection with each other.

Here it appears more clearly what Rousseau means by his question, What is the use? He barbarously only values what is necessary for human subsistence, to a life as nearly as possible to that of a beast. Watchmakers would be of but little account with him; he does not even mention the higher arts, the fine arts, so useless do they seem to him.

#### 41. *Equality. Revolution. Learning and Trade.*

Your education of men should be adapted to what they are in themselves; not to any thing external. By training him exclusively for one condition, you make him unfit for any other, and unfortunate, if his situation should ever change. How ridiculous is a great lord who has become a beggar, and who holds in his misery to the prejudices of his birth; how contemptible the rich man become poor, who feels himself completely degraded!

You acquiesce in the social order of the present, without considering that this order is subject to unavoidable changes; and that it is impossible for you to foresee or to prevent the revolution which may come upon your children. The great will become small, the rich poor, the monarch a subject. We are approaching a crisis; the century of revolutions. It is impossible that the great monarchies of Europe can last long. And who can say what shall then happen to you? What men have made, men can destroy; only the character given by nature is indestructible; and nature makes neither princes, nor rich men, nor great lords. What will the satrap do in his debasement, who has been educated only for his high position? What will the farmer-general do, in his poverty, who lives only upon his money? Happy will he be, then, who shall understand how to leave the condition which has left him, and to remain a man in spite of fate. The cultivation of the earth is the best of all employments; yet, when evil times come, the artisan is more independent. Make your son, therefore, learn some respectable trade, the carpenter's for example. This will also serve to cure him of the prejudices against trades. Only beware of nourishing one vanity while you are exerting yourself to oppose another.

The great secret of education is, to manage it so that the training of the mind and body shall serve to assist each other.

Here Rousseau foretells the revolution almost thirty years before its coming. As a great architect outlines the church whose form stands before his mind, before even the corner-stone is laid, so the great master of destruction draws the picture of horrors and dissolution before the soul, before the multitude taught by him put hand to the work.

#### 42. *Impressions upon the Senses. Ideas. Opinions.\**

After the body and senses of the pupil have first been educated, we should train his understanding and his judgment. Lastly, we should teach him to use his brains in the service of his faculties. We have made of him an acting, think-

\* Comp. 32, 17.



ing being; to make him a complete man, we must make him also a living and feeling being, that is, we must supplement reason with his feelings.

As at first the pupil has only sensations, so now he has ideas and forms judgments. By the comparison of several of these, following each other all at the same time, and by a judgment upon them, there results a sort of compound impressions which I call ideas. In simple impressions upon the senses, the judgment is merely passive; it only makes certain of the actuality of the sensations; in perception, or the idea, it is active, placing together, comparing and determining relations which the senses do not determine.

The judgment leads to error, particularly in the case of learned men, whose vain desire to shine by giving opinions outruns their knowledge. Ignorance, which says "What have I to do with it?" is the only safety from error. Thus speak savages and wise men. Our pupil must not speak so; he is a savage, but destined to live in cities.

We learn best to judge by laboring to simplify our experience, and, having acquired experience, by seeking rather to avoid error than a positive knowledge of the truth; and by rather confessing ignorance, than by endeavoring to explain any thing insufficiently.

#### 43. *Emile in his Fifteenth Year.*

Being obliged to learn by means of himself, he uses his own understanding, not that of other men; and yields nothing to authority. For most of our errors come less from ourselves than from others. By this continual practice, his mind has acquired a strength like that which is given to the body by labor and hardship. For the same reason his powers develop themselves only in proportion to his growth. He remembers only what has commended itself to his understanding. Thus he has little knowledge, but no half-knowledge. He knows that his knowledge is not great; his mind is open, decided, and, if not instructed, at least capable of instruction. Of all that he does he knows the use, and of all he believes, the reason. He proceeds slowly, but thoroughly. He possesses only natural knowledge; none of history, and none of mathematics and ethics. He knows little of generalizing and forming abstractions; he observes properties common to many bodies, without reasoning upon the existence of these properties. What is strange to him he values only by its relations to himself, but this valuation is sufficient and certain. What is most useful to him he values most, and cares nothing for opinion.

Emile is laborious, moderate, patient, persevering, and courageous. His fancy, not heated in any way, never magnifies danger; he can endure sorrow with fortitude, for he has not been trained to oppose himself to fate. What death is, he does not rightly know, but, being accustomed to submit without resistance to the laws of necessity, he will die, when he must, without sighing and without pretense. Nature does not require more of us, in that moment, so abhorred by all. To live free, to set the heart as little as possible upon human things, is the surest means of learning to die.

Emile is destitute of the social virtues. He acts without respect to others; and it is right in his eyes that others should have no regard to him. He makes no demands upon others, he thinks himself under no obligation to any one. Standing alone in society, he counts only upon himself, and is capable of more than others at his age. He has no errors or vices, except such as are unavoidable. His body is healthy, his members are disciplined, his understanding correct and without prejudices, his heart free and without passions. Self-esteem, first and most natural of all the passions, has scarcely awakened in him. Without destroying the peace of any one, he has lived as peacefully, happily, and freely as nature will permit. Do you find that the child, thus educated to his fifteenth year, has wasted his earliest years?

Rousseau asks this question as if he were sure of his answer. What I have already said of Emile at twelve is still truer of him at fifteen. We freeze at the character of the cold boy, who has by the skill of his tutor been brought to such an independence that he asks neither about God or man, feels no need of love, has no feeling for

poetry. A superficial understanding of the material world, and the bodily activity of a savage, are the highest of his attainments. A real ethical idea is out of the question, where love, the heart of all the virtues, is wanting. Only the earthly being is considered; death brings this pedagogical masterpiece to an end; and Emile endures this with the resignation of a wild beast.

FOURTH BOOK. EMILE FROM HIS FIFTEENTH YEAR TO HIS MARRIAGE.

44. *Puberty. Selfishness. Self-esteem. Innocence.*

The age of puberty now comes, and with it spring up passions whose source is selfishness. This impels every one to care for his own profit. What is useful to us we seek for that reason; what desires to serve us, we love; what hurts us we flee from; and what seeks to harm us, we hate. A child is benevolent at first, because all who are around him wait on him. But, as the circle of his acquaintance enlarges, the feeling of his relations to others grows up, he compares himself with them, and his selfishness changes into self-esteem, which lifts him above others, and requires them to hold him higher than themselves. Heat and anger spring from self-esteem. It is true that children, since they can never live alone, can live together only with difficulty. From selfishness, changed into self-esteem, comes, in simple souls, vanity, and in great ones, pride; which spring in the hearts of children only by our fault, and in our pupils even against our will.

The age of puberty is unnaturally hastened; it should be delayed as long as possible. In regard to the relations of the sexes, lies should not be told to children, but care should be taken not to awaken their curiosity upon such subjects; silence should be observed in regard to them; but what can not be hidden from them should be told them.

A child who is not born with a bad nature, and who has kept his innocence to his twentieth year, is at this age the most magnanimous, best, most loving and lovable of men. If you have never heard of this, I can easily believe it; your philosophers, bred up in the deepest depravity of the schools, could not know it.

Emile is now coming into the years when increasing freedom develops his sinful tendencies more freely; and the fig leaves of Rousseau's sophistry are less and less able to cover them. Still he adheres to his principle, that every thing wicked comes, not from the heart, but into the head from others.

45. *Happiness. Love. Sympathy. Gratitude.*

There now follow directions for ethical education; for example, the pupil is to be taught not to take apparent happiness for real and desirable happiness, and not phrases of hypocritical pretenses of love and sympathy, but to exercise real sympathy. Ingratitude is not natural to men, but is caused by such benefactors as seek their own advantage.

46. *Knowledge of Men.*

As self-esteem grows in Emile, he compares himself with his equals and endeavors to hold the highest place among them. Now is the time to instruct him in the social relations, and in the natural and civic inequality of men. He should know men in and under the masks of society, should mourn over them, but not learn to aid them. Emile knows that men are by nature good, but understands that they have become bad and depraved by means of society; in their prejudices he sees the source of all their vices; and feels himself impelled to value each single one of them, but to despise them collectively.

47. *The Study of History.*

It is now time to introduce Emile to history. Unfortunately, historical writers relate only bad things, and the good remain unknown; they misrepresent facts, do not follow the connection of cause and effect, and give their own judgments instead of leaving this to the reader. Away with the modern historians! Their works have no character; and they look upon all the men of the present day as exactly alike. Especially useless are the systematic historians; who will not see things as they are, but only as they fit into their system. Others exhibit men only as they appear in the state; and not at all as they appear at home. Of all the ancient historians, Plutarch is far the best for youth, in particular because he does not despise relating the apparently trifling traits of eminent men.

48. *Emile upon the Theatre of the World. Presumption.*

Emile now for the first time appears upon the theatre of the world; or rather he stands behind the scenes, sees the players dress and undress themselves; and by what coarse means the spectators are deceived. It will elevate him to see how the human race makes sport of itself. Educated in entire freedom, he will sorrow over the misery of kings, those slaves of all those who obey them; false wise men, in the chains of their vain honors; rich fools, the martyrs to their own luxury. He will be in danger of thinking himself wise, and all others fools; and only mortifying experience can protect him from such vanity.

Pedagogy disappears more and more. The natural man, Emile, turns into the revolutionary misanthrope; he is Rousseau himself, under the name of Emile.

49. *Emile a Natural Man.*

I shall be thought a visionary, and Emile a phantasy, because he is so different from ordinary youths. It is overlooked that he is a natural man, but that other youths are brought up according to the notions of men.

Others, at Emile's age, are already philosophers and theologians; while he does not know yet what philosophy is, and even has not yet heard God spoken of.

I am no visionary; my pedagogy is based upon experience; since without regard to rank, nation, &c., I have found what is proper to all men, and have educated Emile according to that; not as a savage for the woods, but as a man who will have to maintain himself independent in the whirlpool of society.

50. *Religious Instruction.*

We are brought up in close connection with the natural world; and for the abstract, the purely intellectual, we have scarcely any comprehension. God withdraws our senses from themselves; the word mind has a meaning only for the philosophers. Monotheism has come, by a process of generalization, from material polytheism.

In his fifteenth year, Emile does not yet know that he has a soul; and perhaps he will find it out too early in his eighteenth.

After this follows an argument against catechetical instruction. The faith of children and of many grown persons is a matter of geography; it depends merely upon whether they were born in Rome or in Mecca. Does salvation depend upon that?

A child, it is said, must be brought up in the religion of his father; and he must be taught that this alone is true; and that others are absurd. But if the power of this instruction extends only so far as the country in which it is given, and depends only upon authority, for which Emile has been taught to have no regard, what then? In what religion shall we educate him? To this there is only the simple answer, in none; we will only put him in a condition to choose for himself, that to which the best use of his own reason may bring him.



In this connection, we will introduce an extract from one of the numerous episodes with which the book abounds, that of the *Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Curate*, in which a comparison is made between Christ and Socrates:—

I confess to you that the majesty of the whole Scriptures puts me in astonishment. The sanctity of Gospel speaks to my heart. By its side, how little do the books of the philosophers appear, with all their magnificence! And is it possible that a book at once so lofty and simple can be the work of man? Is it possible that he, whose history is contained in it, was only a man? Are his words those of an enthusiast, or of the ambitious founder of a sect? What mildness, what purity in his morals! What elevation in his maxims! What profound wisdom in his language! What presence of mind, acuteness, and pertinence in his answers! What command of his passions! Where shall we find a man, a wise man even, who has known how to act, to suffer, and to die, without weakness or ostentation? When Plato paints his ideal of an upright man, who is covered with all the shame of guilt, and who deserves praise for every virtue, he draws Jesus Christ, line for line; the similarity is so striking that all the fathers of the church have observed it. What prejudice, what blindness is it to compare the son of Sophroniscus with the son of Mary! How wide a difference is there between them! Socrates, dying without pain, without disgrace, bore his part, without difficulty, to his death; and if this easy death had not given honor to his life, we might doubt whether, with all his intellect, he was any thing more than a sophist. It is said that he founded morals. Others had practiced morals, and his teachings were based upon their examples. Aristides was just before Socrates defined justice; Leonidas died for his country, before Socrates defined patriotism to be a duty. Before he defined virtue, Greece had had a multitude of virtuous men. But where had Jesus found, among his own people, that lofty and pure morality which he alone practiced and taught? From the bosom of the most raging fanaticism was this highest of all wisdom developed; and the simplicity of the most heroic virtue reflected honor upon the most despised of all nations. The death of Socrates, who died peacefully philosophizing among his friends, is the easiest which could be desired; but that of Christ, in tortures, reviled, despised, accursed by a whole people, is the most terrible and fearful. Socrates, as he took the cup of poison, blessed the weeping man who handed it to him; Jesus, amidst the most horrible tortures, prayed for his enraged and hostile executioners. If the life and death of Socrates were those of a wise man, the life and death of Christ were those of a God. Shall we say that the history of evangelists is an arbitrary invention? No, it is not so; the actions of Socrates, of which no one doubts, are less authentic than those of Christ.

If this extract were to be taken, apart from its connection, it could only be believed that one who loved and revered Christ from his heart, could have written it. But before and after this passage stands the most wanton mockery of Christianity,—the very passages which subjected him and his book to the condemnation of the Parliament of Paris, which, on the 9th of June, 1762, sentenced the book to be torn to pieces and burned, the author to be imprisoned, and his property to be confiscated. The same fate awaited it in Geneva.

In his fifth book, he describes Sophie, as the model of a maiden. The tutor contrives the marriage of Emile and Sophie. When Emile becomes a father, he dismisses the tutor with the words, "God forbid that I should permit you to educate my son after you have educated his father; that a duty so holy and sweet should be performed by any other than myself."

Locke says, in his pedagogical work, "When my pupil is at an age to marry, it is time to leave him to himself." "As for me," says Rousseau, "I should beware how I imitated Locke in this." So Emile is unnaturally betutored until he becomes a father. The marriage thus planned and brought about by the tutor has a miserable end. Sophie is untrue to Emile, who gives himself up to despair, and at last falls into slavery in Algiers.\*

According to Locke's recommendation I break off here, and the more willingly as the digressions become more and more numerous in the fourth book even, and the pedagogical design is more and more lost sight of.†

The sketch which I have given of Emile will be made clearer by regarding it as a book at once instructive and corrupting. Surrounded by civilization, overwhelmed with corruption, the misanthrope fell upon many instructive notions, by merely reversing what was generally received. But hate will not bring truth into existence, even from the basis of the deepest degradation of a people. It is only love which can do this; it is love alone which can cure it. Rousseau is corrupting, because he mingles truth and falsehood, good and evil, in the most cunning manner; so that good and bad are to be distinguished only by an exceedingly watchful and critical reader. I close with repeating my wish, that the preceding sketch, and the subjoined remarks, may assist the reader in such a critical separation.

#### ROUSSEAU AND PESTALOZZI.

A comparison between the two men repeatedly suggests itself. How noble, pure, and true is Pestalozzi's letter‡ to Anna Schulthess, and how completely is it the opposite of Rousseau's understanding with Thérèse Levasseur!

In 1819, I published a dialogue entitled "*The Progressives*," (*Die Neuerer*.) This also ended with a comparison of the French Swiss and the German Swiss.

One of the speakers in this says: "Do not take me for so bigoted an admirer and repeater of Rousseau, as to have hoped for every thing good from him. Nothing is further from the truth. I can not, however, but wonder at him, when I compare him with his French and European coteremporaries, to observe how in him the force of nature, which had been choked by an elaborately unnatural system, burst forth, and awakened the degraded conscience of the day. In

\* In a fragment entitled "*Emile et Sophie on les solitaires*," this is related by Rousseau, who intends thus to show how a man educated upon his principles will remain unconquered in the most miserable condition.

† There are, however, some valuable remarks in this book; as upon the chastity of the Bible language, and unchastity of French; upon the extravagant life of power, vanity, &c.

‡ Life of Pestalozzi. Am. Jour. of Ed. Vol. III., p. 407.

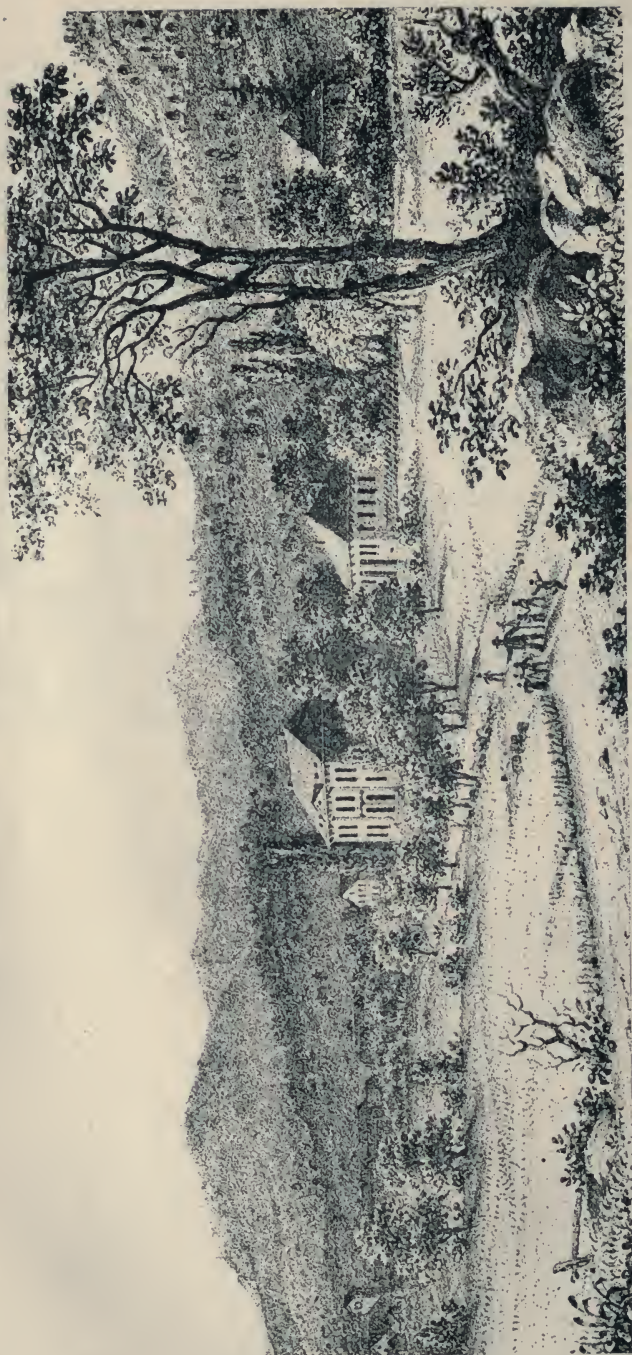
him, that age confessed itself; as a worn out and repentant harlot washes off her paint, lays aside her false hair, and shudderingly looks upon her naked hideousness in the glass. In full consciousness of his errors and sins, he stands burdened with the curse of the age; and powerless to renew his life in freshness and holiness."

From the blinding fiery column of the French volcano, which served the German mariners as a beacon, but devastated its own country, we gladly turn to the mild star which rose over Germany, of Pestalozzi. Despairing misanthropy inspired Rousseau, and, in truth, such an age, and in such circumstances, he was little blamable for it. His leading idea was, that if he rejected every thing received by his age, and adopted its opposite, he would reach the truth. And so evil were the times, that, by following this malevolent impulse, he produced many excellent ideas.

Pestalozzi, however, was inspired by love of humanity, and by a desire to benefit the poor; not by a war with the rich, but by educating them. And, although he unostentatiously turned away from the overrefinement of his age, and, in evangelical imitation of Christ, went to the neglected poor, yet God blessed the purity of his aspirations, and granted him more than he asked; the joyful expectation of a great future, and to plant, by his writings and his wisdom, the seeds of never-ending development.







NEUHOF, NEAR BIRR

## THE LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF PESTALOZZI.

BY CARL VON RAUMER,\*

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JOHN HENRY PESTALOZZI was born at Zurich on the 12th of January, 1746. His father was a medical practitioner; his mother, whose maiden name was Hotze, was a native of Wädenschwyl on the Lake of Zurich, and first cousin to the Austrian general Hotze, who fell at Schännis in 1799.

The father died prematurely, when Pestalozzi was only six years old; from this time forward, therefore, "every thing was wanting, in the influences around him, which a manly education of the faculties so urgently requires at that age." "I was brought up," he relates, "by the hand of the best of mothers like a spoilt darling, such that you will not easily find a greater. From one year to another I never left the domestic hearth; in short, all the essential means and inducements to the development of manly vigor, manly experience, manly ways of thinking, and manly exercises, were just as much wanting to me, as, from the peculiarity and weakness of my temperament, I especially needed them."

This peculiarity, according to Pestalozzi's own statement, was, that with the most sensitive feelings and the liveliest imagination, he was deficient in the power of sustained attention, in reflection, circumspection, and foresight.

His mother devoted herself wholly to the education of her three children, in which she was assisted by a faithful servant girl from the country, of the name of Babeli. Pestalozzi's father, on his death-bed, sent for this girl. "Babeli," said he, "for the sake of God and mercy, do not leave my wife; when I am dead, she will be forlorn, and my children will fall into strange and cruel hands." "I will not leave your wife when you die," replied Babeli; "I will remain with her till death, if she has need of me." Her words pacified the dying father; she kept her promise, and remained till her death with the

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\* In this article we follow literally, but with occasional abridgments, the translation of Prof. J. Tilleard, originally published in the Educational Expositor for 1832-3, and afterward collected in a volume of 80 pages, by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London: 1855.

mother. "Her great fidelity," Pestalozzi says, "was the result of her strong, simple, and pious faith." As the mother was in very straitened circumstances, Babeli economized wherever she could; she even restrained the children when they wanted to go into the street, or to any place where they had no business to go, with the words, "why will you needlessly wear out your shoes and clothes? See how much your mother denies herself, in order to be able to give you an education; how for weeks and months together she never goes out any where, but saves every farthing for your schooling." Nevertheless, the mother was liberal in those expenses which respectability requires, nor did she let the children be without handsome Sunday clothes. These, however, they were allowed to wear but seldom, and they had to take them off again as soon as they came home.

"I saw the world," says Pestalozzi, "only within the narrow limits of my mother's parlor, and within the equally narrow limits of my school-room; to real human life I was almost as great a stranger, as if I did not live in the world in which I dwelt."

Pestalozzi's grandfather on the mother's side was minister at Hönegg, a village three miles from Zurich. With him Pestalozzi spent several months every year, from the time when he was nine years old. The old man conscientiously cared for the souls of his flock, and thereby exercised a great influence upon the village school; his piety made a deep and lasting impression on his grandson.

Of his early school days, Pestalozzi relates the following:—

"In all boys' games, I was the most clumsy and helpless among all my school fellows, and nevertheless, in a certain way, I always wanted to excel the others. This caused some of them very frequently to pass their jokes upon me. One of them gave me the nickname 'Harry Whimsical of Foolstown.' Most of them, however, liked my good natured and obliging disposition; though they knew my general clumsiness and awkwardness, as well as my carelessness and thoughtlessness in everything that did not particularly interest me.

"Accordingly, although one of the best pupils, I nevertheless committed, with incomprehensible thoughtlessness, faults of which not even the worst of them was ever guilty. While I generally seized with quickness and accuracy upon the essential matter of the subjects of instruction, I was generally very indifferent and thoughtless as to the forms in which it was given. At the same time that I was far behind my fellow scholars in some parts of a subject, in other parts of the same subject I often surpassed them in an unusual



degree. This is so true, that once, when one of my professors, who had a very good knowledge of Greek, but not the least elquence of tyle, translated and published some orations of Demosthenes, I had the boldness, with the limited school rudiments which I then possessed, to translate one of these orations myself, and to give it in, at the examination, as a specimen of my progress in this branch of study. A portion of this translation was printed in the Linden Journal, in connection with an article entitled 'Agis.' Just in the same manner as I made incomparably more progress in certain parts of my subjects of instruction than in others, so generally it was of far more importance to me to be sensibly affected by, (I dare not say to understand thoroughly,) the branches of knowledge which I was to learn, than to exercise myself in the means of practicing them. At the same time, the *wish* to be acquainted with some branches of knowledge that took hold on my heart and my imagination, even though I neglected the means of acquiring them, was nevertheless enthusiastically alive within me; and unfortunately, the tone of public instruction in my native town at this period was in a high degree calculated to foster this visionary fancy of taking an active interest in, and believing one's self capable of, the practice of things in which one had by no means had sufficient exercise, and this fancy was very prevalent among the youth of my native town generally." What a foreshadowing is Pestalozzi's childhood of the whole of his subsequent career!

Among Pestalozzi's teachers, there were three who exercised an influence upon him in his youth,—Bodmer, Breitinger, and Steinbrüchel. Bodmer was Professor of History from 1725 to 1775; he is known by his literary controversies with Gottsched and Lessing, his edition of the Minniesingers, and his epic poem upon the Deluge. Breitinger, Professor of Greek and Hebrew from 1731 to 1776, edited the Septuagint. Steinbrüchel is described as a witty and learned man, but very much inclined to infidel "illumination." "Independence, freedom, beneficence, self-sacrifice, and patriotism, were the watchwords of our public education," says Pestalozzi. "But the means of attaining all this which was particularly commended to us—mental distinction—was left without solid and sufficient training of the practical ability which is its essential condition. We were taught, in a visionary manner, to seek for independence in an abstract acquaintance with truth, without being made to feel strongly what was essentially necessary to the security both of our inward and of our outward domestic and civil independence. The tone of the instruction which we received, led us, with much vivacity and many attractive representations, to be so short-sighted and inconsiderate as,

to set little value upon, and almost to despise, the external means of wealth, honor, and consideration. This was carried to such a length, that we imagined, while we were yet in the condition of boys, that, by a superficial school acquaintance with the great civil life of Greece and Rome, we could eminently prepare ourselves for the little civil life in one of the Swiss cantons."

Pestalozzi further relates, that the appearance of the writings of Rousseau was a great means of keeping alive the errors into which the noble flight of true and patriotic sentiment had led the more distinguished of the young Swiss. "They had run," he says, "into one-sided, rash, and confused notions, into which Voltaire's seductive infidelity, being opposed to the pure holiness of religion, and to its simplicity and innocence, had helped to lead them. Out of all this," he tells us, "a new tendency was produced, which was totally inconsistent with the real welfare of our native town, constituted as it was according to the old-fashioned style of the imperial free cities, which was neither calculated to preserve what was good in the old institutions, nor to introduce any that were substantially better."

At this time, Pestalozzi's contemporary, Lavater, founded a league which Pestalozzi joined, being then a lad of fifteen. The young men who formed this league, with Lavater at their head, brought a public charge of injustice against Grebel, the governor of the canton, impeached the character of Brunner, the mayor of Zurich, and declared war against unworthy ministers of religion.

"The moment Rousseau's *Emile* appeared," says Pestalozzi, "my visionary and highly speculative mind was enthusiastically seized by this visionary and highly speculative book. I compared the education which I enjoyed in the corner of my mother's parlor, and also in the school which I frequented, with what Rousseau demanded for the education of his *Emilus*. The home as well as the public education of the whole world, and of all ranks of society, appeared to me altogether as a crippled thing, which was to find a universal remedy for its present pitiful condition in Rousseau's lofty ideas.

"The ideal system of liberty, also, to which Rousseau imparted fresh animation, increased in me the visionary desire for a more extended sphere of activity, in which I might promote the welfare and happiness of the people. Juvenile ideas as to what it was necessary and possible to do in this respect in my native town, induced me to abandon the clerical profession, to which I had formerly leaned, and for which I had been destined, and caused the thought to spring up within me, that it might be possible, by the study of the law, to find a career that would be likely to procure for me, sooner or later, the

opportunity and means of exercising an active influence on the civil condition of my native town, and even of my native land."

There was at this time a great controversy in the canton of Zurich, particularly between the town and the country. Pestalozzi had already as a boy, when living with his grandfather, the village pastor, won the affection of the people of the country, and might early have heard the complaint of the country clergy, *omne malum ex urbe*,—"all harm comes from the town." A fierce hatred toward the aristocracy who oppressed the country people was kindled in his young heart, and even in old age it was not altogether extinguished. This warmth of anger coëxisted in him with great warmth of love for the people; Göthe's saying—

" Youth's wings should trim themselves for flight  
Ere youthful strength be gone,  
Thro' hate of wrong and love of right  
To bear him bravely on—"

characterizes not only the young Pestalozzi, but also the old man; it characterizes most of his writings.

He was seconded at this time by a friend of the name of Blunt-schli, but a pulmonary complaint laid this young man upon his death-bed. He sent for Pestalozzi, and said to him, "I die, and when you are left to yourself, you must not plunge into any career which from your good natured and confiding disposition, might become dangerous to you. Seek for a quiet, tranquil career; and unless you have at your side a man who will faithfully assist you with a calm, dispassionate knowledge of men and things, by no means embark in any extensive undertaking whose failure would in any way be perilous to you." An opinion of Pestalozzi's character which was strikingly confirmed by almost every subsequent event of his life.

Soon after his friend's death, Pestalozzi himself became dangerously ill, probably in consequence of his overstrained exertion in the pursuit of his legal and historical studies. His physicians advised him to give up scientific pursuits for a time, and to recreate himself in the country. This advice, which was strengthened by Rousseau's anti-scientific diatribes, Pestalozzi followed too faithfully. He renounced the study of books, burnt his manuscripts, went to his maternal relation, Dr. Hotze at Richterswyl, and from thence to Kirchberg, in the canton of Bern, to Tschiffeli, a farmer of considerable reputation. From him Pestalozzi sought advice as to how he might best realize his plans for the country people. "I had come to him," says Pestalozzi, "a political visionary, though with many profound and correct attainments, views, and prospects in political matters; and I went



away from him just as great an agricultural visionary, though with many enlarged and correct ideas and intentions in regard to agriculture. My stay with him only had this effect—that the gigantic views in relation to my exertions were awakened within me afresh by his agricultural plans, which, though difficult of execution, and in part impracticable, were bold and extensive; and that, at the same time, they caused me, in my thoughtlessness as to the means of carrying them out, to fall into a callousness, the consequences of which contributed in a decisive manner to the pecuniary embarrassment into which I was plunged in the very first years of my rural life.”

Tschiffeli's plantations of madder were exciting great attention at that time, and induced Pestalozzi to make a similar experiment. He learnt that near the village of Birr there was a large tract of barren chalky heath-land to be sold, which was only used for a sheep-walk. He joined a rich mercantile firm in Zurich, and bought about 100 acres of this land, at the nominal price of ten florins. A builder erected for him, on the land he had purchased, a dwelling house in the Italian style; Pestalozzi himself calls this an injudicious and imprudent step. To the whole estate he gave the name of Neuhof.

Among the friends of Pestalozzi's youth, was Schulthess, (the son of a wealthy merchant in Zurich,) for whose beautiful sister, Anna Schulthess, Pestalozzi entertained an affection. A letter which he wrote to the beautiful maiden, gives us a profound insight into the workings of his heart, and even into his future life. In this letter he lays before her his hopes and resolutions, and also, with the utmost candor and with great self-knowledge, his faults. He thus writes:—

“MY DEAR, MY ONLY FRIEND.

“Our whole future life, our whole happiness, our duties toward our country and our posterity, and the security of virtue, call upon us to follow the only correct guide in our actions—Truth. I will, with all candor, made known to you the serious reflection I have had in these solemn days upon the relation subsisting between us; I am happy that I know before-hand, that my friend will find more true love in the calm truth of this contemplation, which so intimately concerns our happiness, than in the ardor of pleasant, but often not too wise, outpourings of a feeling heart, which I now with difficulty restrain.

“Dear friend, first of all I must tell you that in future I shall but seldom dare to approach you. I have already come too frequently and too imprudently to your brother's house; I see that it becomes my duty to limit my visits to you; I have not the slightest ability to conceal my feelings. My sole art in this respect consists in fleeing from those who observe them; I should not be able to be in company



with you for even half an evening, without its being possible for a moderately acute observer to perceive that I was in a disturbed state of mind. We know each other sufficiently, dear, to be able to rely upon mutual straightforward honesty and sincerity. I propose to you a correspondence in which we shall make our undisguised thoughts known to each other with all the freedom of oral conversation. Yes, I will open myself fully and freely to you; I will even now with the greatest candor, let you look as deep into my heart as I am myself able to penetrate; I will show you my views in the light of my present and future condition, as clearly as I see them myself.

“Dearest Schulthess, those of my faults which appear to me the most important in relation to the situation in which I may be placed in after-life, are improvidence, incautiousness, and a want of presence of mind to meet unexpected changes in my future prospects, whenever they may occur. I know not how far they may be diminished by my efforts to counteract them, by calm judgment and experience. At present, I have them still in such a degree, that I dare not conceal them from the maiden whom I love; they are faults, my dear, which deserve your fullest consideration. I have other faults, arising from my irritability and sensitiveness, which oftentimes will not submit to my judgment. I very frequently allow myself to run into excesses in praising and blaming, in my likings and dislikings; I cleave so strongly to many things which I possess, that the force with which I feel myself bound to them often exceeds the limits which reason assigns; whenever my country or my friend is unhappy, I am myself unhappy. Direct your whole attention to this weakness; there will be times when the cheerfulness and tranquillity of my soul will suffer under it. If even it does not hinder me in the discharge of my duties, yet I shall scarcely ever be great enough to fulfill them, in such adverse circumstances, with the cheerfulness and tranquillity of a wise man, who is ever true to himself. Of my great, and indeed very reprehensible negligence in all matters of etiquette, and generally in all matters which are not in themselves of importance, I need not speak; any one may see them at first sight of me. I also owe you the open confession, my dear, that I shall always consider my duties toward my beloved partner subordinate to my duties toward my country; and that, although I shall be the tenderest husband, nevertheless I hold it to be my duty to be inexorable to the tears of my wife, if she should ever attempt to restrain me by them from the direct performance of my duties as a citizen, whatever this might lead to. My wife shall be the confidant of my heart, the partner of all my most secret counsels. A great and honest simplicity

shall reign in my house. And one thing more. My life will not pass without important and very critical undertakings. I shall not forget the precepts of Menalk, and my first resolutions to devote myself wholly to my country; I shall never from fear of man, refrain from speaking, when I see that the good of my country calls upon me to speak: my whole heart is my country's; I will risk all to alleviate the need and misery of my fellow countrymen. What consequences may the undertakings to which I feel myself urged on, draw after them; how unequal to them am I; and how imperative is my duty to show you the possibility of the great dangers which they may bring upon me!

"My dear, my beloved friend, I have now spoken candidly of my character and my aspirations. Reflect upon every thing. If the traits which it was my duty to mention, diminish your respect for me, you will still esteem my sincerity, and you will not think less highly of me, that I did not take advantage of your want of acquaintance with my character, for the attainment of my inmost wishes. Decide now whether you can give your heart to a man with these faults and in such a condition, and be happy.

"My dear friend, I love you so truly from my heart, and with such fervor, that this step has cost me much; I fear to lose you, dear, when you see me as I am; I had often determined to be silent; at last I have conquered myself. My conscience called loudly to me, that I should be a seducer and not a lover, if I were to hide from my beloved a trait of my heart, or a circumstance, which might one day disgust her and render her unhappy; I now rejoice at what I have done. If the circumstances into which duty and country shall call me, set a limit to my efforts and my hopes, still I shall not have been base-minded, not vicious; I have not sought to please you in a mask, —I have not deceived you with chimerical hopes of a happiness that is not to be looked for; I have concealed from you no danger and no sorrow of the future; I have nothing to reproach myself with."

It was in the year 1767 that Pestalozzi removed to Neuhof. On the 24th of January, 1769, two years later, he married Anna Schulthess, being then only twenty-four years old. It was not long before troubles came upon the young married couple. The madder plantation did not prosper; an assistant whom Pestalozzi had engaged, caused himself to be hated by every body; the Zurich firm, which had advanced money to Pestalozzi, sent two competent judges to examine into the condition of the estate—both of them reported so unfavorably upon it, especially upon the buildings, that the firm preferred taking back their capital with loss, to trusting it any longer in Pestalozzi's

hands. "The cause of the failure of my undertaking," says he, "lay essentially and exclusively in myself, and in my pronounced incapacity for every kind of undertaking which requires eminent practical ability."

Notwithstanding the great distress into which he fell, he resolved not only to go on with farming, but to combine with it a school for poor children. "I wished," says he, "to make my estate a centre for my educational and agricultural labors. In spite of all difficulties, I wanted, like a visionary, to reach the highest point in every respect, at the same time that I lacked the faculties, abilities, and skill, from which alone can proceed a proper attention to the first and humblest beginnings and preparatory steps to the great things which I sought after. So great, so unspeakably great, in consequence of the peculiarity of my mind, was the contrast between what I wished to do and what I did and was able to do, which arose from the disproportion between my good natured zeal, on the one side, and my mental impotency and unskillfulness in the affairs of life on the other."

By mental impotency, we must understand only a want of schooling or intellectual disciplining of the mind, for just at this time Pestalozzi's literary talent made itself known. He came forward with a plan for the establishment of the Poor School. His views and principles met with so much approbation in an economical point of view, in spite of the want of confidence, in his practical ability, that he received offers of assistance from Zurich, Bern, and Basel, and many poor children were sent to him.

Thus began the Neuhof Poor School in the year 1775; it had soon fifty pupils. In the summer, the children were to be chiefly employed in field-work,—in winter, with spinning and other handicrafts. During the time that they were engaged in the handicrafts, Pestalozzi gave them instruction; exercises in speaking were predominant.

But no long time elapsed before the establishment declined; to which result many things contributed. The children, who were to earn their support by their work, were, although beggar children, spoilt and full of demands. Their parents, who every Sunday besieged Neuhof, confirmed them in this, and also ran off with them as soon as they had got new clothes. None of the authorities protected Pestalozzi against this misconduct, from which the farming suffered a great deal. "But these difficulties," says Pestalozzi, "might gradually have been more or less overcome, if I had not sought to carry out my experiment on a scale that was quite disproportioned to my strength, and had not, with almost incredible thoughtlessness, wanted to convert it, in the very beginning, into an undertaking which pre-



supposed a thorough knowledge of manufactures, men, and business, in which I was deficient in the same proportion as they were rendered necessary to me by the direction which I now gave my undertaking. I, who so much disapproved of the hurrying to the higher stages of instruction, before a thorough foundation had been laid in the elementary steps of the lower stages, and looked upon it as the fundamental error in the education of the day, and who also believed that I was myself endeavoring with all my might to counteract it in my plan of education, allowed myself to be carried away by illusions of the greater remunerativeness of the higher branches of industry, without knowing even remotely either them or the means of learning and introducing them, and to commit the very faults in teaching my school children spinning and weaving which, as I have just said, I so strongly reprobated and denounced in the whole of my views on education, and which I considered dangerous to the domestic happiness of all classes. I wanted to have the finest thread spun, before my children had gained any steadiness or sureness of hand in spinning even the coarser kinds, and, in like manner to, make muslin fabrics, before my weavers had acquired sufficient steadiness and readiness in the weaving of common cotton goods. Practiced and skillful manufacturers ruin themselves by such preposterous conduct,—how much more certain to be ruined by such conduct was I, who was so blind in the discernment of what was necessary to success, that I must distinctly say, that whoever took but a thread of mine into his hand was at once in a position to cause half of its value to vanish for me! Before I was aware of it, too, I was deeply involved in debt, and the greater part of my dear wife's property and expectations had in an instant, as it were, gone up in smoke. Our misfortune was decided. I was now poor. The extent and rapidity of my misfortune was owing to this among other causes—that, in this undertaking, as in the first, I readily, very readily, received an unquestioning confidence. My plan soon met with a degree of confidence which an attentive consideration of my former conduct would have shown that which I did not merit in the present undertaking. After all the experience they had had of my errors in this respect, people still did not think the extent of my incapacity for everything practical was so great as it really was. I even yet enjoyed for a while, to all appearance, an extensive confidence. But when my experiment went rapidly to wreck, as it necessarily did, this feeling changed, in my neighborhood, into just as inconsiderate a degree of the contrary, into a totally blind abandonment of even the last shadow of respect for my endeavors, and of belief in my fitness for the accomplishment of any part of them. It is the course



of the world, and it happened to me as it happens to every one who thus becomes poor through his own fault. Such a man generally loses, together with his money, the belief and the confidence in what he really is and is able to do. The belief in the qualifications which I really had for attaining my objects was now lost, along with the belief in those which, erring in my self-deception, I gave myself credit for, but which I really had not."

Thus it happened, that in the year 1780, Pestalozzi was obliged to break up the establishment at Neuhof, after it had been five years in operation. His situation was frightful. Frequently in his only too elegant country house he wanted money, bread, fuel, in order to protect himself against hunger and cold. His faithful wife, who had pledged nearly the whole of her property for him, fell into a severe and tedious illness. "My friends," relates Pestalozzi, "now only loved me without hope; in the whole circuit of the surrounding district it was every where said that I was a lost man, that nothing more could be done for me."

The breaking up of the establishment at Neuhof was a fortunate thing for Pestalozzi—and for the world. He was no longer to fritter away his strength in efforts to which he was not equal. And, nevertheless, his severe mental and physical labor was not to have been in vain, but was to bear precious fruits. As the first of these fruits, there appeared in 1780 a paper of his, brief but full of meaning, in Iselin's Ephemerides, under the title, *The Evening Hour of a Hermit*. It contains a series of aphorisms, which nevertheless are cast in one mould, and stand among one another in the closest connection. Fruits of the past years of Pestalozzi's life, they are at the same time seeds of the following years, programme and key to his educational labors. "Iselin's Ephemerides," he writes in 1801, alluding to this *Evening Hour*, "bear witness, that the dream of my wishes is not more comprehensive now, than it was when at that time I sought to realize it."

It is scarcely possible to make a selection from these concise and thought-teeming aphorisms, the more so because they form, as I have said, a beautiful and ingenious whole, which suffers in the selection. Nevertheless, I will run the risk of selecting some of the principal thoughts.

The paper begins with melancholy seriousness. "Pastors and teachers of the nations, know you man; is it with you a matter of conscience to understand his nature and destiny?"

"All mankind are in their nature alike, they have but *one* path to contentment. The natural faculties of each one are to be perfected

into pure human wisdom. This general education of man must serve as the foundation to every education of a particular rank.

"The faculties grow by exercise.

"The intellectual powers of children must not be urged on to remote distances before they have acquired strength by exercise in things near them.

"The circle of knowledge commences close around a man, and from thence stretches out concentrically.

"Real knowledge must take precedence of word-teaching and mere talk.

"All human wisdom is based upon the strength of a good heart, obedient to truth. Knowledge and ambition must be subordinated to inward peace and calm enjoyment.

"As the education for the closest relations precedes the education for more remote ones, so must education in the duties of members of families precede education in the duties of citizens. But nearer than father or mother is God, 'the closest relation of mankind is their relation to Him.'

"Faith in God is 'the confiding, childlike feeling of mankind toward the paternal mind of the Supreme Being.' This faith is not the result and consequence of cultivated wisdom, but is purely an instinct of simplicity; a childlike and obedient mind is not the consequence of a finished education, but the early and first foundation of human culture. Out of the faith in God springs the hope of eternal life. 'Children of God are immortal.'

"Belief in God sanctifies and strengthens the tie between parents and children, between subjects and rulers; unbelief loosens all ties, annihilates all blessings.

"Sin is the source and consequence of unbelief, it is acting contrary to the inward witness of right and wrong, the loss of the childlike mind toward God.

"Freedom is based upon justice, justice upon love, therefore freedom also is based upon love.

"Justice in families, the purest, most productive of blessings, has love for its source.

"Pure childlike feeling is the true source of the freedom that is based upon justice, and pure paternal feeling is the source of all power of governing, that is noble enough to do justice and to love freedom. And the source of justice and of all worldly blessings, the source of the love and brotherly feeling of mankind toward one another, this is based upon the great thought of religion, that we are children of God, and that the belief in this truth is the sure ground

of all worldly blessings. In this great thought of religion lies ever the spirit of all true state policy that seeks only the blessing of the people, for all inward power of morality, enlightenment and worldly wisdom, is based upon this ground of the belief of mankind in God; and ungodliness, misapprehension of the relation of mankind as children to the Supreme Being, is the source which dissolves all the power with which morals, enlightenment, and wisdom, are capable of blessing mankind. Therefore the loss of this childlike feeling of mankind toward God is the greatest misfortune of the world, as it renders impossible all paternal education on the part of God, and the restoration of this lost childlike feeling is the redemption of the lost children of God on earth.

“The Son of God, who with suffering and death has restored to mankind the universally lost feeling of filial love toward God, is the Redeemer of the world, He is the sacrificed Priest of the Lord, He is Mediator between God and sinful mankind. His doctrine is pure justice, educative national philosophy; it is the revelation of God the Father to the lost race of his children.”

Much might be said upon these aphorisms; each is a text for a discourse; indeed, Pestalozzi's life is a paraphrase in facts of these texts. We must accuse human weakness, if the realization of his great anticipations henceforward also turns out but miserably, nay, only too often stands in the most glaring contradiction with them. The plan of an inventive builder, however, retains its value, if ever the builder himself lack the skill to carry out the building according to the plan.

Rousseau's *Emile* appeared eighteen years before Pestalozzi's Evening Hour; in what relation does Rousseau stand to Pestalozzi? In particular points they frequently agree. Like Pestalozzi, Rousseau requires real knowledge and trained skill in the business of life, not an empty display of words, without an insight into the things themselves, and a ready power of acting. Like Pestalozzi, Rousseau also ridicules the plan of giving children a discursive knowledge about things remote, and leaving them in ignorance of the things in their immediate vicinity; he requires, like Pestalozzi, that they should first be at home in this vicinity.

In this manner many other things might be pointed out in which both men agree, arising principally from their common aversion to a baseless, dead talkativeness, without any real intelligence, activity of mind, or readiness of action. But when viewed more closely, how immensely different are the two men in all that is most essential.

Rousseau will not have God named before children; he is of opinion



that long physical and metaphysical study is necessary to enable us to think of God. With Pestalozzi, God is the nearest, the most intimate being to man, the Alpha and Omega of his whole life. Rousseau's God is no paternal God of love, his Emile no child of God. The man who put his children into a foundling hospital, knew nothing of paternal and filial love; still less of rulers as the fathers of the nations, and of the childlike obedience of subjects; his ideal was a cold, heartless freedom, which was not based upon love, but was defensive, isolating, and altogether selfish.

While, therefore, according to Pestalozzi, the belief in God penetrates, strengthens, attunes, sanctifies all the relations of men; while the relations between ruler and subjects, between fathers and children, and the paternal love of God to his children, men, are every where reflected in his paper—with Rousseau there is never any mention of such bonds of love.

A year after the publication of the Evening Hour, namely, in 1781, appeared the first part of that work of Pestalozzi's which established his reputation, which exercised an extensive and wholesome influence at the time, and which will continue to exercise an influence in future. That work is "Leonard and Gertrude: A Book for the People." It was undertaken at a time, when, as he relates, "my old friends looked upon it as almost settled that I should end my days in a workhouse, or in a lunatic asylum." The form was suggested by Marmontel's *Contes moraux*; and he was stimulated to effort, by a few words of encouragement from the bookseller Füssli, of Zurich, or rather of the brother better known as *Fuseli*, the painter. After a few attempts at composition with which he was not satisfied, "the history of Leonard and Gertrude flowed from my pen, I know not how, and developed itself of its own accord, without my having the slightest plan in my head, and even without my thinking of one. In a few weeks, the book stood there, without my knowing exactly how I had done it. I felt its value, but only as a man in his sleep feels the value of some piece of good fortune of which he is just dreaming. "The book appeared, and excited quite a remarkable degree of interest in my own country and throughout the whole of Germany. Nearly all the journals spoke in its praise, and, what is perhaps still more, nearly all the almanacs became full of it; but the most unexpected thing to me was that, immediately after its appearance, the Agricultural Society of Bern awarded me their great gold medal, with a letter of thanks."



Pestalozzi himself has repeatedly spoken of the character and object of Leonard and Gertrude. In the preface to the first edition of the work, he says: "In that which I here relate, and which I have for the most part seen and heard myself in the course of an active life, I have even taken care not once to add my own opinion to what I saw and heard *the people themselves feeling, judging, believing, speaking, and attempting*. And now this will show itself:—If the results of my observation are true, and if I gave them as I received them, and as it is my aim to do, they will find acceptance with all those who themselves have daily before their eyes the things which I relate. If, however, they are incorrect, if they are the work of my imagination and the preaching of my own opinions, they will, like other Sunday sermons, vanish on the Monday." In the preface to the second edition, Pestalozzi gives as the object of the book, "To bring about a better popular education, based upon the true condition of the people and their natural relations." "It was," he says, "my first word to the heart of the poor and destitute in the land. It was my first word to the heart of those who stand in God's stead to the poor and destitute in the land. It was my first word to the mothers in the land, and to the heart which God gave them, to be to theirs what no one on earth can be in their stead."

"I desired nothing, and to-day, (1800,) I desire nothing else, as the object of my life, but the welfare of the people, whom I love, and whom I feel to be miserable as few feel them to be miserable, having with them borne their sufferings as few have borne them."

The remarks which I have cited characterize the soul of Leonard and Gertrude. In the severe years of suffering at Neuhof, Pestalozzi appeared to have wrought and suffered in vain. "To the accomplishment of my purpose," he says, "there stood opposed my entire want of trained practical skill, and a vast disproportion between the extent of my will and the limits of my ability."

He did not work in vain, however; what was denied him on the one side turned out to his advantage on the other. If he lacked all skill in carrying out his ideas, he possessed on the other hand, in the highest degree, the faculty of observing, comprehending, and portraying character. If he was not able to exhibit to the world his ideal realized, it was given to him to infuse the loving desires of his heart into the hearts of others, by means of his talent of poetical delineation. He might hope that men of practical ability would be among the readers of his book, and would be incited by it to realize what he only knew how to picture. He has found such readers. Leonard and Gertrude is in so many hands, that it is almost superfluous to give a selection from the work. Only this The principal

person in it is Gertrude, the wife of Leonard, a good-natured but rather weak man, whose stay and guardian she is. The manner in which she keeps house and instructs and trains her children, is Pestalozzi's ideal. Such house-keeping, such a manner of instructing and training, he desires for all people. Gertrude is consulted even in the management of the village school. Her house-keeping is the bright side of the circumstances depicted; in contrast with her is a terribly dark side, a peasant community in the deepest depravity. It is related of what Arner, the equally benevolent and intelligent lord of the village, does to check the depravity.

Pestalozzi wished to give the people the knowledge and skill needful for them chiefly by means of a good elementary instruction. If this instruction began at the right place, and proceeded properly, what an entirely different race would arise out of the children so instructed, a race made independent by intelligence and skill!

In vain, however, did Pestalozzi look around him for elementary teachers who could and would instruct after his manner and in his spirit. Seminaries, too, were wanting in which such teachers could be trained. Then the thought occurred to him who had grown up in his mother's parlor: "I will place the education of the people in the hands of the mothers; I will transplant it out of the school-room into the parlor." Gertrude was to be the model of mothers. But how are the mothers in the lower classes to be qualified for instructing?—We shall see how Pestalozzi's Compendiums are meant to be an answer to this question, to supply the place of knowledge and teaching talent. The mothers have only to keep strictly to these books in the instruction of their children; if they do this, the mother of the most limited capacity will instruct just as well as the most talented; compendiums and method are to equalize their minds: such was Pestalozzi's ideal, to which I shall afterward come back.

With extreme short-sightedness, the persons in immediate intercourse with Pestalozzi saw in this book of his dearly-bought experience nothing more than a proof that its author was born for novel writing, and would in future be able to earn his bread by it.

Others understood better the value of the book. Karl von Bonstetten entreated Pestalozzi to come and live with him on his estate in Italian Switzerland; the Austrian Minister of Finance, Count Zinzendorf, wished to have him in his neighborhood. Subsequently, he became known, through Count Hohenwart, in Florence, to the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, who was about to give him an appointment, when he was called by the death of Joseph II., to the imperial throne of Germany, and the appointment, was therefore not made.

If it be asked whether he would have been of any use in a post of importance, a word of Lavater's upon this subject may contain the answer. Pestalozzi tells us—"He once said to his wife, 'If I were a prince, I would consult Pestalozzi in every thing that concerns the people and the improvement of their condition; but I would never trust him with a farthing of money.' At another time, he said to myself, 'When I only once see a line of yours without a mistake, I will believe you capable of much, very much, that you would like to do and to be.'"

FOR seventeen years after the publication of *Leonard and Gertrude*, Pestalozzi continued to drag on his needy and depressed existence at Neuhof, where he spent altogether thirty years. Of his outward life during those seventeen years, we learn little else, besides the general fact just stated. It is worthy of mention, that in this period he entered the order of Illuminati, an order which was characterized by infidelity, exaggerated ideas of enlightenment, and destructive but not reconstructive principles, and that he even became eventually the head of the order in Switzerland. He soon discovered his mistake, however, and withdrew from it. "That which is undertaken by associations," he says, "usually falls into the hands of intriguers."

In this period he wrote several books.

In the year 1782, he published "*Christopher and Alice*." He himself relates the origin of this work. People had imbibed from *Leonard and Gertrude* the idea, that all the depravity among the common people proceeded from the subordinate functionaries in the villages. "In *Christopher and Alice*," says Pestalozzi, "I wished to make apparent to the educated public the connection of those causes of popular depravity which are to be found higher in the social scale, but which on this account are also more disguised and concealed, with the naked, undisguised, and unconcealed causes of it, as they are manifested in the villages in the persons of the unworthy functionaries. For this purpose, I made a peasant family read together *Leonard and Gertrude*, and say things about the story of that work, and the persons introduced in it, which I thought might not occur of themselves to everybody's mind."

So says Pestalozzi in the year 1826; but he spoke otherwise in the preface to the book when it first appeared, in 1782. "Reader!" he says, "this book which thou takest into thy hand is an attempt to produce a manual of instruction for the use of the universal school of humanity, the parlor. I wish it to be read in every cottage."



This wish was not accomplished, as we learn from the preface to the second edition, (1824,) which commences thus, "This book has not found its way at all into the hands of the people. In my native land, even in the canton of my native town, and in the very village in which I once lived, it has remained as strange and unknown, as if it had not been in existence."

In the same year, 1782, and the one following, Pestalozzi edited "A Swiss Journal," of which a number appeared every week. In this Journal, he communicated, among other things, memoirs of deceased friends. Thus he wrote the memoirs of Frölich, the pastor of Birr, who had died young. Pestalozzi says of him, "he dedicated himself to the work of the great divine calling, but eternal love dedicated him to the liberty of eternal life." The way in which he speaks of the excellent Iselin, who had died in 1782, is particularly affecting. "I should have perished in the depths into which I had fallen," he says, "if Iselin had not raised me up. Iselin made me feel that I had done something, even in the poor school."

The discourse "on Legislation and Infanticide" also appeared in 1782.

About 1783, Pestalozzi contemplated the establishment of a lunatic asylum and a reformatory institution, and wrote upon the subject; the manuscript, however, was lost.

In the years between 1780 and 1790, in the days of the approaching French revolution, and in the first symptoms of the dangers which its influence on Switzerland might entail,\* he wrote "The Figures to my ABC-Book; they were not published, however, till 1795: a new edition, under the title of "Fables," came out in 1805. They relate principally to the condition of Switzerland at that time.

In the summer of 1792, he went to Germany, at the invitation of his sister in Leipzig, and became acquainted with Göthe, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, and Jacobi; he also visited several normal schools.

In 1798 appeared Pestalozzi's "Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race." He says himself, speaking of this book, "I wrought at it for three long years with incredible toil, chiefly with the view of clearing up my own mind upon the tendency of my favorite notions, and of bringing my natural feelings into harmony with my ideas of civil rights and morality. But this work too is, to me, only another evidence of my inward helplessness, the mere play of my powers of research; my views were

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\*Pestalozzi's words in the preface to the "Figures."



altogether one-sided, while I was without a proportionate degree of control over myself in regard to them, and the work was left void of any adequate effort after practical excellence, which was so necessary for my purpose. The disproportion between my ability and my views only increased the more. The effect of my book upon those by whom I was surrounded was like the effect of all that I did; scarcely any one understood me, and I did not find in my vicinity two men who did not half give me to understand that they looked upon the entire book as so much balderdash."

Pestalozzi here assumes three states of man: an original, instinct-like, innocent, *animal* state of nature, out of which he passes into the social state, (this reminds us of Rosseau;) he works himself out of the social state and raises himself to the moral. The social man is in an unhappy middle condition between animal propensities and moral elevation.

The original animal state of nature can not be pointed to in any one individual man; the innocence of that state ceases with the first cry of the new-born child, and "animal depravity arises from whatever stands opposed to the normal condition of our animal existence." Against this depravity, man seeks for aid in the social state, but finds, it not; it is only the moral will that can save him, "the force of which he opposes to the force of his nature. He *will* fear a God, in order that the animal instincts of his nature shall not degrade him in his inmost soul. He feels what he can do in this respect, and then he makes what he can do the law to himself of what he ought to do. Subjected to this law, *which he imposes upon himself*, he is distinguished from all other creatures with which we are acquainted."

Where and when, for example, did Pestalozzi's man of nature ever exist—an innocent *animal* man, endowed with instinct? \* This character does not apply to Adam in Paradise, who was not an animal, but a lord of the animals, and still less does it apply to any child of Adam. In how simple and sublime a manner, on the

\* Voltaire wrote the following characteristic letter to Rosseau about his discourse, prepared and offered for the prize proposed by the Academy of Dixon, on the origin of the inequality among men, and published in 1775:—"I have received your new book against the human race; and thank you for it. You will please men, to whom you speak the truth, but not make them better. No one could paint in stronger colors the horrors of human society, from which our ignorance and weakness promise themselves so many delights. Never has any one employed so much genius to make us into beasts; when one reads your book, one is seized with a desire to go down on all fours. Nevertheless, as I have left off this habit already more than sixty years, I feel, unfortunately, that it is impossible for me to take to it again, and I leave this natural mode of walking to others who are more worthy of it than you and I. Neither can I take ship, in order to visit the savages of Canada, firstly, because the maladies to which I am condemned, render a European physician necessary to me; then again, because there is at present war in that country, and the examples of our nations has made the savages almost as bad as we are ourselves. I am content to live as a peaceful savage in the lonely district adjoining your native land, &c."

contrary, do the Holy Scriptures comprehend and characterize the whole human race.

Thus we see Pestalozzi but little or not at all engaged in educational undertakings during the eighteen years from 1780 to 1798. His writings too, during this time are mainly of a philosophical and political character, and relate only indirectly to education. But the French revolution introduced a new epoch, for Pestalozzi, as well as for Switzerland.

The revolutionary armies of France pressed into the country, old forms were destroyed, the whole of Switzerland was consolidated into an "inseparable republic," at the head of which stood five directors, after the model of the French directional government of that time. Among these was Legrand, a man of a class that is always becoming more rare. I visited the amiable octogenarian in Steinthal, where formerly, with his friend Oberlin, he had labored for the welfare of the communes. When the conversation turned on the happiness or the education of the people, or on the education of youth generally, the old man became animated with youthful enthusiasm, and tears started to his eyes.

Legrand was a friend of Pestalozzi's; no wonder, seeing that the two men very nearly resembled each other in their way of thinking, as well as in their enthusiastic activity and their unbounded hopefulness. Pestalozzi joined the new republic, while, at the same time, he did all in his power to subdue the jacobinical element in it. He wrote a paper "On the Present Condition and Disposition of Mankind." In this paper, as also in the "Swiss People's Journal," which he edited at the instigation of the government, he pressed upon the attention of the people the necessity of a return to the integrity and piety of their ancestors; the instruction and education of youth, he represented, were the means for attaining this object.

Although, in pointing to an ennobling education of youth, and especially the youth of the people and the poor, as the securest guarantee of a lawfully ordered political condition, he only did that which he could not leave undone; still most people believed that he was speaking and writing thus industriously, merely with the view of procuring for himself an office under the new government, when an opportunity should arise. The government on whom he urged with far too much vehemence the importance of order, justice, and law, actually offered him an appointment, in the hope that he would then be quiet. But what was their astonishment, when, in reply to their inquiry as to what office he would be willing to accept, he said, "I WILL BE A SCHOOLMASTER." But few understood him, only those who,

like himself, were earnestly desirous for the foundation of a truly equitable political condition.

Legrand entered into the idea; and Pestalozzi was already about to open an educational institution in the canton of Argovia, when one of the misfortunes of war intervened. On the 9th of September, 1798, Stanz in Unterwalden was burnt by the French, the entire canton was laid waste, and a multitude of fatherless and motherless children were wandering about destitute and without a shelter. Legrand now called upon Pestalozzi to go to Stanz and undertake the care of the destitute children.

Pestalozzi went; what he experienced he has himself told us.

The convent of the Ursulines there was given up to him; he took up his abode in it, accompanied only by a housekeeper, before it was even put into a fit condition for the reception of children. Gradually he gathered around him as many as eighty poor children, from four to ten years old, some of them orphans, horribly neglected, infected with the itch and scurvy, and covered with vermin. Among ten of them, scarcely one could say the alphabet. He describes the educational experiments which he made with such children, and speaks of these experiments as "a sort of feeler of the pulse of the science which he sought to improve, a venturesome effort." "A person with the use of his eyes," he adds, "would certainly not have ventured it; fortunately, I was blind."

For example, under the most difficult circumstances, he wanted to prove, by actual experiment, that those things in which domestic education possesses advantages must be imitated in public education.

He gave the children no set lessons on religion; being suspected by the Roman Catholic parents, as a Protestant, and at the same time as an adherent of the new government, he did not dare; but whenever the occurrence of daily life presented an opportunity, he would make them the groundwork of inculcating some religious or moral lesson. As he had formerly done at Neuhof, he sought to combine intellectual instruction with manual labor, the establishment for instruction with that for industrial occupations, and to fuse the two into each other. But it became clear to him, that the first stages of intellectual training must be separated from those of industrial training and precede the fusion of the two. It was here in Stanz also that Pestalozzi, for want of other assistants, set children to instruct children, a plan which Lancaster was similarly led to adopt in consequence of the inability of the teacher to instruct the large numbers of children who were placed under his charge.\* Pestalozzi remarks,

\* Lancaster's monitors, *i. e.* children, set to teach and superintend other children. "At that time, (1798)," says Pestalozzi. "nobody had begun to speak of mutual instruction."



without disapprobation, that a feeling of honor was by this means, awakened in the children; a remark which directly contradicts his opinion, that the performance of the duties of the monitor proceeded from a disposition similar to brotherly love.

Another plan, which is now imitated in countless elementary schools, was likewise tried by Pestalozzi at Stanz, namely, that of making a number of children pronounce the same sentences simultaneously, syllable for syllable.\* "The confusion arising from a number of children repeating after me at once," he says, "led me to see the necessity of a measured pace in speaking, and this measured pace heightened the effect of the lesson."

Pestalozzi repeats, in his account of the Stanz institution, what he had brought forward in Leonard and Gertrude. "My aim," he says, "was to carry the simplification of the means of teaching so far, that all the common people might easily be brought to teach their children, and gradually to render the schools almost superfluous for the first elements of instruction. As the mother is the first to nourish her child physically, so also, by the appointment of God, she must be the first to give it spiritual nourishment; I reckon that very great evils have been engendered by sending children too early to school, and by all the artificial means of educating them away from home. The time will come, so soon as we shall have simplified instruction, when every mother will be able to teach, without the help of others, and thereby, at the same time, to go on herself always learning."

I refer the reader to Pestalozzi's own description of his singularly active labors in Stanz, where he was not only the teacher and trainer of eighty children, but, as he says, paymaster, manservant, and almost housemaid, at the same time. In addition to this, sickness broke out among the children, and the parents showed themselves shamelessly ungrateful.

Pestalozzi would have sunk under these efforts had he not been liberated on the 8th of June, 1799, by the French, who, being hard pressed by the Austrians, came to Stanz, and converted one wing of the convent into a military hospital. This induced him to let the children return to their friends, and he went himself up the Gurnigel mountains, to a medicinal spring. Only twenty-two children remained; these, says Mr. Heussler, "were attended to, taught, and trained, if not in Pestalozzi's spirit, still with care and with more order and cleanliness, under the guidance of the reverend Mr. Businger."

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\* The plan of simultaneous reading and speaking had been introduced into the Austrian schools at an earlier period.



"On the Gurnigel," says Pestalozzi, "I enjoyed days of recreation. I required them; it is a wonder that I am still alive. I shall not forget those days, as long as I live: they saved me, but I could not live without my work."

Pestalozzi was much blamed for giving up the Stanz institution, although necessity had compelled him to do so. "People said to my face," he says, "that it was a piece of folly, to believe that, because a man had written something sensible in his thirtieth year, he would therefore be capable of doing something sensible in his fiftieth year. I was said to be brooding over a beautiful dream."

Pestalozzi came down from the Gurnigel; at the advice of Chief Justice Schnell, he went to Burgdorf, the second town in the canton of Bern, where through the influence of well-wishers, Pestalozzi obtained leave to give instruction in the primary schools.\* He had many enemies. The head master of the schools imagined that Pestalozzi wanted to supplant him in his appointment: the report spread that the Heidelberg catechism was in danger: "it was whispered," says Pestalozzi, "that I myself could not write, nor work accounts, nor even read properly. Popular reports are not always entirely destitute of truth," he adds; "it is true that I could not write, nor read, nor work accounts well.

As far as the regulations of the school would allow, Pestalozzi prosecuted here the experiments in elementary instruction which he had begun at Stanz. M. Glayre, a member of the executive council of the canton, to whom he endeavored to explain the tendency of these experiments, made the ominous remark, "You want to render education mechanical." "He hit the nail on the head," says Pestalozzi, "and supplied me with the very expression that indicated the object of my endeavors, and of the means which I employed for attaining it."

Pestalozzi had not been schoolmaster at Burgdorf, quite a year, when he had a pulmonary attack; in consequence of this he gave up the appointment, and a new epoch of his life commenced. M. Fischer, secretary to the Helvetian minister of public instruction, had entertained the idea of founding a normal school in the castle of Burgdorf, but had died before carrying it into execution. With this end in view, he had induced M. Krüsi to come to Burgdorf. Krüsi was a native of Gaiss, in the canton of Appenzell, was schoolmaster there at the early age of eighteen, and had migrated thence in the year 1799, taking with him 28 children. Pestalozzi now proposed

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\* In a school in which children from four to eight years old received instructions in reading and writing, under the general superintendence of a female teacher.

to Krüsi to join him in establishing an educational institution: Krüsi willingly agreed, and through him the coöperation of M. Tobler, who had been for the last five years tutor in a family in Basel, was obtained; through Tobler, that of M. Buss, of Tübingen. With these three assistants, Pestalozzi opened the institution in the winter of 1800.

It was in Burgdorf that Pestalozzi commenced a work which, with the "Evening Hour," and "Leonard and Gertrude," stands out conspicuously amongst his writings. It was commenced on the 1st of January, 1801.

It bears the queer title, "How Gertrude teaches her children: an attempt to give Directions to Mothers how to instruct their own Children." The reader must not be misled by the title; the book contains any thing but directions for mothers."

There are numerous contradictions throughout the book, as well as on the title page; and it is therefore a most difficult task to give a condensed view of it. Almost the only way to accomplish this will be to resolve it into its elements.

Nothing can be more touching than the passage in which the author speaks of the desire of his whole life to alleviate the condition of the suffering people—of his inability to satisfy this desire—of his many blunders—and of his despair of himself; and then humbly thanks God, who had preserved him, when he had cast himself away, and who graciously permitted him, even in old age, to look forward to a brighter future. It is impossible to read any thing more affecting.

The second element of this book is a fierce and fulminating battle against the sins and faults of his time. He advances to the assault at storm-pace, and clears every thing before him with the irresistible force of truth. He directs his attack principally against the hollow education of our time, particularly in the higher ranks of society. He calls the members of the aristocracy "miserable creatures of mere words, who by the artificialities of their mode of life are rendered incapable of feeling that they themselves stand on stilts, and that they must come down off their wretched wooden legs, in order to stand on God's earth with even the same amount of firmness as the people."

In another part of the book, Pestalozzi declaims warmly against all the education of the present age. "It sacrifices, (he says,) the substance of all instruction to the nonsense about particular isolated system of instruction, and by filling the mind with fragments of truth, it quenches the spirit of truth itself, and deprives mankind of the power of independence which is based thereon. I have found, what

was very obvious, that this system of instruction, does not base the use of particular means either on elementary principles or elementary forms. The state of popular instruction rendered it inevitable that Europe should sink into error, or rather madness, and into this it really did sink. On the one hand, it raised itself into a gigantic height in particular arts; on the other, it lost for the whole of its people all the stability and support which are to be obtained by resting on the guidance of nature. On the one side, no quarter of the globe ever stood so high; but on the other, no quarter of the globe has ever sunk so low. With the golden head of its particular arts, it touches the clouds, like the image of the prophet; but popular instruction, which ought to be the basis and support of this golden head, is every where, on the contrary, the most wretched, fragile, good-for-nothing clay, like the feet of that gigantic image."

For this incongruity in our intellectual culture, he blames chiefly *the art of printing*, through which, he says, the eyes have become book-eyes—men have become book-men.

Throughout the work, he speaks against the senseless use of the tongue—against the habit of talking without any real purpose. "The babbling disposition of our time, (he says,) is so much bound up with the struggle of tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands for their daily bread, and with their slavish adherence to custom, that it will be long, very long, before this temporizing race shall gladly receive into their hearts truths so much opposed to their sensual depravity. Wherever the fundamental faculties of the human mind are allowed to lie dormant, and on those dormant faculties empty words are propt up, there you are making dreamers, whose visions are all the more visionary because the words that were propt up on their miserable yawning existence, were high-sounding, and full of pretensions. As a matter of course, such pupils will dream any and every thing before they will dream *that they are sleeping and dreaming*; but all those about them who are awake, perceive their presumption, and, (when it suits,) put them down as somnambulists.

"The meaningless declamation of this superficial knowledge produces men who fancy that they have reached the goal in all branches of study, just because their whole life is a belabored prating about that goal; but they never accomplish so much as to make an effort to reach it, because through their life it never had that alluring charm in their eyes which any object must possess to induce a man to make an effort to attain it. The present age abounds in men of this class, and is diseased by a kind of wisdom which carries us forward *pro formâ*, as cripples are borne along a race-course, to the goal of knowl-



edge, when, at the same time, it could never enable us to advance toward this goal by our own efforts, before our feet had been healed."

In other parts of the book he attacks governments as indifferent to the welfare of the people. "The lower classes of Europe, (he says,) are neglected and wretched: most of those who stand sufficiently near to be able to help them, have no time for thinking what may be for their welfare—they have always something to do quite different from this."

From this, the second and polemical element of the book, I pass to the third and positive one, namely, the kind of education by which Pestalozzi proposes to replace the false education of our time. This might in some measure be anticipated from the polemical passages which have been cited.

He thus enunciates the problem which he proposed to himself to solve: "In the empirical researches which I made in reference to my subject, I did not start from any positive system; I was not acquainted with any one; I simply put to myself the question, What would you do, if you wanted to give a single child all the theoretical knowledge and practical skill which he requires in order to be able to attend properly to the great concerns of life, and so attain to inward contentment?"

*Theoretical knowledge and practical skill* constitute, accordingly, the most important subjects of the work. They are treated with a special relation to the two questions,—What knowledge and skill do children require? and, How are these best imparted to them? The aim is to point out the proper object of education, and the way to attain that object.

Of practical skill, however, there is comparatively very little said, notwithstanding that Pestalozzi sets so high a value upon it. "Knowledge without skill, (he says,) is perhaps the most fatal gift which an evil genius has bestowed upon the present age." But Pestalozzi's ideas in relation to practical skill, and the method of attaining it, seem to have been still indistinct.

On the other hand, he is quite at home in the region of theoretical knowledge: to show the starting-point, the road, and the destination, in the journey through this region, is the main design of his work.

His polemic against senseless talking shows that he had sought and found the real root of the tree of which words are the spiritual blossoms.

The beginning of all knowledge, according to Pestalozzi, is *observation*; the last point to be attained, a *clear notion*. He says: "If I look back and ask myself what I really have done toward the



improvement of the methods of elementary instruction, I find that, in recognizing observation as the absolute basis of all knowledge, I have established the first and most important principle of instruction, and that, setting aside all particular systems of instructions, I have endeavored to discover what ought to be the character of the instruction itself, and what are the fundamental laws according to which the education of the human race must be determined by nature." In another place, he requires it to be acknowledged, "that observation is the absolute basis of all knowledge, in other words, that all knowledge must proceed from observation and must admit of being retraced to that source."

But what does Pestalozzi understand by observation? "It is, (he says,) simply directing the senses to outward objects, and exciting consciousness of the impression produced on them by those objects." He refers, of course, principally to the sense of sight. But the ear is not to be neglected. "When sounds are produced so as to be heard by the child, and its consciousness of the impression which these sounds make on its mind through the sense of hearing is aroused, this, to the child, is just as much observation, as when objects are placed before its eyes, and consciousness is awakened by the impression which the objects make on the sense of sight. By the aid of his spelling book, therefore, the child's ear is to be familiarized with the series of elementary sounds which constitutes the foundation of a knowledge of language, just as it is to be made acquainted with visible objects by the aid of his Book for Mothers.

According to this, observation would mean every impression which the mind receives through the eye and the ear.

Does Pestalozzi exclude the remaining senses? No; for he frequently speaks of the impressions of the *five* senses, and he says that the understanding collects the impressions which the senses receive from external nature into a whole, or into a notion, and then develops this idea until it attains clearness. And elsewhere he says that the mechanical form of all instruction should be regulated by the eternal laws according to which the human mind rises from the perceptions of sense to clear notions.

Pestalozzi repeatedly dwells upon this process of intellectual development.

Above every thing, he will have attention given to the first step in the process, namely observation. Care is to be taken that the objects are seen separately by the children, not dimly at a distance, but close at hand and distinctly; then also that there shall be placed before the children, not abnormal, but characteristic specimens of any class

of objects—such as will convey a correct idea of the thing and of its most important properties. Thus, for example, a lame, one-eyed, or six-fingered man, he says, would not be proper to convey the idea of the human form.

Out of the observation of an object, the first thing that arises, he says, is the necessity of naming it; from naming it, we pass on to determining its properties, that is to description; out of a clear description is finally developed the definition—the distinct idea of the object. The full maturity of this, the last fruit of all instruction, depends materially on the vigorous germination of the seed sown in the first instance—on the amount of wisdom exercised in guiding the children to habits of observation. Definitions not founded on observations, he says, produce a superficial and unprofitable kind of knowledge.

Just when we begin to think that we understand Pestalozzi's views, he again leads us into uncertainty as to the idea which he attaches to observation.

He says the idea had only lately struck him, "that all our knowledge arises out of number, form, and words." On this triple basis, he says, education must proceed; and—

"1. It must teach the children to look attentively at every object which they are made to perceive as unity, that is, as separated from those other objects with which it appears in connection.

2. It must make them acquainted with the form of every object, that is, its size and proportion.

3. It must teach them as early as possible the names and words applicable to all the objects with which they are acquainted."

Pestalozzi found it difficult, however, to answer the question, "Why are not all the other properties which the five senses enable us to perceive in objects, just as much elements of our knowledge, as number, form, and name?" His answer is, "All possible objects have necessarily number, form, and name; but the remaining properties which the senses enable us to perceive are not possessed by any object in common with all others, but this property is shared with one object, and that with another."

When Pestalozzi made form a category to embrace all and every thing, he only thought of the visible, as is evidenced by the further development of his instruction in form, which deals chiefly with the measuring of visible objects.

But there are innumerable observations which have nothing whatever to do with form and number; for example, tasting honey, smelling roses, &c.

The prominence which Pestalozzi gave to form and number caused him to undertake a new treatment of the subjects of geometry and arithmetic. Subsequently he divided geometry into instruction in form and instruction in spaces, for the reason that we perceive shape and size, (mathematical quality and quantity,) independently of each other; drawing he made a part of the instruction in form—writing a part of drawing.

But what became of Pestalozzi's principle, that observation is the foundation of all intelligence, when he thus gave an undue prominence to form and number, and neglected all other properties? Suppose that we put a glass cube into the hands of a child and he observes in respect to it nothing else, but that it has the cubic form, and, over and above this, that it is *one* cube,—so far this glass cube is in no way distinguished from a wooden one. But if I require to take notice of other properties, such as color, transparency, weight, &c., in order that I may form a correct idea of the glass cube, as a separate object, and so describe it that it shall be distinguished with certainty from every other cube,—then I must fix my attention, not only on form and number, but on all apparent properties, as elements in a complete observation.

Lastly, language itself has nothing to do with observation. Why should I not be able to form a perfectly correct notion of an object that has no name—for instance a newly-discovered plant? Language only gives us the expression for the impressions of the senses; in it is reflected the whole world of our perceptions. "It is," as Pestalozzi rightly observes, "the reflex of all the impressions which nature's entire domain has made on the human race." But what does he go on to say? "Therefore I make use of it, and endeavor, by the guidance of its uttered sounds, to reproduce in the child the self-same impressions which, in the human race, have occasioned and formed these sounds. Great is the gift of language. It gives to the child in one moment what nature required thousands of years to give man."

In that case, every child would be a rich heir of antiquity, without the trouble of acquisition; words would be current notes for the things which they designate. But both nature and history protest against payment in such currency, and give only to him that hath. Does not Pestalozzi himself repeatedly protest against this very thing? "The christian people of our quarter of the world, (he says,) have sunk into these depths, because in their lower school establishments the mind has been loaded with a burden of empty words, which has not only effaced the *impressions of nature*, but has even destroyed the inward susceptibility for such impressions."



Pestalozzi's further treatment of the instruction in language clearly proves that, contrary to his own principles, he really ascribed a magical power to words—that he put them more or less in the place of observation—and, (to speak with a figure,) that he made the reflected image of a thing equal to the thing itself.

As this error of Pestalozzi's is of the greatest consequence, I will examine it more closely. In the instruction in language, he begins with lessons on sounds; these are followed by lessons on words; and these again by lessons on language.

I. LESSONS ON SOUNDS.—“The spelling book, (says Pestalozzi,) must contain the entire range of sounds of which the language consists, and portions of it should be repeated daily in every family, not only by the child that is going through the exercises to learn how to spell, but also by mothers, within hearing of the child in the cradle, in order that these sounds may, by frequent repetition, be so deeply impressed upon the memory of the child, even while it is yet unable to pronounce a single one of them, that they shall never be forgotten. No one imagines to what a degree the attention of infants is aroused by the repetition of such simple sounds as *ba, ba, ba, da, da, da, ma, ma, ma, la, la, la, &c.*, or what a charm such repetition has for them.”

And so the child in the cradle is to have no rest from elementary teaching; the cradle songs sung to it are to consist of such delightful bawling and bleating as *ba, ba, ba, &c.*, which might well scare away the child's guardian angels.

As soon as the child begins to talk, it is to “repeat some sequences of these sounds every day;” then follow exercises in spelling.

II. “LESSONS IN WORDS, or rather, LESSONS IN NAMES.”—According to Pestalozzi, “all the most important objects in the world are brought under the notice of the child in the *Book for Mothers*.”

“Lessons in names consist in giving the children lists of the names of the most important objects in all three kingdoms of nature, in history, in geography, and in the pursuits and relations of mankind. These lists of words are placed in the hands of the child, merely as exercises in learning to read, immediately after he has gone through his spelling book; and experience has shown me that it is possible to make the children so thoroughly acquainted with these lists of words, that they shall be able to repeat them from memory, merely in the time that is required to perfect them in reading: the gain of what at this age is so complete a knowledge of lists of names so various and comprehensive, is immeasurable, in facilitating the subsequent instruction of the children.”



Here again it is not even remotely hinted that the children ought to know the things named; words, mere words, are put in the place of observation.

3. LESSONS IN LANGUAGE.—The highest aim of language, according to Pestalozzi's idea, is to lead us from dim perceptions to clear notions, and that by the following process:—

1. "We acquire a general knowledge of an object, and name it as unity, as an object.

2. We gradually become conscious of its distinguishing qualities, and learn how to name them.

3. We receive through language the power of designating these qualities of the objects more precisely by means of verbs and adverbs."

The first step in this process is, as we have seen, the object of the Pestalozzian lessons in names; but, when viewed more closely, the lessons are found to consist, not in the naming of objects arising out of knowing them, but in the names for their own sake.

In reference to the second operation, when Pestalozzi writes on the black-board the word "eel," and adds the qualities, "slippery, worm-shaped, thick-skinned," the children by no means become conscious of the distinguishing qualities of an eel, and learn to name them, through observing an eel; they rather get adjectives to the noun "eel." Of the process by which these adjectives arise from the observation of the qualities which they express, there is again nothing said.

This neglect of observation is still more striking, when Pestalozzi, further on, classifies what is to be learned under the following heads:

- |               |                     |                |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Geography. | 3. Physics.         | 5. Physiology. |
| 2. History.   | 4. Natural History. |                |

Each of these five heads he divides again into forty subdivisions, so that he makes two hundred subdivisions. He now proceeds to give lists of words in all these subjects in alphabetical order, which lists are to be impressed upon the childrens' memories, "till it is impossible they should be forgotten." Afterward, this alphabetical nomenclature is to be transformed into a "scientific" one. "I do not know, (says Pestalozzi,) whether it is necessary to illustrate the matter further by an example; it appears to me almost superfluous: nevertheless, I will do so, on account of the novelty of form. *E. G.* One of the subdivisions of Europe is Germany: the child is first of all made well acquainted with the division of Germany into ten circles, so that he shall not be able to forget it; then the names of the towns of Germany are placed before him, at first in mere alphabetical order for him to read, but each of these towns is previously marked with

the number of the circle in which it lies. As soon as the child can read the names of the towns fluently, he is taught the connection of the numbers with the subdivisions of the main heads, and in a few hours he is able to determine the place of the entire number of German towns in these subdivisions. For example, suppose the names of the following places in Germany are set before him, marked by numbers :—

|                               |                 |                 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Aachan, (Aix-la-Chapelle,) 8. | Allenbach, 5.   | Altensalza, 10. |
| Aalen, 3.                     | Allendorf, 5.   | Altkirchen, 8.  |
| Abenberg, 4.                  | Allersperg, 2.  | Altona, 10.     |
| Aberthan, 11.                 | Alschaufen, 3.  | Altorf, 1.      |
| Acken, 10.                    | Alsleben, 10.   | Altranstädt, 9. |
| Adersbach, 11.                | Altbunzlau, 11. | Altwasser, 13.  |
| Agler, 1.                     | Altena, 8.      | Alkerdissen, 8. |
| Ahrbergen, 10.                | Altenau, 10.    | Amberg, 2.      |
| Aigremont, 8.                 | Altenberg, 9.   | Ambras, 1.      |
| Ala, 1.                       | Altenburg, 9.   | Amöneburg, 6.   |
|                               |                 | Andernach, 6.   |

He reads them all in the following manner :—

Aachen lies in the Westphalian circle ;

Abenberg in the Franconian circle ;

Acken in the Lower Saxony circle ; and so on.

In this manner the child is evidently enabled, at first sight of the number or mark referring to the subdivisions of the main head, to determine the place of each word of the list in the scientific classification of the subject, and thus, as I before said, to change the alphabetical into a scientific nomenclature.”

It is quite unnecessary to give a refutation of these views.\*

Further on in the book, there follow some directions “how to explain more fully to the pupil the nature, qualities, and functions of all the objects with which the lessons in names have made him acquainted, and which have already been explained to him, to a certain extent, by placing their qualities side by side with their names.” For this purpose, the mother is to read to the child certain sentences, and the child is to repeat them after her. Many of these sentences would be quite unintelligible to a child ; for instance, “The creditor desires payment,” “The right must be maintained.” They are mere exercises in reading, not based in the slightest degree on observation.

We have seen that Pestalozzi fixed his attention chiefly on the principle that instruction must be based on observation, out of which the clear idea is at last developed. He says that we are dazzled by the charm of a language, “which we speak without having any real

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\* Observe, too, how Pestalozzi has taken the names of any obscure places that occurred to him at the moment, such as *Aberthan*, *Ala*, &c. Out of the 31 places whose names are given, five at most would deserve to be included in a school geography. Not a word is said about maps.

knowledge of the ideas conveyed by the words which we allow to run through our mouths." He combats "all scientific teaching which is analyzed, explained, and dictated by men who have not learnt to think and speak in harmony with the laws of nature," whose "definitions must be conjured into the soul like a *deus ex machinâ*, or must be blown into the ears as by stage-prompters;" the effect of which is that men "sink into a miserable mode of education, fit only for forming play-actors." He speaks with great warmth against "definitions not founded on observation." "A definition, (he says,) is the simplest expression of clear ideas, but for the child it contains truth only in so far as he has a clear and comprehensive view of the groundwork of observation on which these ideas are based; whenever he is left without the greatest clearness in the observation of a natural object which has been defined to him, he only learns to play with words like so many counters, deceives himself, and places a blind belief in sounds which will convey to him no idea, nor give rise to any other thought, except just this, that he has uttered certain sounds.\*

*Hinc illæ lacrymæ.*

These excellent principles can not receive too much attention; but if Pestalozzi's own method of instruction be squared by them, it will be found to run quite counter to them. He begins, not with observations, but with words; with him, substantives stand in the place of the observation of objects, adjectives in the place of the observation of the properties of objects. His polemic against empty word-wisdom hits therefore his own method of instruction. Fichte says very truly in regard to Pestalozzi's idea: "In the field of objective knowledge, which relates to external objects, the acquaintance with the literal sign that represents the clearness and definiteness of the knowledge, adds nothing whatever for the student himself; it only heightens the value of the knowledge with reference, to its communication to others, which is a totally different matter. The clearness of such knowledge can result only from observation, and that which we can at pleasure reproduce in all its parts, just as it really is, in the imagination, is perfectly known, whether we have a word for it or not.

We are even of the opinion that this perfection of observation

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\* Pestalozzi also shows briefly and truly that none but those who have a thorough knowledge of a subject can possibly give a real explanation of it in words. "If I have not a clear perception of a thing," he says, "I can not say with certainty what its attributes are, much less what it is; I can not even describe it, much less define it. If then a third person puts into my mouth the words by means of which some other person, who had a clear conception of the thing, makes it intelligible to people of his own stamp, it is not on this account any clearer to me; but it is clear to the other person and not to me so long as the words of this person are not for me what they are for him: the definite expression of the full clearness of an idea."



should precede the acquaintance with the literal sign, and that the opposite way leads directly to that world of fog and shadows, and to that early use of the tongue, both of which are so justly hateful to Pestalozzi; nay even; that he who is only concerned to know the word at the earliest possible moment, and who deems his knowledge complete so soon as he knows it, lives precisely in that world of fog, and is only concerned for its extension."

We should have expected from Pestalozzi some directions, first, how to exercise the senses of children, and cultivate in them the power of rapidly arriving at clear conceptions of objects; second, how we should teach them to express in language the impressions of their senses—to translate their mute observations into words.

2 ✓ But Pestalozzi does give some hints, particularly as to the method in which instruction in natural history should be imparted. We must not allow the child to go into the woods and meadows, in order to become acquainted with trees and plants. "Trees and plants, (he says,) do not there stand in the order best adapted to make the character of each class apparent, and to prepare the mind by the first impressions of the objects for a general acquaintance with this department of science." It would make me too far away from my purpose, were I to refute this excessive pedantry of method, (with the best will in the world, I can find no better word for it,) against which every mind that has any degree of freshness, and is alive to the beauties of nature, will at once rise up in condemnation.

But, though nothing further is said, in the work before us, on the education of the senses, and the instruction in language connected therewith, Pestalozzi refers us to his "Book for Mothers," for more on these points. His principle, that the learning of a child must commence with what lies near to it, appears to have led him to the idea, that no natural object lay nearer to a child than its own body, and that therefore it should commence by observing that. The Book for Mothers describes the body, with all its limbs and parts of limbs, down to the minutest joints. Few persons, (I do not speak of surgeons,) are so well acquainted with the structure of the body as the child is to be made. Few people will understand, for instance, the following description: "The middle bones of the index finger are placed outside, on the middle joints of the index finger, between the back and middle members of the index finger," &c. The mother is to go through the book, word for word, with the child, making constant reference to the child's own body.

It was a great mistake on the part of Pestalozzi, to select the child's body as the first object on which it should exercise its faculties



of sight and speech, and, generally, the so-called exercises in observation employed by Pestalozzi and his school, ought properly to be regarded as exercises in reading, in which the object is far more to make the children acquainted with words and sentences than to give them distinct and lasting impressions, and a real knowledge of the thing spoken of. He who yesterday saw a man, with whose image he was so strongly impressed that he can to-day depict it from his inward conception—he who to-day can correctly sing from memory a melody which he heard yesterday—he who yesterday smelt vinegar, and to-day feels the water gather in his mouth at the recollection of the smell—gives proof of his observation by the conception which he has formed, even though he does not translate that conception into words. The generality of the exercises of Pestalozzi and his followers never produced such an imagination of perceptions as this. 3

Toward the conclusion of the work, Pestalozzi asks himself: "How does the question of religion stand with relation to the principles which I have adopted as true in regard to the development of the human race in general?"

It is difficult to follow him in his answer to this question. Everything that is lofty in man is founded, according to him, in the relationship which subsists between the infant and its mother. The feelings of gratitude, confidence and love in the child toward the mother gradually unfold themselves, and are, at a later period, transferred by the child, on the admonition of the mother, to God. This, with Pestalozzi, is the *only* way of training the child in religion. It presupposes a mother pure as an angel, and a child originally quite innocent. The mother is also, like a saint, to take the child under her wings, when it grows up and is enticed to evil by the world, which is not innocent, "as God first created it." According to this view, motherless orphans must remain entirely without religious training. There is scarcely a word about the father; just once he is mentioned, and then it is said that he is "tied to his workshop," and can not give up his time to the child. 4

In short, the mother is represented as the mediator between God and the child. But not once is it mentioned that she herself needs a mediator; not once in the whole book does the name of Christ occur. It is nowhere said that the mother is a christian mother, a member of the church, and that she teaches the child what she, as a member of the church, has learnt. Holy writ is ignored; the mother draws her theology out of her own heart. There pervades this work therefore a decided alienation from Christ. But we shall afterward see 5

that it would be unjust to measure Pestalozzi's ideas on religious instruction by the untenable theory brought forward in the last chapters of this work.

Having thus considered the contents of this book, which was written and had its origin in Burgdorf, which contains fundamental educational principles of the highest value and importance, side by side with the most glaring educational blunders and absurdities, it will be of the greatest interest to hear how Pestalozzi performed his work as a teacher, and as the director of his institution, in Burgdorf. We shall obtain information on this point from a small but in many respects highly interesting and valuable pamphlet, entitled "A Short Sketch of my Educational Life, by John Ramsauer."\* The writer, who was the son of a tradesman, and was born in 1790 at Herissu in the Swiss canton of Appenzell, migrated thence in 1800, along with forty-four other children from ten to fourteen years of age, at a time when several cantons, Appenzell among the rest, had been totally desolated in consequence of the French revolution; and he came thus to Schleumen, not far from Burgdorf. While at Schleumen, he attended the lower burgh school of Burgdorf, in which, as already stated, Pestalozzi taught. He gives the following account of Pestalozzi's teaching:—

"I got about as much regular schooling as the other scholars, namely, none at all; but his, (Pestalozzi's,) sacred zeal, his devoted love, which caused him to be entirely unmindful of himself, his serious and depressed state of mind, which struck even the children, made the deepest impression on me, and knit my childlike and grateful heart to his forever.

It is impossible to give a clear picture of this school as a whole; all that I can do is to sketch a few partial views.

Pestalozzi's intention was that all the instruction given in this school should start from form, number, and language, and should have a constant reference to these elements. There was no regular plan in existence, neither was there a time-table, for which reason Pestalozzi did not tie himself down to any particular hours, but generally went on with the same subject for two or three hours together. There were about sixty of us, boys and girls, of ages varying from eight to fifteen years; the school-hours were from 8 till 11 in the morning, and from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. The instruction which we received was entirely limited to drawing, ciphering, and exercises in language. We neither read nor wrote, and accordingly we had neither reading nor writing books; nor were we required to commit to memory any thing secular or sacred.

For the drawing, we had neither copies to draw from nor directions what to draw, but only crayons and boards; and we were told to draw "what we liked" during the time that Pestalozzi was reading aloud sentences about natural history, (as exercises in language.) But we did not know what to draw, and so it happened that some drew men and women, some houses, and others strings, knots, arabesques, or whatever else came into their heads. Pestalozzi never looked to see *what* we had drawn, or rather scribbled; but the clothes of all the scholars, especially the sleeves and elbows, gave unmistakable evidence that they had been making due use of their crayons.

For the ciphering, we had between every two scholars a small table

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\* When Pestalozzi himself speaks of his teaching, he is too apt to mix up what he intended with what he really effected.

pasted on mill-board, on which in quadrangular fields were marked dots, which we had to count, to add together, to subtract, to multiply, and divide by one another. It was out of these exercises that Krüsi and Buss constructed, first, the Unity Table, and afterward the Fraction Tables. But, as Pestalozzi only allowed the scholars to go over and to repeat the exercises in their turns, and never questioned them nor set them tasks, these exercises, which were otherwise very good, remained without any great utility. He had not sufficient patience to allow things to be gone over again, or to put questions; and in his enormous zeal for the instruction of the whole school, he seemed not to concern himself in the slightest degree for the individual scholar.

The best things we had with him were the exercises in language, at least those which he gave us on the paper-hangings of the school-room, and which were real exercises in observation. These hangings were very old and a good deal torn, and before these we had frequently to stand for two or three hours together, and say what we observed in respect to the form, number, position and color of the figures painted on them, and the holes torn in them, and to express what we observed in sentences gradually increasing in length. On such occasions, he would say: "Boys, what do you see?" (He never named the girls.)

*Answer.* A hole, (or rent,) in the wainscoat.

*Pestalozzi.* Very good. Now repeat after me:—

I see a hole in the wainscoat.

I see a long hole in the wainscoat.

Through the hole I see the wall.

Through the long narrow hole I see the wall.

*Pestalozzi.* Repeat after me:—

I see figures on the paper-hangings.

I see black figures on the paper-hangings.

I see round black figures on the paper-hangings.

I see a square yellow figure on the paper-hangings.

Besides the square yellow figure, I see a black round figure.

The square figure is joined to the round one by a thick black stroke.

And so on.

Of less utility were those exercises in language which he took from natural history, and in which we had to repeat after him, and at the same time to draw, as I have already mentioned. He would say:—

Amphibious animals.

Crawling amphibious animals.

Creeping amphibious animals.

Monkeys.

Long-tailed monkeys.

Short-tailed monkeys.

And so on.

We did not understand a word of this, for not a word was explained, and it was all spoken in such a sing-song tone, and so rapidly and indistinctly, that it would have been a wonder if any one had understood any thing of it, and had learnt any thing from it; besides, Pestalozzi cried out so dreadfully loud and so continuously, that he could not hear us repeat after him, the less so as he never waited for us when he had read out a sentence, but went on without intermission and read off a whole page at once. What he thus read out was drawn up on a half-sheet of large-sized mill-board, and our repetition consisted for the most part in saying the last word or syllable of each phrase, thus "monkeys—monkeys," or "keys—keys." There was never any questioning or recapitulation.

As Pestalozzi in his zeal, did not tie himself to any particular time, we generally went on till eleven o'clock with whatever he had commenced at eight, and by ten o'clock he was always tired and hoarse. We knew when it was eleven by the noise of other school children in the street, and then usually we all ran out without bidding good-bye.

Although Pestalozzi had at all times strictly prohibited his assistants from using any kind of corporal punishment, yet he by no means dispensed with it himself, but very often dealt out boxes on the ears right and left. But most of the scholars rendered his life very unhappy, so much so that I felt a real sympathy for him, and kept myself all the more quiet. This he soon observed, and many a time he took me for a walk at eleven o'clock, for in fine weather he went every day to the banks of the river Emme, and for recreation and amusement looked for different kinds of stones. I had to take part in this occupation



myself, although it appeared to me a strange one, seeing that millions of stones lay there, and I did not know which to search for. He himself was acquainted with only a few kinds, but nevertheless he dragged along home from this place every day with his pocket and his pocket handkerchief full of stones, though after they were deposited at home, they were never looked at again. He retained this fancy throughout his life. It was not an easy thing to find a single entire pocket handkerchief in the whole of the institution at Burgdorf, for all of them had been torn with carrying stones.

There is one thing which, though indeed unimportant, I must not forget to mention. The first time that I was taken in to Pestalozzi's school he cordially welcomed and kissed me, then he quickly assigned me a place, and the whole morning did not speak another word to me, but kept on reading out sentences without halting for a moment. As I did not understand a bit of what was going on, when I heard the word "monkey, monkey," come every time at the end of a sentence, and as Pestalozzi, who was very ugly, ran about the room as though he was wild, without a coat and without a neck-cloth, his long shirt-sleeves hanging down over his arms and hands, which swung negligently about, I was seized with real terror, and might soon have believed that he himself was a monkey. During the first few days too, I was all the more afraid of him, as he had, on my arrival, given me a kiss with his strong, prickly beard, the first kiss which I remembered having received in my life.

Ramsauer does not relate so much about the instruction given by the other teachers. Among the fruits of their instruction were two of the three elementary works which appeared in 1803, under Pestalozzi's name: (1.) "The ABC of Observation, or Lessons on the Relations of Size," (2.) "Lessons on the Relations of Number." (3.) The third elementary work alone was written by Pestalozzi himself; it is the one already mentioned, the "Book for Mothers, or Guide for Mothers in teaching their children to observe and speak."

The institution at Burgdorf attracted more and more notice; people came from a distance to visit it, induced particularly by Pestalozzi's work, "How Gertrude teaches her children." M. Decan Ith, who was sent by the Helvetian government in 1802, to examine the institution, made a very favorable report on it, in consequence of which the government recognized it as a public institution, and granted small salaries to the teachers out of the public funds.

But that government was dissolved by Napoleon the very next year, and the constitution of the cantons restored. The Bernese government now fixed on the castle of Burgdorf, as the seat of one of the chief magistrates of the canton; and Pestalozzi had to clear out of it, on the 22d of August, 1804.

In 1802, during Pestalozzi's stay at Burgdorf, Napoleon required the Swiss people to send a deputation to him at Paris. Two districts chose Pestalozzi as a deputy. Before his departure, he published a pamphlet, entitled "Views on the Objects to which the Legislature of Helvetia has to direct its attention." He put a memorandum on the wants of Switzerland into the hands of the First Consul, who paid as little attention to it as he did to Pestalozzi's educational efforts, declaring that he could not mix himself up with the teaching of the ABC.



The Bernese government gave up the monastery of Buchsee to Pestalozzi for his institution, and had the building properly arranged for him. Close by Buchsee lies the estate of Hofwyl, where Fellenberg resided, and to whom the teachers gave the principal direction of the institution, "not without my consent," says Pestalozzi, "but to my profound mortification."

Notwithstanding, Pestalozzi allows Fellenberg to have possessed in a high degree the talent of governing. In Fellenberg the intellect predominated, as in Pestalozzi the feelings; in the institution at Buchsee, therefore, "that love and warmth was missing which, inspiring all who came within its influence, rendered every one at Burgdorf so happy and cheerful: at Buchsee every thing was, in this respect, totally different. Still Buchsee had this advantage, that in it more order prevailed, and more was learned than at Burgdorf."

Pestalozzi perceived that his institution would not become independent of Fellenberg, so long as it should remain at Buchsee, and he gladly accepted, therefore, a highly advantageous proposal on the part of the inhabitants of Yverdon, that he should remove his institution to their town. He repaired thither, with some of his teachers and eight pupils; half a year later, the remaining teachers followed, having, as Pestalozzi remarks, soon found the government of Fellenberg far more distasteful than the want of government, under him, had ever been to them.

We now enter on a period when Pestalozzi and his institution acquired a European reputation, when Pestalozzian teachers had schools in Madrid, Naples, and St. Petersburg, when the emperor of Russia gave the venerable old man a personal proof of his favor and esteem, and when Fichte saw in Pestalozzi and his labors the commencement of a renovation of humanity.

But to write the history of this period is a task of unusual difficulty. On one side stand extravagant admirers of Pestalozzi, on the other bitter censurers; a closer examination shows us that both are right, and both wrong. A fearful dissension arises, in the institution itself, among the teachers; at the head of the two parties stand Niederer and Schmid, who abuse each other in a manner unheard of. With which party shall we side; or shall we side with neither, or with both?

If we ask to which party Pestalozzi inclined, or whether he held himself above the parties, and then go entirely according to his judgment, our embarrassment will only be increased. He pronounced a very different opinion on the same man at different times: at one time he saw in him a helping angel, before whom he humbled himself

more than was seemly, and from whom he expected every benefit to his institution; at another time, he saw in him an almost fiendish being, who was only bent on ruining the institution.

If any fancy that they have a sure source of information in the account drawn up by Pestalozzi and Niederer, and published in 1807, namely, the "Report on the State of the Pestalozzian Institution, addressed to the Parents of the Pupils and to the Public;" they will be undeceived by some remarks which Pestalozzi himself added to that report at a later period, in the collected edition of his works, but still more so in, "The Fortunes of my Life." This work is altogether at variance with those which give a high degree of praise to the Pestalozzian Institution, in its former condition. From the year in which the dispute between Niederer and Schmid, broke out, (1810,) most of those who give any information on the subject range themselves on Niederer's side; while Pestalozzi himself, from the year 1815 till his death, holds unchangeably with Schmid.

I should despair of ever being able to thread my way in this labyrinth with any degree of certainty, were it not for the fact that I resided some time in the institution, namely, from October, 1809, till May, 1810, and there became more intimately acquainted with persons and circumstances than I could otherwise have been.

A friend, (Rudolph von Przysanowski,) accompanied me to Yverdun, where we arrived toward the end of October. It was in the evening of a cold rainy day that we alighted at the hotel called the Red House. The next morning we went to the old castle, built by Charles the Bold, which with its four great round towers incloses a courtyard. Here we met a multitude of boys; we were conducted to Pestalozzi. He was dressed in the most negligent manner: he had on an old grey overcoat, no waistcoat, a pair of breeches, and stockings hanging down over his slippers; his coarse bushy black hair uncombed and frightful. His brow was deeply furrowed, his dark brown eyes were now soft and mild, now full of fire. You hardly noticed that the old man, so full of geniality, was ugly; you read in his singular features long continued suffering and great hopes.

Soon after, we saw Niederer,\* who gave me the impression of a young Roman Catholic priest; Krüsi,\* who was somewhat corpulent, fair, blue-eyed, mild and benevolent; and Schmid,\* who was, if possible, more cynical in his dress than Pestalozzi, with sharp features and eyes like those of a bird of prey.

At that time 137 pupils, of ages varying from six to seventeen

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\* A biographical sketch of Niederer, Krüsi, and Schmid, will be given at the close of the life of Pestalozzi.—ED.

years, lived in the institution ; 28 lodged in the town, but dined in the institution. There were in all, therefore, 165 pupils. Among them there were 78 Swiss ; the rest were Germans, French, Russians, Italians, Spaniards, and Americans. Fifteen teachers resided in the institution, nine of whom were Swiss teachers, who had been educated there. Besides these, there were 32 persons who were studying the method : seven of them were natives of Switzerland. The interior of the building made a mournful impression on me ; but the situation was extremely beautiful. An extensive meadow separates it from the southern end of the glorious lake of Neuchâtel, on the west side of which rises the Jura range of mountains, covered with vineyards. From the heights of the Jura, above the village of Granson, rendered famous by the defeat of Charles the Bold, you survey on the one side the entire chain of the Alps, from Mount Pilatus, near Lucerne, to Mount Blanc ; on the other side you see far away into France.

A short time after my arrival, I went to live in the institution, where I took my meals, and slept along with the children. If I wanted to do any work for myself, I had to do it while standing at a writing desk in the midst of the tumult of one of the classes. None of the teachers had a sitting-room to himself. I was fully determined to devote all my energies thenceforth to the institution, and accordingly I had brought with me Freddy Reichardt, the brother of my future wife, a boy of eight years, and now placed him among the other scholars. My position was well suited to enable me to compare the reports on the institution with what I daily saw and experienced. The higher my expectations had been raised by that report, the deeper was my pain, as I was gradually undeceived ; I even thought I saw the last hopes of my native land disappear.

It is scarcely necessary for me to particularize the respects in which I was undeceived ; they may be learnt from Pestalozzi's notes to the latter copy of his report, but especially from his work, "The Fortunes of my Life." Nevertheless I will advert to one or two principal points.

I will particularly advert to what is said in the report about the spirit of the institution, which is represented as being similar to that which pervades a family.

"We may with a good conscience, declare publicly, that the children in our institution are happy and cheerful ; that their innocence is preserved, their religious disposition cherished, their mind formed, their knowledge increased, their hearts elevated. The arrangements which have been adopted for attaining these objects possess a quiet inward power. They are based principally on the benevolent and amiable character which distinguishes the teachers of our house, and which is supported by a vigorous activity. There reigns throughout the entire institution the spirit of a great domestic union, in which, according to the requirements of such a union, a pure paternal and fraternal feeling every where



shines forth. The children feel themselves free, their activity finds even a powerful charm in their employments; the confidence reposed in them, and the affection shown toward them, elevate their sentiments." "The life in the house is, to a rare extent, a school for cultivating domestic affection and domestic unity." "All the teachers in common, acting as an organized whole, do for all the children what a careful mother does for the few children of her own family." The body of teachers "attains the most perfect unity of thought and action, and appears to the children as only one person."

"In general, it is to be remarked that we seek throughout to awaken and to foster the spirit of peace, of love, and of mutual brotherly fellowship. The disposition of the great body of our inmates is good. A spirit of strength, of repose, and of endeavor rests on the whole. There is much in our midst that is eminently good. Some pupils evince an angelic disposition, full of love and of a presentiment of higher thoughts and a higher existence. The bad ones do not feel themselves comfortable in the midst of our life and labor; on the other hand, every spark of good and noble feeling which still glimmers even in the bad ones encouraged and developed. The children are in general neither hardened by punishment, nor rendered vain and superficial by rewards. The mild forbearance of the most amiable household has the most undisturbed play in our midst. The children's feelings are not lightly wounded. The weak are not made to compare themselves with the strong, but with themselves. We never ask a pupil if he can do what another does. We only ask him if he can do a thing. But we always ask him if he can do it perfectly. As little of the struggle of competition takes place between one pupil and another, as between affectionate brothers and sisters who live with a loving mother in a happy condition."

"We live together united in brotherly love, free and cheerful, and are, in respect to that which we acknowledge as the one thing needful, one heart and one soul. We may also say that our pupils are one heart and one soul with us. They feel that we treat them in a fatherly manner; they feel that we serve them, and that we are glad to serve them; they feel that we do not merely instruct them; they feel that for their education we give life and motion to every thing in them that belongs to the character of man. They also hang with their whole hearts on our actions. They live in the constant consciousness of their own strength."

Must not even a sober reader of these passages be led to believe that a spirit of the most cordial love and concord reigned in a rare manner in the Pestalozzian institution. How much more did I believe so, who, deeply distressed by the calamities of those days, and inspired with hope by the eloquence of Fichte, perceived in Yverdun the commencement of a better time, and ardently longed to hasten its approach. Those who did not themselves live through those years of anguish, in which injustice increased and love waxed cold in the hearts of many, may perhaps smile at the enthusiasm of despair.

Pestalozzi himself says of the institution that, as early as the time when it was removed from Buchsee to Yverdun, it bore within itself "the seeds of its own internal decay, (these are his own words,) in the unequal and contradictory character of the abilities, opinions, inclinations, and claims of its members; although as yet this dissension had done any thing but declare itself general, unrestrained, and fierce." He says, that nevertheless many of the members were still desirous for peace, and that others were moderate in their views and feelings. "But the seeds of our decay had been sown, and though they were still invisible in many places, had taken deep root. Led aside by

worldly temptations and apparent good fortune from the purity, simplicity, and innocence of our first endeavors, divided among ourselves in our inmost feelings, and from the first made incapable, by the heterogeneous nature of our peculiarities of ever becoming of one mind and one heart in spirit and in truth for the attainment of our objects, we stood there outwardly united, even deceiving ourselves with respect to the real truth of our inclination to this union, and unfortunately we advanced, each one in his own manner, with firm and at one time with rapid steps along a path which, without our being really conscious of it, separated us every day further from the possibility of our ever being united.

What Ramsauer says entirely agrees with this. In Burgdorf, he says, there reigned a kindly spirit. "This ceased when the family life was transformed in the institution into a constitutional state existence. Now the individual was more easily lost in the crowd: thus there arose a desire on his part to make himself felt and noticed. Egotism made its appearance every day in more offensive forms. Envy and jealousy rankled in the breasts of many." "Much indeed was said about 'a domestic life,' which ought to prevail in an educational establishment, just as a very great deal was said and written about an 'harmonious development of all the faculties of the pupil;' but both existed more in theory than in practice. It is true, that a good deal of common interest was evinced in the general working of the institution, but the details were allowed to go on or stand still very much as they might, and the tone of the whole house was more a tone of pushing and driving than one of domestic quietude."

In the report is this passage: "In respect to the execution of the design, we may say decidedly, that the institution has stood the fiery ordeal of eight severe years."

On this passage Pestalozzi remarks as follows in 1823: "What is here said in confirmation of this view is altogether a consequence of the great delusion under which we lay at that period, namely, that all those things in regard to which we had strong intentions and some clear ideas, were really as they ought to have been, and as we should have liked to make them. But the consequences of the partial truth which in this instance had hold of our minds were, from want of sufficient knowledge, ability, and skill for carrying it out, fixed in our midst, confused, and made the seed of countless weeds, by which the good seed that lay in the ground was on all sides crowded, and here and there choked. Neither did we perceive the weeds at that time; indeed, as we then lived, thought, acted, and dreamt, it was impossible that we should perceive them."

I am fully aware that by some these later observations of Pestalozzi have been attributed partly to the weakness of old-age, partly to the influence of Schmid. To this I can not assent. As early as new year's day, 1808, at the same time as the report appeared, Pestalozzi said to his teachers :

"My work was founded in love ; love vanished from our midst ; it could not but vanish. We deceived ourselves as to the strength which this love demands ; it could not but vanish. I am no longer in a position to provide any help for it. The poison which eats into the heart of our work is accumulating in our midst. Worldly honor will increase this poison. O God, grant that we may no longer be overcome by our delusion. I look upon the laurels which are strewn in our path as laurels set up over a skeleton. I see before my eyes the skeleton of my work, in so far as it is my work. I desire to place it before your eyes. I saw the skeleton which is in my house appear crowned with laurels before my eyes, and the laurels suddenly go up in flames. They can not bear the fire of affliction which must and will come upon my house ; they will disappear ; they must disappear. My work will stand. But the consequences of my faults will not pass away. I shall be vanquished by them. My deliverance is the grave. I go away, but you remain, Would that these words now stood before your eyes in flames of fire !—Friends, make yourselves better than I was, that God may finish his work through you, as he does not finish it through me. Make yourselves better than I was. Do not by your faults lay those same hindrances in your way that I have lain in mine. Do not let the appearance of success deceive you, as it deceived me. You are called to higher, to general sacrifice, or you too will fail to save my work. Enjoy the passing hour, enjoy the fullness of worldly honor, the measure of which has risen for us to its greatest height ; but remember that it vanishes like the flower of the field, which blooms for a little while, but soon passes away."

What contradictions ! Does then the same fountain send forth both sweet and bitter ? Was the report actually intended to deceive the world ?

Never ; but Pestalozzi was not entirely free from an unfortunate spirit of worldly calculation, although his calculations in most cases turned out incorrect. Ever full of the idea of spreading happiness over many lands, in a short time, by means of his methods of instruction and education, he naturally considered it all-important that people should have a good opinion of his institution. By the bulk of the public, indeed, the institution was taken as substantial evidence for or against the excellence and practicability of his educational ideas : with it they stood or fell.

The concern which Pestalozzi felt about the reputation of his establishment became especially apparent when foreigners, particularly persons of distinction, visited Yverdon.

"As many hundred times in the course of the year," says Ramsauer, "as foreigners visited the Pestalozzian Institution, so many hundred times did Pestalozzi allow himself, in his enthusiasm, to be deceived by them. On the arrival of every fresh visitor, he would go to the teachers in whom he placed most confidence and say to them: 'This is an important personage, who wants to become acquainted with all we are doing. Take your best pupils and their analysis-books, (copy-books in which the lessons were written out,) and show him what we can do and what we wish to do.' Hundreds and hundreds of times there came to the institution, silly, curious, and often totally uneducated persons, who came because it was the 'the fashion.' On their account, we



usually had to interrupt the class instruction and hold a kind of examination. In 1814, the aged Prince Esterhazy came. Pestalozzi ran all over the house, calling out: 'Ramsauer, Ramsauer, where are you? Come directly with your best pupils to the Red House, (the hotel at which the Prince had alighted.) He is a person of the highest importance and of infinite wealth; he has thousands of bond-slaves in Hungary and Austria. He is certain to build schools and set free his slaves, if he is made to take an interest in the matter.' I took about fifteen pupils to the hotel. Pestalozzi presented me to the Prince with these words: 'This is the teacher of these scholars, a young man who fifteen years ago migrated with other poor children from the canton of Appenzell and came to me. But he received an elementary education, according to his individual aptitudes, without let or hindrance. Now he is himself a teacher. Thus you see that there is as much ability in the poor as in the richest, frequently more; but in the former it is seldom developed, and even then, not methodically. It is for this reason that the improvement of the popular schools is so highly important. But he will show you every thing that we do better than I could. I will, therefore, leave him with you for the present.' I now examined the pupils, taught, explained, and bawled, in my zeal, till I was quite hoarse, believing that the Prince was thoroughly convinced about every thing. At the end of an hour, Pestalozzi returned. The Prince expressed his pleasure at what he had seen. He then took leave, and Pestalozzi, standing on the steps of the hotel, said: 'He is quite convinced, quite convinced, and will certainly establish schools on his Hungarian estates.' When we had descended the stairs, Pestalozzi said: 'Whatever ails my arm? It is so painful. Why, see, it is quite swollen, I can't bend it.' And in truth his wide sleeve was now too small for his arm. I looked at the key of the house-door of the *maison rouge* and said to Pestalozzi: 'Look here, you struck yourself against this key when we were going to the Prince an hour ago.' On closer observation it appeared that Pestalozzi had actually bent the key by hitting his elbow against it. In the first hour afterward he had not noticed the pain, for the excess of his zeal and his joy. So ardent and zealous was the good old man, already numbering seventy years, when he thought he had an opportunity of doing good. I could adduce many such instances. It was nothing rare in summer for strangers to come to the castle four or five times in the same day, and for us to have to interrupt the instruction on their account two, three or four times."

After this highly characteristic account, I ask the reader whether he will cast a stone at the amiable and enthusiastic old man? I certainly will not, though I could heartily have wished that, faithful in small things and mindful of the grain of mustard seed, he had planted his work in stillness, and that it had been slow and sound in its growth, even if it had been observed by only a few.

The source of the internal contradiction which runs through the life of Pestalozzi, was, as we saw from his own confessions, the fact that, in spite of his grand ideal, which comprehended the whole human race, he did not possess the ability and skill requisite for conducting even the smallest village school. His highly active imagination led him to consider and describe as actually existing in the institution whatever he hoped sooner or later to see realized. His hopeful spirit foresaw future development in what was already accomplished, and expected that others would benevolently do the same. This bold assumption has an effect on many, especially on the teachers of the institution. This appears to explain how, in the report on the institution, so much could be said *bonâ fide* which a sober spectator was forced to pronounce untrue.

But this self-delusion is never of long duration ; the period of overstrung enthusiasm is followed by one of hopelessness and dejection. The heart of man is indeed an alternately proud and dejected thing ! Such an ebb and flow of lofty enthusiasm and utter despair pervades the entire life of Pestalozzi. The address which he delivered to his teachers in 1808 appears almost as the *caput mortuum* of the report : the truth at last makes itself heard in tones of bitter remorse. Pestalozzi makes a more tranquil confession concerning the early times of Yverdon, at a later period of his life, in his autobiography. More than sixteen years had elapsed, and passion had cooled down. He states soberly what he had enthusiastically wished to accomplish in those earlier days ; he acknowledges that he had deceived himself and he can now therefore relate the history of the institution clearly and truthfully. But the times less removed from him are still too present to his feelings, too near to his impassioned gaze, for him to be able to delineate them with the same historical clearness in that work.

The report speaks of the instruction imparted in the institution in a way which can not have failed to give offense to persons who were not enthusiastically prejudiced in favor of Pestalozzi. Listen to these remarks :—

“ With regard to the subjects of the instruction generally, the following is what may be stated. The child learns to know and exercise himself, that is, his physical, intellectual, moral, and religious faculties. With this instruction to the child about himself, instruction about nature keeps pace. Commencing with the child in his domestic relations, the latter instruction gradually embraces human nature in all the above mentioned aspects. And in the same way, commencing with the circle of the child's observation, it gradually embraces the whole of external nature. From the first starting point, the child is led to an insight into the essential relations of mankind and society ; from the second to an insight into the relations in which the human race stands to external nature, and external nature to the human race. Man and nature, and their mutual relation, constitute, therefore, the primary matter of the instruction ; and from these subjects the knowledge of all separate branches of study is developed. It must here be remarked, however, that the aim of the instruction is not to make the pupils comprehend man and nature merely externally, that is, merely in so far as they present isolated imperical characteristics, capable of being arranged either in a logical sequence of separate units, or in any other order that may be convenient. The aim is rather to make the pupils observe things as a living and organic whole, harmoniously bound together by necessary and eternal laws, and developing itself from something simple and original, so that we may thus bring them to see how one thing is linked in another. The instruction, as a whole, does not proceed from any theory, but from the very life and substance of nature ; and every theory appears only as the expression and representation of this observed life and substance.”

I am relieved from the necessity of offering any criticism on this passage by a note which Pestalozzi added to it fifteen years later. “ In this and several other passages,” says the venerable old man, “ I express, not so much my own peculiar views on education in their original simplicity, as certain immature philosophical views, with

which, at that time, notwithstanding all our good intentions, most of the inmates of our house, myself among the rest, must needs perplex our heads, and which brought me personally to a standstill in my endeavors. These views caused the house and the institution, both of which attained at this period a seeming flourishing condition, to go rotten at the roots; and they are to be looked upon as the hidden source of all the misfortunes which have since come upon me."

It would take too long to follow the report in the accounts which it gives of the instruction in the separate branches of knowledge. In every thing Pestalozzi wants to be entirely novel, and just for this reason he falls into mistakes. Take, as a specimen, the following on the instruction in geography:—

"The instruction in this subject begins with the observation of the district in which we live, as a type of what the surface of the earth presents. It is then separated into elementary instruction, which includes physical, mathematical, and political geography, and (2.) the topographical part, in which each of the departments of the subject suggested by the observation of the surrounding district is prosecuted in a graduated course, and their reciprocal bearings brought out. By this foundation, the pupils are prepared for forming a clear and comprehensive view of the earth and man, and their mutual influence on each other, of the condition of states and peoples, of the progress of the human race in intellectual culture, and lastly of physical science in its broader outlines and more general relations. The children are made acquainted with the statistical portion of the subject, that is, the natural productions, the number of inhabitants, form of government, &c., by means of tabular views."

After this, need we wonder when we find Pestalozzi, in his memoirs, speaking of the earlier days of Yverdon in the following manner? "The desire of governing, in itself unnatural, was called forth among us at this period, on the one hand, by the reputation of our modes of instruction, which continued to increase after our return to Yverdon, and the intoxicating good fortune that streamed to nearly every fool who hung out the sign-board of an elementary method which, in reality, did not as yet exist; on the other, by the audacity of our behavior toward the whole world, and toward every thing that was done in education and was not cast in our mould. The thing is melancholy; but it is true. We poor weak birds presumed to take our little nestlings, ere they were fairly out of their shells, on flights which even the strongest birds do not attempt until their young ones have gained strength in many previous trials. We announced publicly things which we had neither the strength nor the means to accomplish. There are hundreds and hundreds of these vain boastings of which I do not like to speak."

No wonder that, in this state of things, there arose a determined opposition to the institution. In Switzerland especially, Pestalozzi says, the public journals began "to speak decidedly against our pretensions, asserting that what we did was by no means what we



considered and represented ourselves to be doing. But, (he continues,) instead of penitently returning to modesty, we sturdily resisted this opposition. While participating in this temerity, which is now incomprehensible to me, I began to be sensible that we were treading in paths which might lead us astray, and that, in truth, many things in the midst of us were not as they should have been, and as we endeavored to make them appear in the eyes of the world."

Other members of the institution thought quite differently; full of self-confidence, they pressed for a formal examination; and in the month of May, 1809, an application to that effect was made to the Swiss Diet, then assembled at Freiburg. The request was granted, and Merian, member of the executive council of Basel; Trechsel, professor of mathematics, at Bern; and Père Girard, of Freiburg, were commissioned by Governor D'Affry to examine the institution.

In November, 1809, just after I had arrived in Yverdun, this commission of inquiry came down and remained five days. They were five sultry days for Pestalozzi and his teachers; it was felt that the commission, which confined itself strictly to actual results, would make no very enthusiastic report. Père Gerard wrote the report in French, Professor Trechsel translated it into German; on the 12th of May, 1810, it was presented to the Diet, then assembled at Solothurn. In the following year, the thanks of the country were accorded to Pestalozzi, by the Diet; and there the matter was allowed to rest.

I believe that the commission pronounced an impartial judgment; the conclusion of the report speaks for the whole. "The educational methods of the institution, (say the commissioners,) stand only in very imperfect connection with our establishments for public instruction. The institution has in no way aimed at coming into harmony with these public schools. Determined at any price to interest all the faculties of children, in order to guide their development according to its own principles, it has taken counsel of its own views only, and betrays an irresistible desire to open for itself new paths, even at the cost of never treading in those which usage has now established. This was perhaps the right means for arriving at useful discoveries, but it was also a design which rendered harmony impossible. The institution pursues its own way; the public institutions pursue theirs; and there is no probability that both ways will very soon meet. It is a pity that the force of circumstances has always driven Mr. Pestalozzi beyond the career which his pure zeal and his fervent charity had marked out for him. A good intention, noble endeavors, indefatigable perseverance, should and will always meet with justice. Let us profit by the excellent ideas which lie at the foundation of the whole

undertaking; let us follow its instructive examples; but let us also lament that an adverse fate must hang over a man, who, by the force of circumstances, is constantly hindered from doing what he would wish to do."

After the publication of the report, there arose a long and violent literary warfare, which did any thing but add to the credit of the institution.\* With this war against external foes, was unfortunately associated an internal feud, which ended in the departure of Schmid and others of the teachers.

One of Pestalozzi's biographers states, that Schmid's pride and pretensions had grown to such an extent, that he had acted with the greatest harshness toward Pestalozzi, Niederer, and Krüsi. "This was caused," continues the biographer, "by some ideas which he had partially caught up from two scientific men who were then stopping with Pestalozzi, (one of them is now a man of note in Silesia.) Perhaps at that time these ideas were not very clearly defined in the minds of those men themselves."†

The biographer means me and my friend; I shall therefore not be misunderstood, if I relate briefly the matter to which he refers.

I had come to learn and to render service. On this account, I took up my quarters entirely in the old building of the institution, slept in one of the large dormitories, took my meals with the children, attended the lessons, morning and evening prayers, and the conferences of the teachers. I listened and observed attentively in silence; but I was far from thinking of commencing myself to teach. My opinion upon all the things that I saw and heard was formed very much with reference to the boy of eight years intrusted to my care, accordingly as they contributed to his comfort or otherwise. Several weeks had passed on in this way, when I was one evening with Pestalozzi and the rest of the teachers at the hotel of the Wild Man, where they used to meet I think once a fortnight. After supper, Pestalozzi called me into an adjoining room; we were quite alone. "My teachers are afraid of you," he said, "because you only listen and look on in silence; why do you not teach?" I answered that before teaching, I wished to learn—to learn in silence. After the

\* The well-known K. L. von Haller noticed the report of the commission in terms of high praise, in the *Göttingen Literary Advertiser*, of the 13th of April, 1811, and at the same time accused the Pestalozzian Institution of inspiring its pupils with an aversion from religion, the constituted authorities, and the aristocracy. In reply to this, Niederer wrote "The Pestalozzian Institution to the Public." This pamphlet appeared in a new form in 1812, under the title, "Pestalozzi's Educational Undertaking in relation to the Civilization of the Present Time." Bremi, of Zurich, wrote in reply to the former pamphlet; Pestalozzi and Niederer wrote again in reply to Bremi. Niederer professes to have convicted Bremi of ninety-two lies, thirty-six falsifications, and twenty calumnies.

† Henning, in the *Schulrath*, (an educational periodical)

conversation had touched on one thing and another, he frankly told me things about several of his teachers which put me into a state of astonishment, and which stood in direct contradiction with what I had read in the report, but not with what I had myself already observed or expected. Pestalozzi followed up these disclosures with the proposal, that I and my friend, in company with Schmid, whom he highly praised, especially for his practical ability and his activity, should set to work to renovate the institution.

The proposal came upon me so unexpectedly, that I begged for time to think of it, and discussed the matter with my friend, who was just as much surprised as I was. We were both naturally brought by this means into a closer relation with Schmid, became in a short time acquainted with the *arcana imperii*, and honestly considered what obstacles stood in the way of the prosperity of the institution, and what could be done to remove them.

Foremost of these was the intermixture of German and French boys, which doubly pained me, as I had come from Paris. The parents thought otherwise: they perceived in this very intermixture a fortunate means of training their children in the easiest way to speak both languages: whereas the result was, that the children could speak neither. With such a medley of children, the institution was devoid of a predominant mother-tongue, and assumed the mongrel character of border-provinces. Pestalozzi read the prayers every morning and evening, first in German, then in French! At the lessons in the German language, intended for German children, I found French children who did not understand the most common German word. This, and much more that was to be said against this intermixture, was now discussed with Pestalozzi, and the proposal was made to him, to separate the institution into two departments, one for German, the other for French children. Only in this way, it was represented to him, could the education of each class of children be successfully conducted.

The proposal was not accepted, chiefly on account of external obstacles, which might however have been overcome. A passage in Pestalozzi's "Fortunes" shows that he afterward thoroughly agreed with us. In this passage he calls it an unnatural circumstance, that the institution was transplanted from Burgdorf to Yverdon, "from German to French soil." "When we first come here," he continues, "our pupils were nearly all Germans; but there was very soon added to them an almost equal number of French children. Most of the German children were now intrusted to us, not with any particular reference to any elementary or other education, but simply in order



that they might learn to speak French in a German house, and this was the very thing that we were least able to teach them; so also most of the French parents intrusted their children to us, in order that they might learn German in our German house: and here we stood between these two claims, equally unable to satisfy either the one or the other. At the same time, the persons on either side, who committed their children to our care, saw with as little distinctness what they really wished of us, as we did the extent of our inability to satisfy their real wishes. But it had now become the fashion to send us children from all sides; and so, in respect to pecuniary resources and eulogistic prattle, things went on for a considerable time in their old glittering but deceptive path."

The second evil was this. Much as is said in the report about the life in the institution having quite the character of that in a family, and even excelling it in many respects, still nothing could be less domestic than this life was. Leaving out of consideration Pestalozzi's residence, there were indeed in the old castle class rooms, dining-rooms, and bed rooms, but the parlor, so justly esteemed by Pestalozzi, was altogether wanting. Older boys who, as the expression is, had arrived at years of indiscretion, may have felt this want less; but so much the more was it felt by the youngest—by children of six to ten years. I felt deeply on this account for my little Freddy, who, until he came to the institution, had grown up under the care of a tender mother in a lovely family circle. His present uncomfortable and even desolate existence grieved me much, and troubled my conscience. For his sake, and at the same time, for the sake of the rest of the little boys, we begged Pestalozzi to rent a beautiful dwelling-house in the vicinity of Yverdun, where the children might find a friendly compensation for the life of the family circle which they had lost. We offered to take up our abode with them.

This proposal also was declined. It may easily be supposed that in the consultation upon it, the weak side of the institution, the want of a parlor, and the impossibility even of supplying the place of the family life, was very fully discussed.\*

Many of the conversations I had with Pestalozzi I shall never forget. One of them concerned the teachers of the institution, in particular the under-teachers. I saw that many of them labored with the greatest fidelity and conscientiousness, even sacrificing themselves

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\* We made a third proposal, because it appeared to us to be impossible that Pestalozzi's ideas could be realized in Yverdun under the then existing circumstances. We asked him to establish in the canton of Argovia the long promised popr school, and offered to engage in the work ourselves to the best of our ability. As he declined this proposal also, I thought it my duty, especially on account of the boy confided to me, to leave the institution.

for the good of the institution. I need only refer the reader to the autobiography of honest, manful Ramsauer, for evidence of this fact. But still there was something wanting in most of the teachers; this Pestalozzi himself could not help feeling. In his new year's address of 1811, he said to them: "Do not attach a higher value to the ability to teach well, than that which it really has in relation to education as a whole. You have, perhaps, too early in your lives had to bear burdens which may have diminished somewhat the lovely bloom of your youth; but to you as educators, that bloom is indispensable. You must seek to restore it. I am not ignorant of your ability, your worth; but just because I know them, I would wish to set upon them the crown of an amiable disposition, which will increase your worth and make even your ability a blessing."

In what then were the teachers deficient? Pestalozzi points out one thing: many who had grown up in the institution had too early borne burdens, and had been kept in uninterrupted exertion. "Those teachers who had been pupils of Pestalozzi," says Ramsauer, "were particularly hard worked, for he at all times required much more from them, than he did from the other teachers; he expected them to live entirely for the house,—to be day and night concerned for the welfare of the house and the pupils. They were to help to bear every burden, every unpleasantness, every domestic care, and to be responsible for every thing. Thus, for example, in their leisure hours, (that is when they had no lessons to give,) they were required at one time to work some hours every day in the garden, at another to chop wood for the fires, and, for some time, even to light them early in the morning, or transcribe, &c. There were some years in which no one of us were found in bed after three o'clock in the morning; and we had to work summer and winter, from three in the morning till six in the evening."\* Nearly all the work consisted in the direct performance of school duties; the teachers had no time to think of their own improvement.

There was another thing. Most of the teachers of the institution might be regarded as so many separate and independent teachers, who had indeed received their first instruction there, but who had passed much too soon from learning to teaching, and wished to see how they could fight their way through. There was never any such thing as a real pedagogical lecture. Under such a course of training, it could not happen otherwise than that some of the teachers should strike into peculiar paths: of this Schmid gave an example. But it was an

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Ramsauer's time-table shows that, from two or three o'clock in the morning till nine in the evening, he was almost constantly occupied with official duties.

equally necessary consequence, that the usual characteristic of such teachers should make itself apparent : namely, a great want of self-knowledge and of a proper modest estimate of their own labors.

“Man only learns to know himself in man.”

I must know what others have done in my department of science, in order that I may assign the proper place and rank to my own labors. It is incredible, how many of the mistaken views and practices of Pestalozzi and his teachers sprang from this source.

But there was a third thing that I brought against Pestalozzi : his view of the teachers, and their relation to the methods and the methodical compendiums. As already mentioned, the compendiums were to render all peculiar talent and skill in teaching as good as unnecessary. These methodical compendiums were like dressing machines, which did not, unfortunately, quite supply the place of the teachers, but still left the services of a man necessary ; just as in the most perfect printing presses, a man must always be appointed, though indeed he scarcely requires the most ordinary degree of intelligence.

Pestalozzi's idea of a teacher was not much better than this ; according to his views, such a one had nothing to do, but to take his scholars through the compendium, with pedantic accuracy, according to the directions how to use it, without adding thereto, or diminishing therefrom. He was never required to be more than just a step in advance of the scholars. Just as if a guide with a lantern were to be given to a man traveling in the night, and the guide had not only to light the traveler, but first to find out the way himself with the aid of the lantern. The real teacher must have the destination and the road to it so clear before his mind, that he shall be able to guide the scholars without a lantern—without a book of method. He must be able to say, *La méthode c'est moi*.\*

But can any one imagine a more miserable piece of slave-work than that of a teacher who is strictly tied to a Pestalozzian compendium ? Is not all peculiar teaching power thereby fettered,—all disposition to sprightliness and decision in teaching and acting kept down,—all affectionate relation between teacher and scholar rendered impossible ?†

At that time the institution appeared to me, in moments of sadness, as a great noisy education factory ; many mistook the dull noise

\* “Every teacher,” says Herder, “must have his own method ; he must have created it with intelligence for himself, otherwise he will not be successful.”

† On leaving Yverdon in 1810 and going to Berlin, I attended an examination at Plamann's institution. How the free, independent, and untrammelled teaching of Friesen and Harnisch contrasted with the cold, methodical, and constrained teaching of many Pestalozzian teachers !



of the machines for an expression of youthful joyousness on the part of the pupils, while engaged in learning.

Pestalozzi's view of the task of the teachers was too intimately connected with his general views on education, and had been too much realized in the institution to allow me to entertain the idea of his changing it, although the good old man bitterly felt that my observation was not without foundation.

At a later period, when the brilliancy of the reputation of the institution was decreasing more and more, Pestalozzi saw his under-teachers in the year 1817, as he relates, "suddenly combine, like English factory work-people, desist by common consent from the performance of their duties, and declare in a body that they would give no more lessons, but would remain in a state of complete strike-idleness, until the salary of every one of them should be doubled."

Pestalozzi pressed me to teach mineralogy, and in doing so to make use of a small collection of minerals which the institution possessed. I replied that, if I did do so, I must entirely depart from the methods of instruction pursued in the institution. How so? asked Pestalozzi. According to that method, I replied, I should have to do nothing but to hold up before the boys one specimen of the collection after another, to give the name of each, for example, "that is chalk," and thereupon to make the class repeat in unison three times, "that is chalk." It was thought that in this way the observation of actual objects and instruction in language were provided for at the same time.

I endeavored to explain that such a mode of instruction made a mere show, giving the children words before they had formed an idea of the images of the minerals; that moreover this process of perception and conception was only disturbed by the talking of the teacher and the repetition of the scholars, and was therefore best done in silence. On Pestalozzi's opposing this view, I asked him why children are born speechless, and do not begin to learn to speak until they are about three years old; why we should in vain hold a light before a child eight days old, and say "light" three times, or even a hundred times, as the child would certainly not try to repeat the word; whether this was not an indication to us from a higher hand, that time is necessary for the external perception of the senses to become internally appropriated, so that the word shall only come forth as the matured fruit of the inward conception now fully formed. What I said about the silence of children struck Pestalozzi.

As far as my recollection extends, I have now related the most important matters that were discussed between Pestalozzi, Schmid, and

myself. I should at the present day still uphold the views which I entertained at that time ; but, taught by so much experience, I should perhaps be able to do so with greater "clearness" than I could then have done.

But here I will by no means represent myself as blameless, and accuse others. Although I believe that my opinions were right, I know that my conduct was wrong in several respects ; but this the unhappy circumstances of the institution will perhaps in some measure excuse. I will only mention one thing. Unfortunately, Niederer and Schmid were already placed in complete opposition to each other by their different capabilities, labors, and aims ; in spite of my best endeavors, I found it impossible to effect a mediation between them, there was nothing left me but to side with the one or the other. Pestalozzi himself allied me with Schmid, whose resolute and restless activity was a pledge to me that he would render powerful assistance in introducing reforms. I was thus brought almost involuntarily into opposition with Niederer. Even though I did not altogether agree with his views, I ought to have emphatically acknowledged his self-sacrificing enthusiasm. I felt myself drawn to Krüsi by his mild disposition, but he too was against Schmid.

My silent observation was distasteful to the younger teachers ; can I blame them for it ? While they were toiling with unheard of exertion from morning till night, and had been toiling in the same manner for years previously, I looked on at their toilsome life with a critical eye. I appeared to them as a strange, quizzing, inactive intruder, and it was inevitable that I should so appear to them. They did not know that I had come with so high an opinion of the institution, that I wished at first only to look on, only to learn, in order to be able afterward to teach and to assist wherever I could.

That high opinion I had imbibed chiefly from the report. The report led me to form an over-estimate of the excellence of the institution before I went to Yverdon, and this over-estimate led me when there to think too lightly of its labors. I ought to have acknowledged *then*, the honest, conscientious, toilsome industry of several of the teachers, for instance, Ramsauer, even though they did not always bring to light discoveries that were entirely new ; misled by the report, I had hoped, it is true, to find there nothing else but new discoveries.

But, notwithstanding all these evils, I should certainly have remained longer at Yverdon, and should have wrought in patient and persevering hope, had I not held it to be my duty to take away the boy intrusted to my care. I quitted Yverdon with him in May, 1810.

Soon after my departure, the long restrained enmity there broke out into an open feud. Schmid left the institution, and wrote against it.

In the summer of 1811, Monsieur Jullien, Napoleon's companion in arms in Egypt, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, visited Yverdun. He remained in the institution six weeks; his observations were embodied in two works.\*

During the war of 1814, the hospital department of the Austrian army required that the buildings of the institution should be given up for a hospital. Fortunately, the Emperor Alexander was then at Basel: Pestalozzi immediately went to him, and was received in the most friendly manner; in consequence of the interposition of the emperor, the hospital was not established at Yverdun at all, and in November of the same year Pestalozzi received the order of St. Vladimir, fourth class.

Schmid's departure from the institution caused a very sensible void, the existence of which was painfully felt. Letters which Pestalozzi wrote to Niederer at that time, bear witness to the evil plight in which the institution was placed. "O Niederer," he writes, "without strength and purity of purpose in those who surround us, all our endeavors after what is great and high are lost; the sublime and good can not easily unfold themselves where weakness and worthlessness peer forth from all corners—our greatest enemies are under our own roof, and eat from the same dish with us—it is better to be alone than to accept delusive aid from baseness."

In a second letter, Pestalozzi writes: "The internal weakness of our house has opened the mouth of the weakest among us, for them to give us monkey's advice and hold public conferences about us among themselves. The great evil of our house comes from boys who here play the part of men, but who at every other place would be schoolboys."

In this period falls also the visit of the Prussian Chancellor of State, von Beyme, who entered the institution "with a great predisposition in favor of Pestalozzi," and before he left it expressed himself to the effect, that if the institution held together for another year, he should look upon it as the greatest wonder, for that, in the instruction which he had seen given there, things were wanting which teachers in the lowest village schools would be ashamed to have neglected.

Niederer felt more than any one else the void created by the departure of Schmid. As early as the end of the year 1813, he wrote to Schmid in the most conciliatory manner, and writing on the 10th

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\* *Précis sur l'institut d'Yverdun en Suisse*, 1812; and *Esprit de la méthode d'éducation de M. Pestalozzi*.



of February, 1815, he says: "With Pestalozzi, I stake every thing I have upon bringing you back. Alone I can do nothing. You know wherein I am deficient, but with you and a few other distinguished and noble minded men, I do not doubt of the realization of an educational heaven on earth."

Pestalozzi adduces these passages as certain proofs of Schmid's ability, and the high value of his services to the institution: but they also testify to an honorable mind on the part of Niederer, who did not attempt to conceal his own practical incompetency, and who repressed a deep-seated antipathy to Schmid, in order to realize his educational ideal.

Schmid was then at the head of a school in Bregenz. At Niederer's pressing invitation, he returned to Yverdon in the Easter of 1815, and now commenced a comprehensive reform of the institution, especially in an economical point of view. There soon arose a silent but general antipathy to him.

On the 11th of the following December, Madame Pestalozzi died, aged nearly eighty years, having been the faithful and patient partner of her husband during forty-five years, through times of severe suffering. At her funeral, after a hymn had been sung, Pestalozzi, turning toward the coffin, said: "We were shunned and contemned by all, sickness and poverty bowed us down, and we ate dry bread with tears; what was it that, in those days of severe trial, gave you and me strength to persevere and not cast away our hope?" Thereupon he took up a Bible, which was lying near at hand, pressed it on the breast of the corpse, and said: "From this source you and I drew courage, and strength, and peace." Her grave is under two tall walnut trees in the garden of the castle.

On this sorrowful day, the antipathy of many of the teachers toward Schmid first broke out into open enmity, which was never again appeased, and which positively poisoned the last twelve years of the poor old man's life. From that time every blessing seemed to forsake the institution, and every new undertaking in which Pestalozzi engaged.

Most of the teachers were against Schmid. Blochmann, for many years director of a flourishing educational establishment at Dresden, drew up a formal complaint against him, which was signed by Krüsi, Ramsauer, Stern, Ackermann, and others, in all twelve teachers.

In the year 1816, these men left the institution, among them even Krüsi, so many years the fellow-laborer of Pestalozzi. "Father," he wrote to Pestalozzi, "my time of enjoying your presence is past. I must leave your institution, as it is now conducted, if I am not

forever to lose my courage and strength to live for you and your work. For all that you were to me, and all that I was able to be to you, I thank God; for all my shortcomings, I pray God and yourself to forgive me.

At length, in 1817, Niederer also separated from the institution; Pestalozzi tried in vain the following year to reconcile him with Schmid. Both of them acknowledged Pestalozzi as their master, and yet the reconciliation was impossible. They were too much opposed to each other, not merely in natural endowments, but in their aim and object, in the educational idea which each endeavored to realize in the institution.

Niederer saw in Pestalozzi a man who had grasped with instinctive profundity the subject of human culture, but had given only a fragmentary view of it, and who could not control the ideas which, as it were, possessed him. Niederer felt himself called to control them philosophically—to build up out of those mighty educational fragments a complete systematic theory.

At first, Pestalozzi could not comprehend him, not understanding his philosophical language. At a later period, Pestalozzi saw in him the one man in the institution, who, standing on the pinnacle of German culture, was fitted to assign to the new method its proper place in the region of human culture generally. Only by such a man, he thought, could the educated world, especially Germany, be won over to his educational plans; by such a man must his Swiss idiom be translated into an intelligible *high* German. Nay, for some time he even thought that Niederer understood him better than he understood himself.

Niederer was deficient in the practical skill requisite for carrying out his educational theory, as he himself frequently acknowledged. His intention in the institution was more to observe the results of the practical talent at work there, and in this manner to learn what he could, but at the same time to see that all the teachers wrought together with one mind toward one and the same object—the realization of the educational theory.

No wonder that Pestalozzi, as he again and again affirmed, did not feel himself attracted by Niederer's peculiar character, even at times when the two men stood in a very friendly relation toward each other; and just as little need we wonder that the old man subsequently dissolved a connection, which had been formed by his will rather than his inclination.

But how entirely different was his relation to Schmid! "Inexplicable feelings," he says, "drew me toward him from the moment of

his appearance in our circle, as I have never felt myself drawn toward any other pupil." Pestalozzi writes characteristically: "I must trace from its origin the *strength* which alone appeared capable of holding us together in this unhappy state." This personified strength was no other than the shepherd boy Schmid, who had migrated from the Tyrolese mountains to Burgdorf. Pestalozzi says that he soon left his teachers behind him. "By his practical talent and incessant activity," continues Pestalozzi, "he soared above the influence of every other person in the house. I did not conceal that I looked upon the *strength* of this pupil, though still so young, as the main stay of my house." Pestalozzi characterizes Schmid in the same way in an address which he delivered in the year 1818. "I will not," he says, "make more of him than he is to me. I know him. He has a natural power which, in its artlessness, penetrates where much art has often before my own eyes failed to enter. Schmid threw a hard shell about the kernel of my vanishing labors, and saved me."

Niederer also acknowledged in the fullest measure, the ability and activity of Schmid. Like Pestalozzi, Niederer saw in him a most indefatigable teacher of mathematics and drawing, who, by his example, as well as by severe censure, could incite the remaining teachers to conscientious activity; he also saw in him a man who, being a pupil of Pestalozzi, was regarded as one of the fruits of the method, and who consequently impressed foreign visitors with a favorable idea of it. Thus it came that, in the year 1814, he hoped every thing from a reconciliation with Schmid. But how deceived he found himself, when Pestalozzi gave into Schmid's hands the sceptre over the entire institution.

Blochmann, too, in his complaint, acknowledges Schmid's "activity, perseverance, endurance, punctuality, administrative ability, his meritorious services in establishing greater order in the institution, his skill in teaching the elementary branches of mathematics—a rare talent." All these were qualities which neither Pestalozzi nor Niederer possessed, and which, therefore, marked out Schmid as an indispensable member of the staff of teachers. But, if Blochmann and the other teachers who signed the complaint acknowledged this, why did they press for Schmid's removal? Because, they answer, in that document, "the source of all that Schmid does is complete selfishness, ability without humility, without love, without self-denial, sounding brass, a tinkling cymbal, and Schmid himself is wise as the serpent, but not harmless as the dove."

In a letter, (19th March, 1818,) to Pestalozzi, Niederer reproaches him with having overrated the ability of Schmid, and ability generally.



"Ruin," he says, "entered your institution, when, dazzled and led away by individual instances of brilliant talents and results, you ceased to bestow any particular attention on that which by its nature can work only in silence, although it stands higher than talent, and alone can render the development of talent possible; when you began so to act as if you owed every thing to that with which you could make a display, and nothing to that which was not suited to this purpose. Under this fundamental error, I say more, under this fundamental injustice, the mathematical side of the method and the institution was made prominent, as if that singly and solely were the essence of the method and the salvation of humanity. Low and one-sided qualities were honored at expense of the higher ones. The qualities of good temper, fidelity, love, if they were not joined with those external qualities, were slighted and depreciated in the persons in whom they existed. In the kind of praise which you gave to the manual dexterity of utterly inexperienced youths in particular departments, you placed this dexterity above intelligence, knowledge and experience."

Let us now return to the history of the institution.

In the Easter of 1816, M. Jullien, already mentioned, came to Yverdun, bringing twenty-four pupils with him from France; but, annoyed, it is said, by Schmid, he quitted the institution the very next year.

As already stated, Niederer separated from the institution in 1817, from which time he conducted the girls' school only, in company with his wife. In the same year, a most ignominious and lamentable lawsuit, which lasted seven years, arose concerning the pecuniary affairs of this school, between Pestalozzi and Schmid, on one side, and Niederer, on the other. "It was in July, 1817," says Pestalozzi, "that a letter referring to that quarrel suddenly threw me into a state of inward rage, which was accompanied by an outbreak of real delirium, and placed me in danger of completely losing my reason, and sinking into utter insensibility." Schmid took the old man to Bület, on the Jura, whose cooling heights acted wholesomely on the endangered state of his nerves. There he poured out his sufferings in poems, in which his soul, now caught in the trammels of the most painful and ignoble relations, utters with wailing, its aspirations after heavenly freedom. Here is one of those poems:—

Fair bow, that smil'st amid the storm,  
Thou tellest of the bliss of God!  
With those soft beams of many hues,  
O shine in this afflicted heart  
Amid its wild and life-long storm!

Tell me of brighter morn to come,  
O tell me of a better day,  
Fair bow, that joinest earth to heav'n!

Through all the dark and stormy days,  
The Lord hath been a rock to me,  
My soul shall praise His holy name  
Must I be call'd from this fair earth,  
Ere thou appearest in my heart,  
And bringest with thee heavenly joys  
And that long wished for better day:  
Must I drink out the bitter cup—  
The cup of fierce contending strife  
And enmity not reconciled—  
Till I have drained the deepest dregs:  
Must I from hence depart,  
Ere peace, the peace I seek, is found?  
I own my burthen of offense,  
My many weaknesses I own,  
And with affection and with tears,  
All my offenders I forgive;  
But death will bring me peace,  
And after death's long night of rest,  
A better day will dawn for me!  
Thou herald of that better day,  
How lovely then wilt thou appear  
Above my still and lonesome grave:  
Fair bow that shin'st like Hope through tears.

Like snow new fallen on the ground,  
Like those bright flakes of winter-tide  
Which, beaming lovely in the sun,  
Sank into that new open'd grave,  
Where lay the partner of my days:  
Fair bow, that shin'st with heaven's light,  
Thus lovely, in the hour of death,  
Do thou appear once more to me.  
Through all the dark and stormy days,  
The Lord hath been a rock to me!  
My soul shall praise his holy name!

An attempt, which Pestalozzi made in 1817, to enter into connection with Fellenberg, was unsuccessful. In 1818, Schmid made an arrangement with Cotta, (the great Leipsig publisher,) for the publication of a complete edition of Pestalozzi's works; subscriptions to a considerable amount soon flowed in. The emperor of Russia subscribed 5,000 roubles; the king of Prussia, 400 dollars; the king of Bavaria, 700 guilders. Thereupon, Pestalozzi's hopes revived. In a remarkable address, already mentioned, which he delivered on his seventy-third birth-day, the 12th of January, 1818, he stated that he should appropriate to educational purposes, 50,000 French livres, which the subscription would yield.

In the same address, Pestalozzi speaks freely on the subject of his relations to Niederer and Schmid, and justifies himself for having separated from the former and joined with the latter. He hits off Niederer admirably when he says: "I am conscious of a high and

fervent love for him. Only he should not require me to value in him what I do not understand; he should ascribe it to the weakness of my head, not to the hardness of my heart, if I fail to do so, and should not on that account pronounce me ungrateful. But what shall I say? Here lies the very ground of complaint against me, namely, that I am no longer capable of following the spirit of my endeavors, and that through my incapacity, I cripple and destroy the strength of those who are further advanced in that spirit than myself. It is an old complaint, that my spirit has left me; that I have outlived myself, and that the truth and the right of my labors have passed from mine into other hands. I know well, also, and I feel it deeply, that I do not possess, in the least degree, some qualifications which are essential to the furtherance of my views; on the other hand I know just as certainly, that all those qualifications which I formerly possessed, I still feel myself to possess in some vitality, and with an impulse to apply them to use."

Of this the address affords sufficient proofs; I will quote some passages.

"Man has a conscience. The voice of God speaks in every man, and leaves no one unconvinced as to what is good, and what bad; what is right and what wrong."

"Contemplate man in the entire range of his development. See, he grows, he is educated, he is trained. He grows by the strength of his own self; he grows by the strength of his very being. He is educated by accident, by the accidental that lies in his condition, in his circumstances, and in his relations. He is trained by art and by the will of man. The growth of man and his powers is God's doing. It proceeds according to eternal and divine laws. The education of man is accidental and dependent on the varying circumstances in which a man finds himself placed. The training of man is moral. Only by the accordance of the influences of education and training with the eternal laws of human growth is man really educated and trained; by contradiction between the means of his education and training and those eternal laws, man is mis-educated and mis-trained."

Pestalozzi gives a striking delineation of the contrast between the old time and the new.

"The time in which we live, is really a time of excessive artificial refinement, in contradistinction to a high and pure sense of innocence, love, and faith, and that powerful attachment to truth and right which springs from these virtues. Who among us, if he be not an alien that neither knows the present time and its spirit, nor has searched into the time of our fathers and its spirit, but must acknowledge that the time of our fathers was a better time, their spirit a better spirit; that their sincerity of purpose had its foundations laid immeasurably deeper, in the religion of the heart, in strong earnestness in domestic and civil life, and in the daily exercise of industry in the good works of a simple and satisfying professional life, than can possibly be the case in our paralyzing refinement of the powers of body and soul. Our fathers were cheerful, reasonable, and benevolent, in all simplicity. Their circumstances were peculiarly fitted to lead them daily and hourly in all innocence, in faith, and in love, to be good-tempered, reflective, and industrious; but our artificial refinement has rendered us disgusted with our fathers' mode of life, and with the sources of their moral, domestic, and political elevation. We have almost entirely departed from their spirit and their mode of life. But it is for this reason that we have sunk so low



in respect to the education of the people. We have the semblance of faith, love, and wisdom, but not the qualities themselves; and we live in a delusion, really without the virtues of our fathers, while they, though possessing those virtues, were by no means satisfied with themselves, as we are. The good and pious foundation which our fathers had in their mode of life itself for their views, feelings, opinions, and usages generally, and particularly in respect to the training of children and the relief of the poor, has sunk under our feet through the deception of our present artificial and frivolous mode of life. We are no longer what we were, and we have even lost the feeling that we ought to become again in spirit and in truth what we were. While we praise our fathers with our mouths, we are in heart far from them, and in our doings we stand at the very antipodes of them. We have substituted for their ability to do what was necessary, and their ignorance of what was useless, a large acquaintance with what is useless and an inability to do what is necessary. Instead of their healthy spirit, well exercised in mother-wit, we have forms, not so much of thinking as of verbal expressions about what has been thought, which suck the blood out of good sense, like a marten that fixes itself upon the neck of a poor dove. We no longer know our neighbors, our fellow citizens, or even our poor relations; but we make up for it by reading the newspapers and periodicals, by learning the genealogical register of the kings of the world, the anecdotes of courts, of the theatre, and of capital cities, and we raise ourselves to a daily change in our political and religious opinions, as in our clothes, running, on one side, from infidelity to *capucinade*, and from *capucinade* to infidelity, just as, on the other side, we run from sans-cullottism to tight-lacing and leading strings. Our fathers cultivated a general, simple, and powerful intellect; but few of them troubled themselves with researches into higher truths, which are difficult to fathom: we do very little indeed toward rendering ourselves capable of cultivating a general and profound spirit of thought and research: but we all learn to talk a great deal about sublime and almost unfathomable truths, and strive very zealously to get to read the results of the profoundest thinking in the popular descriptions of almanacs and daily pamphlets, and to put them into the mouth of people generally. Among our fathers, every honest man sought to do one thing well at least, namely, the work of his calling, and every man might with honor learn every trade; now our notables are mostly born to their callings. Numberless individuals are ashamed of the rank and profession of their fathers, and believe themselves to be called to pry into and carp at the professional knowledge of all ranks; and the habit of prating about all professions and discharging one's own imperfectly is becoming more general every day, among both the notable and unnotable men of our time. All spirit of political strength has fled from amongst us. In the present state of society we no longer ask what we really are, but what we possess and what we know, and how we may set out all our possessions and knowledge for show, put them up for sale, and barter them for the means of feasting ourselves, so that we may tickle our palates with the refined enjoyments of all the five divisions of the globe, whose appetites must by such conduct be almost inevitably engendered in us. And when we have in this way succeeded in rendering ourselves powerless and degraded in body and soul, in respect to the pure claims of the humanity of our nature, and of the eternal and divine essence which lies at its foundation,—then, in the state of debility and giddiness into which the fever has thrown us, we further seek to force up the appearance of a character whose truth and purity we entirely lack. In this state, we seek to cover over the outward appearances of our debility and desolation by a violent employment of the means of adjustment and concealment, which kill heart and spirit and humanity; and verily we have sunk to the employment of such means in many matters connected with the education of the people and the relief of the poor. Thus it is that we kill, in ourselves, the very essence of the powers of the soul, those human gifts divine; and then, when a shadow of the powers which we have killed flutters in us, we ornament the works of its fluttering with golden frames, and hang them up in splendid apartments, whose shining floors are unable to bear any of the good works of the ordinary life of man."

In another place, Pestalozzi says: "The gardener plants and waters, but God giveth the increase." It is not the educator that implants

any faculty in man ; it is not the educator that gives breath and life to any faculty : he only takes care that no external influence shall fetter and disturb the natural course of the development of man's individual faculties. "The moral, the spiritual, and the artistic capabilities of our nature must grow out of themselves, and by no means out of the results produced by art, which has been mixed up with their education. Faith must be called forth again by faith, and not by the knowledge of what is believed ; thinking must be called forth again by thinking, and not by the knowledge of what is thought, or of the laws of thinking ; love must be called forth again by loving, and not by the knowledge of what is loveable or of love itself ; and art must be called forth again by ability, and not by endless talk about ability."

The reader can judge from the passages just cited whether any degree of youthful freshness still lingered in the mind and heart of the old man of seventy-three.

*For school* { But his "unrivalled incapacity to govern," as he himself calls it, did not forsake him. He established a poor school in 1818 at Clindy, in the vicinity of Yverdun ; a commencement was made with twelve boys. "They were to be brought up as poor boys," says Pestalozzi, "and receive that kind of instruction and training which is suitable for the poor." But after a short time, children were admitted to board in the establishment, at a fee of twelve louis d'or per annum ; and in a few months the number of these pupils rose to thirty. It may be easily imagined that the presence of paying boarders would of itself destroy the character of the place as a school for the poor. But this result was occasioned in a still higher degree by some remarkably stupid experiments in teaching. An Englishman,\* of the name of Greaves, visited Yverdun in 1819 ; he offered to teach these poor Swiss children English without remuneration, and his offer was accepted. On this step Pestalozzi himself remarks : "This created an impression, which, considering the original destination of these children, led us very far astray." To the instruction in English was added soon after instruction in French and Latin. Pestalozzi says, the poor children had made extraordinary progress in the elementary subjects. He adds, nevertheless, "I had no longer an establishment for the poor ; but, on the contrary, two scientific ones, which I could not now allow to remain separated. Thus the so-called poor school at Clindy was amalgamated with the institution at Yverdun." According to Pestalozzi's account, the poor scholars were "models

\* A second Englishman entered the establishment the same year, as the religious instructor of the English pupils who had been admitted. Later, "above half a dozen poor children" were even sent from England to the school !

worthy of imitation" to the pupils of the institution, especially in their acquirements. Many of them were employed as teachers. "The instruction which was given by the pupils of our poor school, (says he,) was preferred, on account of its solid and natural character to that of the most accomplished among the elder teachers of our house." (!) They threw their strength chiefly into arithmetic and geometry. Is it to be wondered at, that these poor children soon began to place themselves on a level with the children of the institution, and liked playing with them out of school hours better than chopping wood and carting manure;—that, instructed in three foreign languages, they did not like the idea of becoming masters of poor schools, and of having learnt Latin to no purpose?

Pestalozzi acknowledged, when it was too late, "that the establishment had taken such a direction that it was no longer to be looked upon as a poor school, but as a school for imparting the elements of a scientific education." The particular reason of the failure had been "that these children were led into acquirements, habits, pretensions, dreams, and appetites, which did not suit the character of their original destination, and even tended to unfit them for it."

Pestalozzi's unhappy disputes with Niederer and others went on uninterruptedly during this time. At last a reconciliation was brought about through the noble exertions of deputy governor Du Thou. On the 31st of December, 1823, Niederer wrote an apology to Schmid in the name of Krüsi and himself, in which, at the same time, it was said that any future dispute should be settled by an arbiter.

Unfortunately, newspapers and controversial writings of those years have made the public only too well acquainted with this dispute. Pestalozzi's worst enemies could not have conceived any thing that would have been more calculated to damp the public enthusiasm for him.

Who would like to undertake the task of placing before readers the details of these unfortunate occurrences, especially when it is considered that they almost exclusively concerned private interests? On February 1st, 1823, Pestalozzi wrote to Niederer a conciliatory letter, which shines forth in the midst of this lawsuit like a brilliant gem out of the mire. I give the following passage from this letter with pleasure:—

"DEAR MR. NIEDERER,\*—Call to mind what we once hoped from each other and what we were to each other. I would again hope from you what I formerly hoped, and I would again be to you what I formerly was. But we must make the way to this possible for each other; we must help each other to clear the way to it, each from the point on which he stands. Let us do this. Above all,

\* In November, 1824, the lawsuit which has been mentioned was terminated by arbitration.



let us, without circumlocution and without condition, forgive each other, and unite with a pure intention in true love, in true friendship, and in an undertaking which will be for our mutual happiness. Niederer, become again as far as you can my old Niederer—such as you were twenty years ago. Madame Niederer, be also to me again something of what you were then. I will readily be to both of you again, as far as I can, what I then was. How I long for the time when our hearts shall bring us to ourselves again, and when, in the path of real self-knowledge we shall attain to love, which is equally our duty as Christians, and the pressing need of our condition. Oh! Niederer, how I long for the time when strengthened and sanctified by this renewed love, we shall be able to go once more to the Holy Sacrament, when the festival comes round, without having to fear that the entire commune in which we live, scandalized by our conduct, will shudder at our coming to the Lord's table, and will cast upon us looks of indignation as well as pity. Oh! Niederer, the path of this renewed love is the only one which will lead to true honor, as it is also the only one which will lead to the restoration of a lost semblance of honor. Oh! Niederer, think not that the tricks and chicanery of law can ever bring us to the pinnacle of honor to which we can raise ourselves by the restoration of our love. My old friend, let us make clean the inside of the platter, before we trouble ourselves about the false glitter of the outside."

These lamentable lawsuits had naturally the worst influence on the hybrid institution. Pestalozzi felt this most painfully, and thought that his poor school would succeed, if he could only transfer it from unlucky Yverdon to Neuhof, in the canton of Argovia—the same Neuhof where, many years before, he had made his first important educational experiments. He had a new house built there for the purpose.

Each of the poor children who had been admitted into the school had bound himself to remain in it five years, from 1818 till 1823. The five years ran out. Pestalozzi confidently hoped that many of these children would follow him to Neuhof, and form the nucleus of the new establishment. But not one remained. As I have already remarked, they had imbibed grander ideas from the instruction which they had enjoyed, and they sought to make their fortune in other ways. "They considered it," says Pestalozzi, "beneath their dignity to be appointed teachers in a Pestalozzian poor school at Neuhof." When at last even a favorite pupil of his rejected all his offers, and went away clandestinely from Yverdon, the old man's heart was full. "The illusion, in my mind," he says, "as to the possibility of transplanting to Neuhof an establishment in Yverdon of which not an inch was in reality any longer mine, was now entirely dispelled. To resign myself to this conviction, required me to do no less than abandon all my hopes and aims in regard to this project, as for me completely unattainable. I did so at last, and on March 17th, 1824, I announced my total inability further to fulfill the expectations and hopes which I had excited, by my projected poor school, in the hearts of so many philanthropists and friends of education."

At length, in the year 1825, Pestalozzi also broke up the institution, after it had stood for a quarter of a century; and he returned, an old man of eighty years, and tired of life, to Neuhof, where, exactly half

a century before, he had begun his first poor school. "Verily," he says, "it was as if I was putting an end to my life itself by this return, so much pain did it give me."

Pestalozzi had but one child, a son, who was born in 1770, and died at the early age of twenty-four, leaving a son himself.\* This grandson of Pestalozzi was in possession of the estate of Neuhof; to him the old man went.

In these last years of his life, he wrote the "Song of the Dying Swan" and the "Fortunes of my Life." He looked back with deep pain on so many shipwrecked enterprises, and acknowledged that the blame was his, as the wreck had been brought on by his incompetency to manage the helm. He speaks, as we have seen, with equal candor of his fellow-workers.

These last writings of Pestalozzi have been regarded by many as the melancholy and languid outpourings of the heart of a dying old man. As far as concerns the old man's judgments on the institution, as it was at the time of my stay at Yverdon, I have already remarked that I consider them for the most part highly truthful, and as affording evidence that he was not deficient in manly clearness and penetration even in his old age.

In May of the year 1825, he was elected President of the Helvetic Society of Shinnach, of which he was the oldest member. The following year he delivered a lecture before the Education Society of Brugg, on, "The simplest means which art can employ to educate the child, from the cradle, to the sixth year, in the domestic circle." Thus the gentle influence of home education remained to the last the object of his love, as it had been fifty-six years before, when he wrote "Leonard and Gertrude."

On the 21st of July, 1826, Pestalozzi, in company with Schmid, visited the establishment of the excellent Zeller in Bruggen. The children received him with singing. An oak wreath was handed to him, but he did not accept it: "Not to me," he said, "but to Innocence belongs the wreath." The children sang to him the song by Goethe which he has introduced into "Leonard and Gertrude."

Thou art from highest skies,  
Every storm and sorrow stilling;  
Hearts that doubled anguish tries  
Doubly with thy sweetness filling;  
On the wave of passion driven,  
Oh, how longs my soul for rest!  
Peace of Heaven  
Come, oh come within my breast.

Tears choked the voice of the old man.

\* The widow, an excellent woman, subsequently married a Mr. Kuster, and remained attached to Pestalozzi with true affection.

From his youth, Pestalozzi had been weakly in constitution, and he had repeatedly suffered severe attacks of illness. In the year 1806, he was suddenly knocked down in the street by the pole of a carriage, and trampled under foot by the horses. "It is a great wonder," he said in an address on New Year's Day, 1808, "that I was saved from under the horses' feet. See, they tore the clothes from off my back, but did not touch my body."

In the year 1812, he suffered very severely for a long time from accidentally running a knitting needle into his ear.

But, notwithstanding slight ailments and dangerous accidents, his life was prolonged to a very advanced age.

At length he approached the end of his earthly existence. Some time before his death, he said: "I forgive my enemies; may they find peace now that I go to eternal rest. I should liked to have lived another month, to have completed my last labors; but I again thank God, who in His Providence calls me away from this earthly scene. And you, my children, remain in quiet attachment to one another, and seek for happiness in the domestic circle." Soon after, he breathed his last. He had lain ill only a few days. On the 15th of February, 1827, he had been removed from his country house to the town of Brugg, in order that he might be nearer to his physician; on the morning of the 17th he died, after violent paroxysms of fever; and on the 19th he was buried. His corpse was carried past the new poor school which he had begun to build, but could not complete, and was interred with a quiet and modest funeral service at the village of Birr. Few strangers attended his funeral, for the snow lay thick on the ground, and his interment took place sooner than might have been expected; the news of his death had scarcely been received in the canton of Argovia. Schoolmasters and children from the surrounding villages sang their thanks to the departed in artless strains over his grave.\*

Pestalozzi rests from the labors of his toilsome life.

At the grave a Sabbath stillness sets in; we look back upon the past, but, at the same time, we look forward into the eternal life of the departed, and ask whether, in time, he seriously prepared himself for eternity—whether all the labors of his life were done in the Lord, and whether he died in the Lord.

Not as severe judges do we ask, but in all the humility of co-redeemed sinful fellow-men; we ask with the fond wish that he may be blessed eternally.



In a letter written in the year 1793, Pestalozzi says, "Wavering between *feelings*, which drew me toward religion, and *opinions*, which led me away from it, I went the dead way of my time; I let the essential part of religion grow cold in my inmost heart, without really deciding against religion."

That is the judgment which he pronounced upon himself in his forty-eighth year; at the time of Robespierre, when the earthy political element reigned to such a degree in the minds of men, that no quiet abode remained for the religious element.

The "Evening Hour of a Hermit," written thirteen years earlier, when the world was more tranquil, and as yet not off its hinges, contains passages which are penetrated with true christian unction. To these belongs especially the concluding passage of the whole, already quoted, in which Pestalozzi speaks of Christ as "the Son of God, who with suffering and death has restored to mankind the universally lost feeling of filial love toward God—the Redeemer of the World—the sacrificed Priest of the Lord—the Mediator between God and sinful mankind;" and of his doctrine as "the revelation of God the Father to the lost race of his children."

But other passages of this paper, enticing as they sound, are at variance with essential doctrines of christianity. Thus the one in which Pestalozzi says, "Faith in God, thou art the pure sense of simplicity—the ear of innocence listening to the voice of nature, which proclaims that God is father."

Where is the ear of innocence to be found? The Scripture saith: "There is none righteous, no not one: There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." (Romans iii., 10, 11, 12.)

Where is the ear of innocence? If it were to be found among men, then it might certainly hear a voice of nature, proclaiming that God is father. In that case, the heathen might also have prayed, "Our Father." But nowhere do we find the slightest evidence that the ancients loved their gods, not to say God, with filial love.

And, could man by nature love God, to what purpose were Christ the restorer of the lost filial love of mankind? But this very expression itself appears to me to be almost a euphemism for "The LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." (Isaiah liii., 6.)

We saw, in considering the book, "How Gertrude teaches her Children," how deep an influence Pestalozzi's notion of the innocence of children exercised upon his educational theory; like Rousseau, he wanted to gather figs of thistles. Did he retain this notion to the end of his life? We shall answer this question in the negative.

In "Leonard and Gertrude," all the stress is laid upon active christianity, love is *occasionally* placed almost in opposition to faith: a dead, hypocritical faith not being always distinguished with sufficient exactitude from true faith, which is active in love. The clergyman in Leonard and Gertrude is an honest man, but strongly inclined to mere moralizing; his care of his flock is more that of a faithful personal friend, than of one acting in the spirit and strength of a church.

In the "Researches," christianity is styled a religion of morality—an effort to make the spirit subdue the flesh. If, according to the letter cited, Pestalozzi wavered between feelings, which drew him toward religion, and opinions, which led him away from it, both feeling and christianity give place, in the work just mentioned, to this belabored product of the intellect.

In the book, "How Gertrude teaches her children," the educational theory is, as we have seen, extremely weak on the religious side; it is more a rhetorical theory of intellectual developments estranged from Christ.

But in this book, also, Pestalozzi's feelings repeatedly glances through; there stand forth the aim and yearning desire of his toilsome life, the depth of a love which brought upon the poor helpless man countless sorrows and almost drove him to despair. From the depths of his necessity, he then cries to God, praying, hoping, offering up his thanks: "Friend," he writes to Gesner, "let me now for a moment forget my aim and my labors, and abandon myself entirely to the feeling of melancholy which comes over me, when I remember that I still live, though I am no longer myself. I have lost every thing, I have lost myself; nevertheless, thou, O Lord, hast preserved in me the desires of my life, and hast not shattered to pieces before my eyes the aim of my suffering, as thou hast shattered the aim of thousands of men, who corrupted themselves in their own ways. Thou hast preserved to me the work of my life, in the midst of my own ruin, and hast caused to arise upon me, in my hopeless declining age, an evening brightness, the sight of whose loveliness outweighs the sufferings of my life. Lord, I am not worthy of the mercy and faithfulness which thou hast shown toward me. Thou, thou alone, hast had mercy on the trampled worm; thou alone hast not broken the bruised reed; thou alone hast not quenched the smoking flax; and hast not, to the latest period of my life, turned away thy face from the offering, which from childhood I have desired to bring to the forsaken in the land, but have never been able to bring."

Before I consider the religious character of Pestalozzi's later works, I will first look at that of his institution. It is best delineated by Ramsauer. He entered the institution at Burgdorf in 1800, as

a boy of ten years ; he left it at the age of twenty-six, as head teacher, when he went from Yverdun to Würzburg. Thus he had, both as a learner and as a teacher, become acquainted with the religious tendency of the institution. When, in later years, the deep truth and solemn sanctity of christianity dawned upon his awakened conscience, which impelled him to self-knowledge, then first did he learn to form a just estimate of that religious tendency. He narrates as follows :—

"In Burgdorf, an active and entirely new mode of life opened to me; there reigned so much love and simplicity in the institution, the life was so genial—I could almost say patriarchal; not much was learned, it is true, but Pestalozzi was the father, and the teachers were the friends of the pupils; Pestalozzi's morning and evening prayers had such a fervor and simplicity, that they carried away every one who took part in them; he prayed fervently, read and explained Gellert's hymns impressively, exhorted each of the pupils individually to private prayer, and saw that some pupils said aloud in the bedrooms, every evening, the prayers which they had learned at home, while he explained, at the same time, that the mere repeating of prayers by rote was worthless, and that every one should rather pray from his own heart. Such exhortations became more and more rare at Yverdun, and the praying aloud ceased altogether, like so much else that had a genial character. We all felt that more must be learned than at Burgdorf; but we all fell, in consequence, into a restless pushing and driving, and the individual teachers into a scramble after distinction. Pestalozzi, indeed, remained the same noble-hearted old man, wholly forgetting himself, and living only for the welfare of others, and infusing his own spirit into the entire household; but, as it arose not so much from the religious arrangements and from Pestalozzi's principles, as from his personal character, that so genial a life had prevailed at Burgdorf, that spirit could not last long, it could not gain strength and elevate itself into a christian spirit. On the other hand, so long as the institution was small, Pestalozzi could, by his thoroughly amiable personal character, adjust at once every slight discordance; he stood in much closer relation with every individual member of the circle, and could thus observe every peculiarity of disposition, and influence it according to necessity. This ceased when the family life was transformed in the institution into a constitutional state existence. Now the individual was more easily lost in the crowd; thus there arose a desire, on the part of each, to make himself felt and noticed. Egotism made its appearance every day in more pointed forms. Envy and jealousy rankled in the breasts of many. The instruction, calculated only for the development of the mind, nourished feelings of selfishness and pride; and the counterpoise, which only the fear of God could have given, was not known. Instead of being told that only *that* teacher could labor with God's blessing who had attained to the knowledge and the belief of the highest truths, and had thus come to see that he was nothing of himself, but that he had to thank God for whatever he was enabled to be or to do, and that every christian, but especially the educator, had daily cause to pray to God for patience, love, and humility, and for wisdom in doing and avoiding; instead of this, we heard day after day that man could do every thing that he wished, that he could do every thing of himself, and that he alone could help himself. Had the otherwise so noble Pestalozzi made the Bible the foundation of all moral and religious education, I verily believe that the institution would still have been in existence, even as those institutions are still in existence and working with success which were founded by Franke, upward of one hundred years ago, with small means, but in full reliance on God. But, instead of making the pupils familiar with the Bible, Pestalozzi, and those of his assistants who gave the so-called religious instruction, or conducted the so-called morning and evening prayers, fell more and more in each succeeding year into a mere empty moralizing; and hence it may be understood how it could happen that I grew up in this institution, was confirmed there, and for sixteen years led a very active and morally good life, without acquiring even the slightest acquaintance with the word of God. I did, indeed, many a time hear the Bible named, and even heard



Pestalozzi complain that nobody read it, and say that in his youth things had been better in this respect; at the domestic worship on Sundays, and during my confirmation instruction, I also frequently heard individual texts read and arbitrarily explained; but neither I nor any other of the young men obtained any idea of the sacredness and connection of God's word. Just as Pestalozzi, by the force of his personal character, attached most of his assistants to himself for years, so that they forgot themselves as he forgot himself, when good was to be done, so also, and much more, might he have inspired them for the Gospel, and the blessing of God would then have rested on him and them, and the institution would have become a christian seminary. It would not have been necessary on this account to hang out a sign-board with the words "Christian Educational Institution," displayed upon it; on the contrary, the more quietly and modestly Pestalozzi and his assistants had conducted themselves, the more effectively would they have worked, and even the most noisy blusterer would soon have come to perceive how very little he could be and do of himself, and thus would have become capable of learning something from strangers. Perhaps some person or other may be disposed to reproach me with one-sidedness, injustice, or even ingratitude, toward Pestalozzi, and to oppose to my testimony the fact that at Yverdon Pestalozzi employed every Friday morning principally in representing Jesus to us as the great exemplar of love and self sacrifice; or I may be asked whether I have quite forgotten the zeal with which Niederer often gave the confirmation instruction. But, in reply to this, I can only refer to the facts which I have just detailed."

I could add but little to this statement of Ramsauer. When I was in the institution, the religious instruction was given by Niederer, but no stranger was allowed to be present at it. We may form a tolerably correct notion, however, of the manner in which he gave it, from what is said on the subject in the "Report to the Parents."\*

"All the elder pupils, (says the report,) receive positive religious instruction twice a week. The guiding thread that is used for this purpose is the course of the religious development of the human race, as described in the Holy Scriptures, from the Mosaic records downward, and, based on this, the pure doctrines of Jesus Christ, as he announced them in his Gospel. We base the teaching of moral duties chiefly on Christ's sermon on the mount, and the teaching of doctrines chiefly on St. John's Gospel. The latter is read connectedly and explained from itself and from Christ's eternal fundamental view of God and of himself, as the visible image and representative of the god-head and the god-like, of the relation of mankind to God, and of the life in God. We seek, by the example of Christ, and by the manner in which he viewed and treated men and things and their relations, to awaken in the children an intuitive leaning toward the life and conduct, the belief and hope, which are founded in the unchangeable nature of religion, and to render these things habitual to them, and by the development of those graces through which the Father shone in Him, to raise them to such a mind and mode of life, that God may shine in them also. We do not combat religious error, but endeavor to impart only religious truth. We seek the ground of all dogmas and the source of all religious views in the nature of religion, in the nature of man, and in his propensities, powers, wants, and relations, in order that the child may learn to distinguish the truth in every garb and the substance in every form. The course pursued for the attainment of the last-named object, or the elementary religious instruction, preparatory to the positive doctrines of revelation, is based specially on the solution of the following questions: 1. What is the original religious capability in human nature, or what are the elements of all religious development and education, in so far as they exist in man himself, and proceed from him as something implanted in him by God? These elements are perceptions and feelings. 2. By what means and in what manner must these primitive religious perceptions and feelings necessarily be excited and brought to consciousness in him? Here it is especially the relation to father and mother, to nature, and to society, that is

\* There is no doubt that this passage is from Niederer's pen.

regarded as a means of religious excitation and education. 3. By what means and in what manner does man originally and necessarily express the religious perceptions and feelings excited in him? And to what does all this lead man? We find here principally the expression of the religious disposition as a gesture; the expression of the religious notion as a word; the expression of the religious contemplation as an image. The first develops itself as ceremony, the second as instruction and doctrine, the last as symbol and image-worship. With the course of this development is connected the development of what utters itself unchangeably in human nature as veritable and eternal religion, every where operative, and of what, as sensual degeneracy, errors of the passions, and personal depravity, leads to superstition and infidelity, to idolatry and image-worship, to hypocritical self-delusion and deception of others, and lastly, to the contemptuous rejection of all that is divine and sacred. The pupil finds the key to the clear comprehension of this in the intuitive consciousness of the awaking and course of his own feelings, in the impressions which things make on his own mind, and in the religious arrangements by which he is surrounded. As matter of fact, the whole is exemplified in the history of the religious culture of mankind. The indication thereof, or the thread to which the explanation must be attached, in giving the instruction, exists in the language of every nation. The most important results to be accomplished by the instruction are: That the pupil shall lay hold of the true and the eternal in their origin; that he shall look upon the human race as essentially religious, and as an organic whole, developing itself according to necessary and divine laws; that, understanding also in its origin and in its consequences the fall from God and the god-like, he shall all the more earnestly and faithfully follow the way of return to God and to the life in Him, so that, being thus prepared, he may comprehend the worship of God in spirit and in truth, the significance of the eternal Gospel; so that he may attain to an inward godly existence, as he lives outwardly in an intelligent existence."

I have quoted the whole of this passage, because it shows how far the religious instruction was removed from all believing fervor and childlike simplicity, from christian simplicity, as we meet with it in Luther's small catechism. But this passage characterizes only the religious instruction in the institution, and by no means Pestalozzi's religious views and practice.

Still it is clear that at Yverdun he also had in view much less moral education than intellectual. He wished, by means of the latter, to lay before the world striking results of the method; but how shall he show passing strangers the results of moral education, a humble mind and a loving heart, or shall he even expose them rudely to public gaze by an examination? To which was added, that in the multitude of boys he despaired of being able to take each one individually to his heart as a father would do, who never loves his children only *en masse*.

I now return to Pestalozzi's writings, and come to those which he wrote in his old age.

In several of his addresses to the inmates of his house, there are passages which bear witness that even during the years which he passed at Yverdun, christianity still lived in his inmost soul; peaceful Sabbath and festival tones soar above the restless and noisy week-day work. So in his Christmas address of 1810.

"I have been told by old people, (he said,) and I have partly seen myself,



that Christmas Eve used to be a night like no other. The day of the highest earthly joy was not its shadow. The anniversary of the deliverance of the country from slavery, the anniversary of freedom, was not to be compared to it. It was quite a heavenly night, a night of heavenly joy. In its still service dedicated to God, resounded the words: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.' When the angels still assembled, as it were, over the heads of men, at this hour, and praised God that the Saviour of the world was born,—what a night was Christmas Eve! Who can describe its joy? Who can tell its bliss? The earth was, on that night, transformed into a heaven. On that night, God was celebrated on high, peace was on earth, and men showed a cheerful good will. Brothers, friends, children, could I but carry you back into the old christian world, and show you the celebration of this hour in the days of innocence and faith, when half the world still accounted it a small thing to die for the faith in Christ Jesus! Could I but show you the joy of Christmas Eve in the picture of those days! The heart full of the Holy Ghost, and the hand full of human gifts—thus stood the christian at this hour in the circle of his brethren. Thus stood the mother in the circle of her children. Thus stood the master in the circle of his workmen—the gentleman in the circle of his own people. Thus stood the commune before their pastor—thus went the rich man into the chamber of the poor. At this hour, enemy held out to enemy the hand of reconciliation. The sinner knelt down and wept over his transgressions, and rejoiced in the Saviour, who forgave him his sins. The hour of heavenly joy was the hour of heavenly sanctification. The earth was a heavenly earth, and the abode of mortal men emitted odors of immortal life. May the joys of this hour, may the joy at the birth of our Redeemer, so elevate us, that Jesus Christ may now appear to us as the visible divine love, as he sacrificed himself and gave himself up to death for us. May we rejoice in the hour in which he became man, because he brought into the world for us the great gift of his life, and laid it upon the altar of divine love. From this hour, he was the priest of the Lord, sacrificed for us. Friends, brothers, sisters, let us pray; O God, give us them again, those fair days of the world, in which the human race truly rejoiced in the birth of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer. Give us again the times in which the hearts of men were at this hour, full of the Holy Ghost, and their hands full of human gifts for their brethren. Father in heaven, thou wilt give us them again, if we but truly desire them."

In the address already mentioned, which Pestalozzi delivered in 1818, when he was seventy-two years old, occur passages which make a profound impression on the mind. He there declares that happiness is to be expected from christianity alone.

"The artificial spirit of our times, (he says,) has also annihilated the influence which the religious feeling of our fathers exercised upon this centre of human happiness. This religious spirit which caused the happiness of the quiet and circumscribed domestic relations, has sunk down amongst us into an insolent spirit of reasoning upon all that is sacred and divine; still we must also acknowledge that the prime source of the real poison of our artificiality, namely, the irreligious feeling of the present age, seems to be shaken in the very depths of its destructive powers; the blessed spirit of the true christian doctrine appears to strike deeper root again in the midst of the corruption of our race, and to preserve inward purity of life in thousands and thousands of men, and, indeed, with regard to popular education, it is from this quarter alone that we can derive the expectation, that we shall ever attain to measures really calculated to reach with sufficient efficacy the views, dispositions, appetites, and habits of our present mode of life, which we must look upon as the original source of our popular depravity and the misfortunes of our times."

The conclusion of the address is particularly important:—

Friends, brothers, become renovators of my house, restorers of its old spirit, and witnesses that the spirit of my youth, which is seen blossoming in 'Leonard and Gertrude,' and nearer maturity in 'How Gertrude teaches her children,' still lives in me. In that spirit, become joint founders of the present result of



the old original, philanthropic and beneficent purpose of my institution. In that spirit, and in no other, I call you all, who are members of my institution, to a sacred union in and through love. Love one another, as Jesus Christ loved us. 'Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.' Friends, brothers, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. Heap coals of fire on the heads of your enemies. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. If thou bring thy gift to the altar, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. All unrelenting severity, even toward those who do us wrong, be far from our house. Let all human severity be lost in the gentleness of our faith. Let no one among you attempt to excuse his severity toward those who are in the wrong. Let no one say that Jesus Christ did not love those who did wrong. He did love them. He loved them with divine love. He died for them. He came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance. He did not find sinners faithful, but made them faithful. He did not find them humble, but made them humble, by his own humility. Verily, verily, it was with the high and holy service of his humility that he conquered the pride of sinners, and chained them by faith to the heart of his divine love. Friends, brothers, if we do this, if we love one another, as Jesus Christ loved us, we shall overcome all the obstacles which stand in the way of our life's purpose, and be able to ground the welfare of our institution upon the everlasting rock, on which God himself has built the welfare of the human race, through Jesus Christ. Amen."

At the grave, I have asked after Pestalozzi's confession of faith; I have sought it in his writings, as well as in his life, and communicated to the reader what he himself confessed in 1793 about his christianity at that period of his life, when, perhaps, he had separated himself furthest from Christ, and lived only in a speculative and political element. "Wavering, (so went the confession,) between feelings which drew me toward religion, and opinions which led me away from it, I went the dead way of my time." This confession we have found confirmed in his writings, as in his life; but in his earliest, and again in his latest writings, religious feeling has been seen soaring above a sceptical intellect. And throughout his long life how high soars a love which would not despair under any suffering, any ingratitude; how high it soars above all doubts, in the pure air of heaven! Men are seduced into infidelity by superficial reflection, which, misapprehending and over-estimating the measure of insight possible to man, fails to judge aright where a clear self-knowledge believes with intelligent resignation. But Christ, who takes the strong for his spoil, reigns ever in the inmost heart of christians as *episcopus in partibus infidelium*; even in times, when their faith wavers, he remains faithful to them. This we see in Pestalozzi, both in his words and in his works.

Who shall dare cast a stone at him, who shall dare condemn him? To him shall much be forgiven, for he loved much. Aye, the whole of his toilsome life is pervaded by love—by a yearning desire to alleviate the condition of the poor suffering people. That love was the

passion of his heart; it kindled in him a burning anger against all who stood in the way of the attainment of its object.

It is true, that the chief obstacle in his way was himself. With God, counsel and action go together; with men, they are only too often separated. Thus we have seen that Pestalozzi, with the clearest knowledge of men, was incapable of managing and governing them; with the most amiable ideals, he was blind when he had to show the way to those ideals. Nay, in endeavoring to realize his great conceptions, he frequently took the course most opposed to them.

No one was further than he was from a cleanly domestic existence; yet no one desired such an existence more earnestly, or understood its value better, than he did. The delineations of Gertrude's housekeeping prove that a poet can truthfully depict not only what he possesses in full degree, but what he longs for with his whole heart because he lacks it altogether.

He passed the greater part of his life in pressing want: thus he could scarcely fail to feel a true and spontaneous sympathy with the poor and abandoned.

If he was cynical in evil days from necessity; in better days, he was so on principle. Corresponding to the bodily cynicism, there was in the character of his mind, something which I would call, not spiritual poverty, but intellectual cynicism: an aversion to the aristocracy of education. And yet, as one of the contradictions of which his character is full, he felt himself called to lay new foundations under the lofty structure of this education, instead of the old pernicious ones. He wanted to support the upper story of the building, without troubling himself about that story itself. On one occasion, he even made it the subject of a boast, that he had not read a book for thirty years.

Hence it came, as I have already said, that he committed so many mistakes usual with self-taught men. He wants the historical basis; things which others had discovered long before appear to him to be quite new when thought of by himself or any one of his teachers. He also torments himself to invent things which had been invented and brought to perfection long before, and might have been used by him, if he had only known of them. For example, how useful an acquaintance with the excellent Werner's treatment of the mineralogical characters of rocks would have been to him, especially in the definition of the ideas, observations, naming, description, &c. As a self-taught man, he every day collected heaps of stones in his walks. If he had been under the discipline of the Freiberg school, the observation of a single stone would have profited him more, than large heaps

of stones, laboriously brought together, could do, in the absence of any such division.

Self-taught men, I say, want the discipline of the school. It is not simply that, in the province of the intellectual, they often find only after long wanderings what they might easily have attained by a direct and beaten path; they want also the ethical discipline, which restrains us from running according to caprice after intellectual enjoyments, and wholesomely compels us to deny ourselves and follow the path indicated to us by the teacher.

Many, it is true, fear that the oracular instinct of the self-taught might suffer from the school. But, if the school is of the right sort, this instinct, if genuine, will be strengthened by it; deep-felt, dreamy, and passive presentiments are transfigured into sound, waking, and active observation.

This self-taught character of Pestalozzi's mind showed itself in his treatment of several branches of instruction. What are his names of towns, which he takes in alphabetical order from the index of a geography book, without possessing any knowledge of the subject; what are the heaps of words transcribed from Scheller's Lexicon: what else are they but the trials of an undisciplined mind, to find out new ways of writing schoolbooks?

But when the self-taught man forsakes the old highways, he finds, in spite of much going astray, many short by-ways, the knowledge of which is welcome to the students of the subject, and induces them to make new experiments themselves. In this manner, Pestalozzi exercised an influence even upon his adversaries.

Generally, Pestalozzi's personal influence on the methods of teaching particular subjects was small; but, on the other hand, he compelled the scholastic world to revise the whole of their task, to reflect on the nature and destiny of man, as also on the proper way of leading him from his youth toward that destiny. And this was done, not in the superficial rationalistic manner of Basedow\* and his school, but so profoundly, that even a man like Fichte anticipated very great things from it.

But it is to be lamented, that the actual attempts made by Pesta-

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\*Basedow founded an educational institution called the "Philanthropin," at Dessau, in 1774. In this institution, the educational views of Rousseau, as expounded in his "Emile," were exclusively followed, and every effort made to realize them. Rousseau was at that time the pharos of many educationists in Germany and Switzerland, as he was the pharos of the men of the revolution in France. The Philanthropin excited a good deal of attention at the time. The name of the Philanthropin still survives, but it has almost become a term of reproach to signify any shallow educational enterprise. It appears, however, that, together with much that was whimsical and even foolish, the institution presented many honest and unselfish efforts on the part of faithful workers, and produced many wholesome fruits—See *Raumer's account of the Philanthropin*.



lozzi and his fellow-laborers to set up new methods of teaching various subjects, have met with such especial approbation and imitation. An examination of Pestalozzi's profound principles, and an insight into the contradiction between these principles and his practice, would have conduced much more to the discovery of new methods, really answering to the principles. This is applicable, for instance, to what I have said upon the exercises in observation, falsely so called. Most of the imitators of the great man have fallen in love with his dark side, the endeavor to mechanise education. When those purely external appliances and artifices which he employed for mechanising education shall have been so modified as to be no longer recognizable, or shall have been entirely laid aside and forgotten—then Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude," the "Evening Hour of a Hermit," and "How Gertrude teaches her Children," will still live on and exercise an influence, though even these works, like every thing else that is human, are not altogether free from spot or blemish. Profound thoughts, born of a holy love under severe pains, they are thoughts of eternal life, and, like love, shall never cease.

The following summary view of the principal Biographies of Pestalozzi is taken substantially from Guillaume's Memoir in Buisson's *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*:

Several biographical notices of Pestalozzi were published soon after his death, in 1827-8, two in the French language; the first by Charles Monard of Lausanne, and the second by Madame Adele du Thon, the wife of the Prefect of Yverdun.

REV. CHARLES MAYO, in 1826, printed, with other papers, a Memoir of Pestalozzi, read before the Royal Institution; and in 1856.

DR. E. BIBER, the author of a pamphlet in 1827, entitled *Contribution to the Biography of Henry Pestalozzi*, in 1831 published in English a biography of Pestalozzi under the title, *Henry Pestalozzi and his Plan of Education; being an account of his Life and Writings, with copious extracts from his works, and details illustrative of the practical parts of his method*.

REV. WILLIAM C. WOODBRIDGE published in the *Annals of Education* for January, 1837, a carefully-prepared Life of Pestalozzi, with a critical examination of his principles and methods of education, which was re-issued by H. Barnard in 1856.

DR. A. H. DIESTERWEG printed in the *Rheinische Blätter*, 1827 to 1831, several biographical sketches on different periods of his career, and in 1846 a Commemorative Discourse on his Influence on Popular Education in Germany.

KARL VON RAUMER (1843) in the second volume of his History of Pedagogy, devotes a very interesting and valuable chapter of over a hundred pages to Pestalozzi.

The Academy of Political and Moral Science, at Paris, announced as a subject for the Felix de Beaujour prize, *A Critical Examination of Pestalozzi's System of Instruction and Education, with especial regard to the welfare and morality of the poorer classes*. The prizes were awarded to J. J. Repet and to Philibert Pompée, and honorable mention to Augustine Cochin, whose essay was published in 1848. Of Repet's Memoir we have never seen a copy. In 1850, Pompée published the biographical part of his essay, and a complete edition in 1878. This work, vigorous and original, contains much that was new, communicated to the author by Joseph Schmid, and about the period of Münchenbuchensee and Yverdun, and is not impartial in those chapters covering the period from 1805-1827, which are full of panegyric of Schmid and disparagement of Niederer.

MISS CHAVANNES, daughter of the author of *L'Exposé de la Méthode élémentaire de Pestalozzi*, published in 1853 a biography of Henry Pestalozzi, which has many mistakes, but contains much new matter.

M. PAROZ published *Pestalozzi, his Life, Methods, and Principles*; Berne, 1857.

DR. PALMER prepared, for Schmid's *Pedagogical Encyclopædia*, a critical exposition of Pestalozzi's Life and Pedagogy, of great excellence from the Protestant point of view.

F. MANN'S *J. H. Pestalozzi's Leben und Wirken*, issued in 1871, is a work of more than ordinary merit and accuracy.

M. SEYFFARTH published (1873) a biography of Pestalozzi, in which he has conscientiously utilized all existing works.

M. ROGER DE GUIMPS, son of Madame de Guimps, the translator of Leonard and Gertrude, and an old scholar in the institution at Yverdun, published in 1874, being greatly aided by the researches of Morf and Seyffarth, a *Histoire de Pestalozzi*. This is the best book on the subject in the French language. We are indebted to him for many facts about the inner life, studies, scholars, etc., of the institution of Yverdun at that time, for which we seek in vain elsewhere.

HERMAN KRUSI, the son of Pestalozzi's first assistant, published in 1875 (Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., Cincinnati) a volume of 248 pp., entitled *Pestalozzi's Life, Work, and Influence*.

F. BUISSON, in his *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*, published in 1882, devotes 75 of his large and closely-printed pages to an elaborate and exhaustive memoir of Pestalozzi, prepared by J. Guillaume.

MADAME ZEHNDER-STADLIN, of Zurich, in 1875, announced the publication of a great work on Pestalozzi, in seven volumes, which should embrace many unpublished manuscripts concerning him (copies of which she had procured), his own correspondence, and all documents which would throw light on the life of the great Zurich educator. The first volume appeared in 1875, under the title, *Pestalozzi: — Idee und Macht der menschlichen Entwicklung. Erster Band: Zeit und Vorzeit von Pestalozzi's Entwicklung*. Madame Stadlin died while this volume was in press.

DR. O. HUNZIKER, in 1881-2 began a series of publications on Pestalozzi, of which the principal are (not to mention the *Pestalozzi-Blätter*, of which he was the editor) *Pestalozzi's Versuch der Armen-erziehung auf dem Neuhof von einem Mitglied der Commission für das Pestalozzi-Stübchen*. 1831. *Deutsche Blätter* of F. Mann (1882) and two essays (1881-1884) on the composition of *Leonard and Gertrude*.

H. MORF, of Winterthur, Principal of the Orphan Asylum, from 1864 to 1867 published several monographs on certain portions of Pestalozzi's career, and in 1868 he issued the first volume of an elaborate biography under the title, *Zur Biographie Pestalozzi's. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Volkserziehung. Erster Theil: Pestalozzi's Wirksamkeit bis in die Mitte des Burgdorfers Aufenthaltes; Zweite Vermehrte Auflage*. The second volume did not appear till 1885, under the title, *Pestalozzi und seine Anstalt in der zweiten Hälfte der Burgdorfer Zeit*. And in 1885 a third volume, entitled *Von Burgdorf über Münchenbuchsee nach Yverdun*. Morf also published a study of Pestalozzianism in Spain, which appeared in 1876.

The Milton Bradley Company, Springfield, issue in 1888 —

PESTALOZZI AND SWISS PEDAGOGY.—Memoir and Educational Principles of John Henry Pestalozzi, with Biographical Sketches of other eminent Swiss Educators, and some account of Swiss Pedagogy in other Countries. Edited by Henry Barnard, LL.D. Revised Edition, 816 pages. \$3.50 in cloth binding.

Of this Memoir, as issued in 1862, in a volume of 484 pages, with the title of *Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism*, Prof. Raumer wrote from Erlangen.

"In your *Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism* you have collected with the greatest diligence all that relates to Pestalozzi and his school. I can hardly understand how you could have made such a collection in America, or out of it either, even by the aid of well-informed correspondents. I know how great is the difficulty of collecting authorities, by my own experience during the composition of my *History of Pedagogy*, where I had to obtain them with much pains from German and Swiss Libraries and even from France." "It is the most comprehensive, reliable, and satisfactory work I have seen on the great Swiss educator."



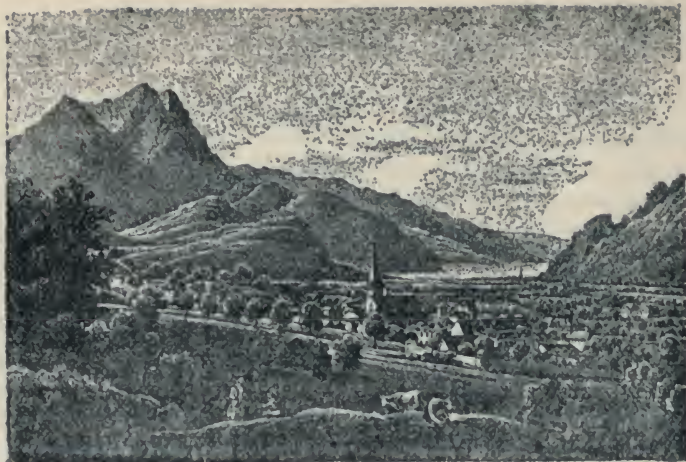
From cotemporaneous accounts of the school at Clindy, by a pupil, recently printed (1880), it is clear that Prof. Raumer in his memoir of Pestalozzi (p. 112-113), did not possess full information respecting Pestalozzi's object in establishing it, or in the satisfactory results, as long as he possessed adequate means to continue it on its original plan. No one saw more clearly the necessity of a well trained, equipped and experienced principal with natural aptitude for such a Normal School as he contemplated, but he was not as fortunate as Fellenberg was in a similar plan, in finding a Vehrli to develop it.

#### THE CLINDY SCHOOL.

In 1818, Pestalozzi desired to found at Neuhof an institution for poor and orphaned children, where scholars of both sexes could be educated and trained for teachers. The requisite building not being found there, he rented, in the little village of Clindy, about a mile from Yverdun, a building to receive the new school. In May, 1818, he announced through the *Journal* that twelve poor scholars, of either sex, would be received free of charge, and maintained during five years at Clindy, where they would be prepared for the career of teachers. From the number applying for admission, twelve of the best character and the most intelligence were selected. The establishment of Clindy was formally opened on Monday, September 13, 1818, by an address by Pestalozzi, which was printed, but which is not to be found in any regular edition of his works. The boys were put under the charge of Morand, and the girls under Marie Schmid, a sister of Joseph Schmid, and a former pupil of the School for Girls. The instruction was given by the teachers of the Institution at Yverdun.

Much light is thrown on the genesis and brief history of this school at Clindy, in the biography of Jacob Heussi, one of the twelve free scholars of the institution, who died at Leipzie in 1883, after having been professor for fifty-eight years in different institutions in England and Germany.

After 1815, Pestalozzi had frequent visits from different Englishmen at Yverdun, who showed especial interest in the Clindy School. Thinking that through their interest at home he might find the resources for supporting his school, he planned an English edition of his works, and issued an appeal to the English public, printed at Yverdun, September 14, 1818. Its title was, "The address of Pestalozzi to the British Public, soliciting them to aid by subscriptions his plan of preparing School Masters and Mistresses for the people, that Mankind may in time receive the first Principles of Intellectual Instruction from the Mothers." He pledges himself to the people of England, who are interested in the subject, to devote their subscriptions, deducting the cost of translating and printing, to a permanent fund for this school.



STANS



BURGDORF



## STUDENT LIFE AT YVERDUN UNDER PESTALOZZI.

REMINISCENCES OF A WESTMINSTER BOY.

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### THE REMINISCENT.\*

The writer of these reminiscences of his student life at Yverdun [about 1814] was taken by his father from the hard forms and birchen discipline of Westminster School, then under Dr. Page, under somewhat exaggerated expectations of Pestalozzi's Boarding School, which are well described by himself.

"Here was a school composed of boys gathered from all parts of the habitable globe, where each, by simply carrying over a little of his mother tongue, might, in a short time, become a youthful Mezzofante, and take his choice of many in return; a school which, wisely eschewing the routine service of books, suffered neither dictionary, gradus, grammar, nor spelling book to be even seen on the premises; a school for morals, where, in educating the head, the right training of the heart was never for a moment neglected; a school for the progress of the mind, where much discernment, blending itself with kindness, fostered the first dawnings of the intellect, and carefully protected the feeble powers of memory from being overtaxed—where delighted Alma, in the progress of her development, might securely enjoy many privileges and immunities wholly denied to her at home—where even philosophy, stooping to conquer, had become *sportive* the better to *persuade*; where the poet's vow was actually realized—the bodily health being as diligently looked after as that of the mind or the affections; lastly, where they found no fighting nor bullying, as at home, but agriculture and gymnastics instituted in their stead." To such encomiums on the school were added, and with more justice and truth, a commendation on old Pestalozzi himself, the real liberality of whose sentiments, and the overflowings of whose paternal love, could not, it was argued, and did not, fail to prove beneficial to all within the sphere of their influence. The weight of such supposed advantages turned the scale for not a few just entering into the pupillary state, and settled their future destination.

The account which follows, after due allowance for its unsympathizing tone, throws much light on the internal economy of the institution.

### INTERNAL CONDITION.

The Pension, during the period of our sojourn at Yverdun, contained about a hundred and eighty élves, natives of every European and of some Oriental states, whose primitive mode of distribution into classes, according to age and acquirements, during school hours, was completely changed in play-time, when the boys, finding it easier to speak their own tongue than to acquire a new one,

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\* From an article in Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1849, with the caption *Pestalozziana*—written some thirty years after leaving Yverdun, with no prejudices in favor of popular education.



divided themselves into separate groups according to their respective nations. The English would occasionally admit a German or a Prussian to their coterie; but that was a favor seldom conferred upon any other foreigner; for the Spaniards, who were certainly the least well-conducted of the whole community, did not deserve it; among them were to be found the litigious, the mischief-makers, the quarrellers, and—for, as has been hinted, we were not all honest—the exceptional thieves. The Italians we could never make out, nor they us; we had no sympathy with Pole or Greek; the Swiss we positively did not like, and the French just as positively did not like us; so how could it be otherwise? The ushers, for the most part trained up in the school, were an obliging set of men, with little refinement, less pretension, and wholly without learning. A distich from Crabbe describes them perfectly—

"Men who, 'mid noise and dirt, and play and prate,  
Could calmly mend the pen and wash the slate."

Punishments were rare; indeed, flogging was absolutely prohibited; and the setting an imposition would have been equally against the *genius loci*, had lesson-books existed out of which to hear it afterwards. A short imprisonment in an unfurnished room—a not very formidable black hole—with the loss of a *goutte* now and then, and at very long intervals, formed the mild summary of the penal "code Pestalozzi."

It was Saturday, and a half-holiday, when we arrived at Yverdun, and oh the confusion of tongues which there prevailed! All Bedlam and Parnassus, let loose to rave together, could not have come up to that diapason of discords with which the high corridors were ringing, as, passing through the throng, we were conducted to the venerable head of the establishment in his private apartments beyond. In this gallery of mixed portraits might be seen long-haired, high-born, and high-cheek-boned Germans; a scautling of French *gamins* much better dressed; some dark-eyed Italians; Greeks in most foreigneering attire; here and there a fair ingenuous Russian face; several swart, sinister-looking Spaniards, models only for their own Carravagio; some dirty specimens of the universal Pole; one or two unmistakable English, ready to shake hands with a compatriot; and Swiss from every canton of the Helvetic confederacy. To this promiscuous multitude we were shortly introduced, the kind old man himself taking us by the hand, and acting as master of the ceremonies. When the whole school had crowded round to stare at the new importation, "Here," said he, "are four English boys come from their distant home, to be naturalized in this establishment, and made members of our family. Boys, receive them kindly, and remember they are henceforth your brothers." A shout from the crowd proclaiming its ready assent and cordial participation in the adoption, nothing remained but to shake hands *à l'Anglaise*, and to fraternize without loss of time. The next day being Sunday, our skulls were craniologically studied by Herr Schmidt, the head usher; and whatever various bumps or depressions phrenology might have discovered thereon were all duly registered in a large book. After this examination was concluded, a week's furlough was allowed, in order that Herr Schmidt might have an opportunity afforded him of seeing how far our real character squared with phrenological observation and measurement, entering this also into the same ledger as a note.

What a contrast were we unavoidably drawing all this time between Yverdun and Westminster, and how enjoyable was the change to us! The reader will please to imagine, as well as he can, the sensations of a lately pent-up chrysalis,

on first finding himself a butterfly, or the not less agreeable surprise of some newly metamorphosed tadpole, when, leaving his associates in the mud and green slime, he floats at liberty on the surface of the pool, endowed with lungs and a voice,—if he would at all enter into the exultation of our feelings on changing the penitential air of Millbank for the fresh mountain breezes of the Pays de Vaud. It seemed as if we had—nay, we had actually entered upon a new existence, so thoroughly had all the elements of the old been altered and improved. If we looked back, and compared past and present experiences, there, at the wrong end of the mental telescope, stood that small dingy house, in that little mis-yeclept Great Smith Street, with its tiny cocoon of a bed-room, whilom our close and airless prison; here, at the other end, and in immediate contact with the eye, a noble chateau, full of roomy rooms, enough and to spare. Another retrospective peep, and *there* was Tothill Fields, and its seedy cricket-ground; and *here*, again, a level equally perfect, but carpeted with fine turf, and extending to the margin of a broad, living lake, instead of terminating in a nauseous duck pond; while the cold, clammy cloisters adjoining Dean's Yard were not less favorably replaced by a large, open, airy play ground, intersected by two clear trout-streams—and a sky as unlike that above Bird Cage Walk as the interposed atmosphere was different; whilst, in place of the start-ling, discordant *Keleusmata* of bargees, joined to the creaking, stunning noise of commerce in a great city, few out-of-door sounds to meet our ear, and these few, with the exception of our own, all quiet, pastoral, and soothing, such as, later in life, make

“ Silence in the heart  
For thought to do her part; ”

and which are not without their charm, even to him “ who whistles as he goes, for *want* of thought.” No wonder, then, if Yverdun seemed Paradisaical in its landscapes. Nor was this all. If the views outside were charming, our domestic and social relations within doors were not less pleasing. At first, the unwelcome vision of the *late* head-master would sometimes haunt us, clad in his flowing black D.D. robes—“ *tristis severitas in vultu, atque in verbis fides*,” looking as if he intended to flog, and his words never belying his looks. That terrible Olympian arm, raised and ready to strike, was again shadowed forth to view; while we could almost fancy ourselves once more at that judicial table, one of twenty boys who were to draw lots for a “ hander.” How soothingly, then, came the pleasing consciousness, breaking our reverie, that a very different person was *now* our head-master—a most indulgent old man whom we should meet ere long, with hands uplifted, indeed, but only for the purpose of clutching us tight while he inflicted a salute on both cheeks, and pronounced his affectionate *guten morgen, liebes kind*, as he hastened on to bestow the like fatherly greeting upon every pupil in turn.

#### THE DORMITORY.

The sleeping apartments at the chateau occupied three of the four sides of its inner quadrangle, and consisted of as many long rooms, each with a double row of windows; whereof one looked into the aforesaid quadrangle, while the opposite rows commanded, severally, views of the garden, the open country, and the Grande Place of the town. They were accommodated with sixty uncurtained stumpy bedsteads, fifty-nine of which afforded *gîte* to a like number of boys; and one, in no respect superior to the rest, was destined to receive the athletic form of Herr Gottlieb, son-in-law to Vater Pestalozzi, to whose partic-

ular charge we were consigned during the hours of the night. These bed rooms, being as lofty as they were long, broad, and overfurnished with windows, were always ventilated; but the in-draught of air, which was sufficient to keep them cool during the hottest day in summer, rendered them cold, and sometimes *very* cold, in the winter. In that season, accordingly, especially when the *bise* blew, and hail and sleet were battering against the casements, the compulsory rising to class by candle-light was an ungenial and unwelcome process; for which, however, there being no remedy, the next best thing was to take it as coolly, we were going to say—*that of course*—but, as patiently as might be. The disagreeable anticipation of the *réveil* was frequently enough to scare away sleep from our eyes a full hour before the command to jump out of bed was actually issued. On such occasions we would lie awake, and, as the time approached, begin to draw in our own breath, furtively listening, not without trepidation, to the loud noise of a distant comrade, lest its fitful stertor should startle another pair of nostrils, on whose repose that of the whole dormitory depended. Let *Æolus* and his crew make what tumult they liked inside or outside the castle—they disturbed nobody's dreams—they never murdered sleep. Let them pipe and whistle through every key-hole and crevice of the vast *enceinte* of the building—sigh and moan as they would in their various imprisonments of attic or corridor; howl wildly round the great tower, or even threaten a forcible entry at the windows, nobody's ears were scared into unwelcome consciousness by sounds so familiar to them all. It was the expectation of a blast louder even than theirs that would keep our eyes open—a blast about to issue from the bed of Herr Gottlieb, and thundering enough, when it issued, to startle the very god of winds himself! Often, as the dreaded six A.M. drew nigh, when the third quarter past five had, ten minutes since, come with a sough and a rattle against the casements, and still Gottlieb slept on, we would take courage, and begin to dream with our eyes open, that his slumbers might be prolonged a little; his face, turned upwards, looked so calm, the eyes so resolutely closed—every feature so perfectly at rest. It could not be more than five minutes to six—might not he who had slept *so long*, for once *oversleep*, himself? NEVER! However placid those slumbers might be, they invariably forsook our “unwearied one” just as the clock was on the point of striking six. To judge by the rapid twitchings—they almost seemed galvanic—first of the muscles round the mouth, then of the nose and eyes, it appeared as though some ill-omened dream, at that very nick of time, was sent periodically, on purpose to awaken him; and, if so, it certainly never returned *απρακτος*. Gottlieb would instantly set to rubbing his eyes, and as the hour struck, spring up wide awake in his shirt sleeves—thus destroying every lingering, and, as it always turned out, ill-founded hope of a longer snooze. Presently we beheld him jump into his small-clothes, and, when sufficiently attired to be seen, unlimber his tongue, and pour forth a rattling broadside—*Auf, kinder! Schweind!*—with such precision of delivery, too, that few sleepers could turn a deaf ear to it. But lest any one should still lurk under his warm coverlet out of earshot, at the further end of the room, another and a shriller summons to the same effect once more shakes the walls and windows of the dormitory. Then every boy knew right well that the last moment for repose was past, and that he must at once turn out shivering from his bed, and dress as fast as possible; and it was really surprising to witness how rapidly all could huddle on their clothes under certain conditions of the atmosphere!



In less than five minutes the whole school was dressed, and Gottlieb, in his sounding shoes, having urged the dilatory with another admonitory *schwind, schwind!* has departed, key and candle in hand, to arouse the remaining sleepers, by ringing the "Great Tom" of the chateau. So cold and cheerless was this matutinal summons, that occasional attempts were made to evade it by simulated headache, or, without being quite so specific, on the plea of general indisposition, though it was well known beforehand what the result would be. Herr Gottlieb, in such a case, would presently appear at the bedside of the delinquent patient, with very little compassion in his countenance, and in a business tone, proceed to inquire from him, Why not up?—and on receiving for reply, in a melancholy voice, that the would-be invalid was *sehr krank*, would instantly pass the word for the doctor to be summoned. That doctor—we knew him well, and every truant knew—was a quondam French army surgeon—a sworn disciple of the Broussais school, whose heroic remedies at the chateau resolved themselves into one of two—*i.e.* a starve or a vomit, alternately administered, according as the *idiosyncrasy* of the patient, or as this or that symptom turned the scale, now in favor of storming the stomach, now of starving it into capitulation. Just as the welcome hot mess of bread and milk was about to be served to the rest, this dapper little Sangrado would make his appearance, feel the pulse, inspect the tongue, ask a few questions, and finding, generally, indications of what he would term *une légère gastrite*, recommend *diète absolue*; then prescribing a mawkish *tisane*, composed of any garden herbs at hand, and pocketing lancets and stethoscope, would leave the patient to recover *sans remède*—a mode of treatment to which, he would tell us, we should certainly have been subjected in our own country. Meanwhile, the superiority of his plan of treatment was unquestionable. On the very next morning, when he called to visit his *cher petit malade*, an empty bed said quite plainly, "Very well, I thank you, sir, and in class." But these feignings were comparatively of rare occurrence, in general, all rose, dressed, and descended together, just as the alarm bell had ceased to sound; and in less than two minutes more all were assembled in their respective class-rooms. The rats and mice, which had had the run of these during the night, would be still in occupation when we entered; and such was the audacity of these vermin that none cared *alone* to be the first to plant a candle on his desk. But, by entering *en masse*, we easily routed the *Rodentia*, whose forces were driven to seek shelter behind the wainscot, where they would scuffle, and gnaw, and scratch, before they finally withdrew, and left us with blue fingers and chattering teeth to study to make the best of it. Uncomfortable enough was the effort for the first ten minutes of the session; but by degrees the hopes of a possible warming of hands upon the surface of the Dutch stoves after class, if they should have been lighted in time, and at any rate the certainty of a hot breakfast, were entertained, and brought their consolation; besides which, the being up in time to welcome in the dawn of the dullest day, while health and liberty are ours, is a pleasure in itself. There was no exception to it here; for when the darkness, becoming every moment less and less dark, had at length given way, and melted into a gray gloaming, we would rejoice, even before it appeared, at the approach of a new day. That approach was soon further heralded by the fitful notes of small day-birds chirping under the leaves, and anon by their sudden dashings against the windows, in the direction of the lights not yet extinguished in the class-rooms. Presently the pigs were heard rejoicing and contending over their fresh wash; then the

old horse and the shaggy little donkey in the stable adjoining the styes, knowing by this stir that their feed was coming, snorted and brayed at the pleasant prospect. The cocks had by this time roused their sleepy sultanas, who came creeping from under the barn-door to meet their lords on the dunghill. Our peacock, to satisfy himself that he had not taken cold during the night, would scream to the utmost pitch of a most discordant voice; then the prescient goats would bleat from the eabins, and plaintively remind us that, till their door is unpadlocked, they can get no prog; then the punctual magpie, and his friend the jay, having hopped all down the corridor, would be heard screaming for broken victuals at the school-room door, till our dismissal bell, finding so many other tongues loosened, at length wags its own, and then for the next hour and a half all are free to follow their own devices. Breakfast shortly follows; but, alas! another cold ceremony must be undergone first. A preliminary visit to pump court, and a thorough ablution of face and hands, is indispensable to those who would become successful candidates for that long-anticipated meal. This bleaching process, at an icy temperature, was never agreeable; but when the pipes happened to be frozen—a contingency by no means unfrequent—and the snow in the yard must be substituted for the water which was not in the pump, it proved a difficult and sometimes a painful business; especially as there was always some uncertainty afterwards, whether the chilblained paws would pass muster before the inspector-general commissioned to examine them—who, utterly reckless as to how the boys might “be off for soap,” and incredulous of what they would fain attribute to the adust complexion of their skin, would require to have that assertion tested by a further experiment at the “pump head.”

#### THE REFECTORY.

“Forbear to scoff at woes you cannot feel,  
Nor mock the misery of a stinted meal.”—CRABBE.

The dietary tables at the chateau, conspicuous alike for the paucity and simplicity of the articles registered therein, are easily recalled to mind. The fare they exhibited was certainly *coarse*—though, by euphemism, it might have been termed merely *plain*—and spare withal. The breakfast would consist of milk and water—the first aqueous enough without dilution, being the produce of certain ill-favored, and, as we afterwards tasted their flesh, we may add ill-flavored kine, whose impoverished lacteals could furnish out of their sorry fodder no better supplies. It was London sky blue, in short, but not of the Alderney dairy, which was made to serve our turn at Yverdun. This milk at seven in summer, and at half past seven in winter, was transferred boiling, and as yet unadulterated, into earthenware mixers, which had been previously half-filled with hot water from a neighboring kettle. In this half-and-half state it was baled out for the assembled school into a series of pewter platters, ranged along the sides of three bare deal boards, some thirty feet long by two wide, and mounted on tressels, which served us for tables. The ministering damsels were two great German Fraus, rejoicing severally in the pleasing names of Gretchen and Bessie. When Frau Gretchen, standing behind each boy, had dropped her allowance of milk over his right shoulder—during which process there was generally a mighty clatter for full measure and fair play—the other Frau was slicing off her slices of bread from a brown loaf a yard long, which she carried under her arm, and slashed clean through with wonderful precision and address. It was now for all those who had saved pocket-money for *menus-*

*plaisirs* to produce their *cornets* of cinnamon or sugar, sprinkle a little into the milk, and then fall to sipping and munching with increased zest and satisfaction. So dry and chaffy was our *pain de ménage* that none ventured to soak it entire, or at once, but would cut it into *frustrums*, and retain liquid enough to wash down the boluses separately. In a few minutes every plate was completely cleaned out and polished; and the cats, that generally entered the room as we left it, seldom found a drop with which they might moisten their tongues, or remove from cheeks and whiskers the red stains of murdered mice on which they had been breaking their fast in the great tower. So much for the earliest meal of the day, which was to carry us through five hours, if not of laborious mental study, at least of the incarceration of our bodies in class, which was equally irksome to them as if our minds had been hard at work. These five hours terminated, slates were once more insalivated and put by clean, and the hungry garrison began to look forward to the pleasures of the noon-day repast. The same bell that had been calling so often to class would now give premonitory notice of dinner, but in a greatly changed tone. In place of the shrill snappish key in which it had all the morning jerked out each short unwelcome summons from lesson to lesson, as if fearful of ringing one note beyond the prescribed minute, it now would take time, vibrate far and wide in its cage, give full scope to its tongue, and appear from the loud increasing swell of its prolonged *oyez*, to announce the message of good cheer like a herald conscious and proud of his commission. Ding-dong!—come along! Dinner's dishing!—ding-dong! *Da capo* and *encore*! Then, starting up from every school-room form throughout the chateau, the noisy boys rushed pell-mell, opened all the doors, and, like emergent bees in quest of honey, began coursing up and down right busily between the *salle-d-manger* and the kitchen—snuffing the various aromas as they escaped from the latter into the passage, and inferring from the amount of exhaled fragrance the actual progress of the preparations for eating. Occasionally some “sly Tom” would peep into the kitchen, while the *Fraus* were too busy to notice him, and watch the great cauldron that had been milked dry of its stores in the morning, now discharging its aqueous contents of a much-attenuated *bouillon*—the surface covered with lumps of swimming bread, thickened throughout with a hydrate of potatoes, and colored with coarse, insipid carrots, which certainly gave it a savory appearance. It was not good broth—far from it, for it was both *sub-greasy* and *super-salted*; but then it was hot, it was thick, and there was an abundant supply. It used to gush, as we have said, from the great stop-cock of the cauldron, steaming and sputtering, into eight enormous tureens. The shreds of beef, together with whatever other solids remained behind after the fluid had been drawn off, were next fished up from the abyss with long ladles, and plumped into the decanted liquor. The young *gastronome* who might have beheld these proceedings would wait till the lid was taken off the *saur-kraut*; and then, the odor becoming overpoweringly appetizing, he would run, as by irresistible instinct, into the dining-room, where most of the boys were already assembled, each with a ration of brown bread in his hand, and ready for the *Fraus*, who were speedily about to enter. The dinner was noisy and *ungentle* in the extreme—how could it be otherwise? *ventre affamé n'a point d'oreilles*. Hardly was the German grace concluded, and the covers removed, when that bone of contention, the marrow bone, was caught up by some big boy near the top of the table, and became the signal for a general row. All in his neighborhood would call out second, third, fourth,



fifth, etc., for said bone; and thus it would travel from plate to plate, yielding its contents freely to the two or three first applicants, but wholly inadequate—unless it could have resolved itself altogether into marrow—to meet all the demands made upon its stores. Then arose angry words of contention, which waxed hot as the marrow waxed cold, every candidate being equally vociferous in maintaining the priority of his particular claim. Earnest appeals in German, French, Spanish, English, etc., were bandied from one to the other in consequence, as to who had really said *après toi* first! At last the “dry bone” was found undeserving of further contention; and, ceasing to drop any more fatness upon any boy’s bread, the competition for it was dropped too. When now we had half-filled our stomachs with a soup which few physicians would have withheld from their fever patients on the score of its strength, we threw in a sufficiency of bread and *saur kraut* to absorb it; and, after the post prandial German grace had been pronounced, the boys left the table, generally with a saved crust in their pockets, to repair to the garden and filch—if it was filching—an alliaceous dessert from the beds, which they washed in the clear stream, and added, without fear of indigestion, to the meal just concluded within the chateau. Most of us throve upon this Spartan diet; but some delicate boys, unendowed with the ostrich power of assimilation usual at that period—for boys, like ostriches, can digest almost anything—became deranged in their chylopoietics, and continued to feel its ill effects in mesenteric and other chronic ailments for years afterwards. An hour was given for stomachs to do their work, before we re-assembled to ours in the class-room. At half-past four precisely, a *gouté* was served out, which consisted of a whacking slice of bread, and either a repetition of the morning’s milk and water, or *café au lait*, (without sugar “*bien entendu*,”) or twenty-five walnuts, or a couple of ounces of strong-tasted *gruyère*, or a plateful of *schnitz* (cuttings of dried apples, pears, and plums). We might choose any one of these several dainties we liked, but not more. Some dangerous characters—not to be imitated—would occasionally, while young Fran Schmidt stood doling out the supplies from her cupboard among the assembled throng, make the disingenuous attempt to obtain cheese with one hand and *schnitz* with the other. But the artifice, we are happy to say, seldom succeeded; for that vigilant lady, quick-eyed and active, and who, of all things, hated to be imposed upon, would turn round upon the false claimant, and bid him hold up both his hands at once—which he, ambidexter as he was, durst not do, and thus he was exposed to the laughter and jeers of the rest. At nine the bell sounded a feeble call to a *soi disant* supper; but few of us cared for a basin of *tisane* under the name of lentil soup—or a pappy potato, salted in the boiling—and soon after we all repaired to our bed-rooms—made a noise for a short time, then undressed, and were speedily asleep under our *duvets*, and as sound, if not as musical, as tops.

Our common fare, as the reader has now seen, was sorry enough; but we had our Carnival and gala days as well as our Lent. Vater Pestalozzi’s birthday, in summer, and the first day of the new year, were the most conspicuous. On each of these occasions we enjoyed a whole week’s holiday; and as these were also the periods for slaughtering the pigs, we fed (twice a year for a whole week!) upon black puddings and pork *à discretion*, qualified with a sauce of beet-root and vinegar, and washed down with a fluid really like small beer.

#### CLASSES.

The school-rooms, which lay immediately under the dormitories on the ground floor, consisted of a number of detached chambers, each of which issued

upon a corridor. They were airy—there was plenty of air at Yverdun—and lofty as became so venerable a building; but they were unswept, unscrubbed, peeled of their paint, and, owing to the little light that could find its way through two very small windows punched out of the fortress walls, presented, save at mid-day, or as the declining sun illumined momentarily the dark recess, as comfortless a set of interiors as you could well see. It required, indeed, all the elasticity of youth to bear many hours' daily incarceration in such black-holes, without participating in the pervading gloom. Such dismal domiciles were only fit resorts for the myoptic bat, who would occasionally visit them from the old tower; for the twilight horde of cockroaches, which swarmed along the floor, or the eight-eyed spiders who colonized the ceiling. The tender sight, too, of a patient just recovering from ophthalmia would here have required no factitious or deeper shade—but merits like these only rendered them as ungenial as possible to the physiology and feelings of their youthful occupants. If these apartments looked gloomy in their dilapidations and want of sun, the somber effect was much heightened by the absence of the ordinary tables and chairs, and whatever else is necessary to give a room a habitable appearance. Had an appraiser been commissioned to make out a complete list of the furniture and the fixtures together, a mere glance had sufficed for the inventory. In vain would his practiced eye have wandered in quest of themes for golden sentences, printed in such uncial characters that all who run may read; in vain for the high-hung well backed chart, or for any pleasing pictorial souvenirs of *Æsop* or the Ark,—neither these nor the long "colored Stream of Time," nor formal but useful views in perspective, adorned our sorry walls. No old mahogany case clicked in a corner, beating time for the class, and the hour upstriking loud that it should not be defrauded of its dues. No glazed globe, gliding round on easy axis, spun under its brassy equator to the antipodes on its sides being touched. No bright zodiac was there to exhibit its cabalistic figures in pleasing arabesques. In place of these and other well-known objects, here stood a line of dirty, much inked desks, with an equally dirty row of attendant forms subjacent alongside. There was a scantling—it seldom exceeded a leash—of rickety rush-bottom chairs distributed at long intervals along the walls; a coal-black slate pegged high on its wooden horse; a keyless cupboard, containing the various implements of learning, a dirty duster, a pewter plate with eretaceous deposits, a slop-basin, and a ragged sponge;—and then, unless he had included the cobwebs of the ceiling, (not usually reckoned up in the furniture of a room,) no other moveables remained. One conspicuous fixture, however, there was, a gigantic Dutch stove. This lumbering parallelogram, faggot-fed from the corridor behind, projected several feet into the room, and shone bright in the glaze of earthenware emblazonments. Around it we would sometimes congregate in the intervals of class: in winter to toast our hands and hind-quarters, as we pressed against the heated tiles, with more or less vigor according to the fervency of the central fire; and in summer either to tell stories, or to con over the pictorial History of the Bible, which adorned its frontispiece and sides. We cannot say that every square exactly squared with even our schoolboy notions of propriety in its mode of teaching religious subjects; there was a Dutch quaintness in the illustrations, which would sometimes force a smile from its simplicity, at others shock, from its apparent want of decorum and reverence. Pre-eminent of course among the gems from Genesis, Adam and Eve, safe in innocency and "*naked truth*,"

here walked unseathed amidst a menagerie of wild beasts—*there*, dressed in the costume of their fall, they quitted Eden, and left it in possession of tigers, bears, and crocodiles. Hard by on a smaller tile, that brawny “knave of clubs,” Cain, battered down his brother at the altar; then followed a long picture-gallery of the acts of the patriarchs, and another equally long of the acts of the apostles. But, queer as many of these misconceptions might seem, they were nothing to the strange attempts made at dramatizing the *parables* of the New Testament—*e. g.* a stout man, staggering under the weight of an enormous beam which grows out of one eye, employs his fingers, assisted by the other, to pick out a black speck from the cornea of his neighbor. Here, an unclean spirit, as black as any sweep, issues from the mouth of his victim, with wings and a tail! Here again, the good Samaritan, turbaned like a Turk, is bent over the waylaid traveler, and pours wine and oil into his wounds from the mouths of two Florence flasks; there, the grain of mustard-seed becomes a tree, sheltering already a large aviary in its boughs; the woman, dancing a hornpipe with the Dutch broom, has swept her house, and lo! the piece of silver that was lost in her hand; a servant, who is digging a hole in order to hide his lord’s talent under a tree, is overlooked by a magpie and two crows, who are attentive witnesses of the deposit;—and many others too numerous to mention. So much for the empty school-room, but what’s a hive without bees, or a school-room without boys? The reader who has peeped into it untenanted shall now, if he pleases, be introduced, *dum fervet opus* full and alive. Should he not be able to trace out very clearly the system at work, he will at least be no worse off than the bee fancier, who hears indeed the buzzing, and sees a flux and reflux current of his winged confectioners entering in and passing out, but cannot investigate the detail of their labors any further. In the Yverdun, as in the hymenopterus apiary, we swarmed, we buzzed, dispersed, re-assembled at the sound of the bell, flocked in and flocked out, all the day long; exhibited much restlessness and activity, evincing that something was going on, but *what* it would have been hard to determine. Here the comparison must drop. Bees buzz to some purpose; they know what they are about; they help one another; they work orderly and to one end,—

“How skillfully they build the cell,  
How neat they spread the wax,  
And labor hard to store it well  
With the sweet food,” etc., etc.

In none of these particulars did we resemble the “busy bee.” This being admitted, our object in offering a few words upon the course of study pursued at the chateau is not with any idea of enlightening the reader as to anything really acquired during the long ten hours’ session of each day; but rather to show how ten hours’ imprisonment may be inflicted upon the body for the supposed advantage of the mind, and yet be consumed in “profitless labor, and diligence which maketh not rich”; to prove, by an exhibition of their opposites, that method and discipline are indispensable in tuition, and (if he will accept our “*pathemata*” for his “*mathemata*,” and guides in the bringing up of his sons) to convince him that education, like scripture, admits not of private interpretation. Those who refuse to adopt the Catholic views of the age, and the general sense of the society in which they live, must blame themselves if they find the experiment of foreign schools a failure, and that they have sent their children “farther to fare worse.”



And now to proceed to the geography class, which was the first after breakfast, and began at half-past eight. As the summons-bell sounded, the boys came rushing and tumbling in, and ere a minute had elapsed were swarming over, and settling upon, the high reading desks. The master, already at his work, was chalking out the business of the hour, and as this took some little time to accomplish, the youngsters, not to sit unemployed, would be assiduously engaged in impressing sundry animal forms—among which the donkey was a favorite—cut out in cloth, and well powdered, upon one another's backs. When Herr G—— had finished his chalkings, and was gone to the corner of the room for his show-perch, a skeleton map of Europe might be seen, by those who choose to look that way, covering the slate. This, however, was what the majority of the assembly never dreamt of, or only dreamt they were doing. The class generally—though ready when called upon to give the efficient support of their tongues—kept their eyes to gape elsewhere, and, like Solomon's fool, had them where they had no business to be. The map, too often repeated to attract from its novelty, had no claim to respect on other grounds. It was one of a class accurately designated by that careful geographer, old Homer, as “*μαψ ov Kατα Κοσμον*.” Coarse and clumsy, however, as it necessarily would be, it might still have proved of service had the boys been the draughtsmen. As it was, the following mechanically Herr G——'s wand to join in the general chorus of the last census of a city, the perpendicular altitude of a mountain, or the length and breadth of a lake, could obviously convey no useful instruction to any one. But, useful or otherwise, such was our *regime*,—to set one of from fifty to sixty lads, day after day, week after week, repeating facts and figures notorious to every little reader of penny guides to science, till all had the last statistical returns at their tongue's tip, and knew, when all was done, as much of what geography really meant as on the day of their first matriculation. Small wonder, then, if some should later have foresworn this study, and been revolted at the bare sight of a map! All our recollections of *map*, unlike those of *personal* travel, are sufficiently distasteful. Often have we yawned wearily over them at Yverdun, when our eyes were demanded to follow the titubations of Herr G——'s magic wand, which, in its uncertain route, would skip from Europe to Africa and back again—*qui modo Thebas modo me ponit Athens*; and our dislike to them since has increased amazingly. Does the reader care to be told the reason of this? Let him—in order to obtain the pragmatic sanction of some stiff-necked examiner—have to “get up” all the anastomosing routes of St. Paul's several journeyings, have to follow those rebellious Israelites in all their wanderings through the desert, to draw the line round them when in Palestine; going from Dan to Beersheba, and “meting out the valley of Succoth”; or, finally, have to cover a large sheet of foolscap with a progressive survey of the spread of Christianity during the three first centuries—and he will easily enter into our feelings. To return to the classroom. The geographical lesson, though of daily infliction, was accurately circumscribed in its duration. Old time kept a sharp look-out over his blooming daughters, and never suffered one hour to tread upon the heels or trench upon the province of a sister hour. Sixty minutes to all, and not an extra minute to any, was the old gentleman's impartial rule; and he took care to see it was strictly adhered to. As the clock struck ten, geography was shoved aside by the muse of mathematics. A sea of dirty water had washed out in a twinkling all traces of the continent of Europe, and the palimpsest slate presented a clean face for whatever figures might next be traced upon it.

The hour for Euclidizing was arrived, and anon the black parallelogram was intersected with numerous triangles of the Isosceles and Scalene pattern; but, notwithstanding this promising *début*, we did not make much quicker progress here than in the previous lesson. How should we, who had not only the difficulties inseparable from the subject to cope with, but a much more formidable difficulty—viz., the obstruction which we opposed to each other's advance, by the plan, so unwisely adopted, of making all the class do the same thing, that they might keep pace together. It is a polite piece of folly enough for a whole party to be kept waiting dinner by a lounging guest, who chooses to ride in the park when he ought to be at his toilet; but we were the victims of a much greater absurdity, who lost what might have proved an hour of profitable work, out of tenderness to some incorrigibly idle or Bæotian boy, who could not get over the Pons Asinorum, (every proposition was a *pons* to some *asinus* or other,) and so made those who were over stand still, or come back to help him across. Neither was this, though a very considerable drawback, our only hindrance—the guides were not always safe. Sometimes he who acted in that capacity would shout “Eureka” too soon; and having undertaken to lead the van, lead it astray till just about, as he supposed, to come down upon the proof itself, and to come down with a Q. E. D.: the master would stop him short, and bid him—as Coleridge told the ingenious author of *Guesses at Truth*—“to guess again.” But suppose the “guess” fortunate, or that a boy had even succeeded, by his own industry or reflection, in mastering a proposition, did it follow that he would be a clear expositor of what he knew? It was far otherwise. Our young Archimedes—unacquainted with the terms of the science, and being also (as we have hinted) lamentably defective in his knowledge of the power of words—would mix up such a “farrago” of irrelevancies and repetitions with the proof, as, in fact, to render it to the majority no proof at all. Euclid should be taught in his own words,—just enough and none to spare: the employment of less must engender obscurity; and of more, a want of neatness and perspicacity. The best geometrician amongst us would have cut but a bad figure by the side of a lad of very average ability brought up to know Euclid by book.

Another twitch of the bell announced that the hour for playing at triangles had expired. In five minutes the slate was covered with bars of minims and crotchets, and the music lesson begun. This, in the general tone of its delivery, bore a striking resemblance to the geographical one of two hours before; the only difference being that “ut, re, me,” had succeeded to names of certain cities, and “fa, so, la,” to the number of their inhabitants. It would be as vain an attempt to describe all the noise we made as to show its rationale or motive. It was loud enough to have cowed a lion, stopped a donkey in mid-bray—to have excited the envy of the vocal Lablache, or to have sent any *prima donna* into hysterics. When this third hour had been bellowed away, and the bell had rung unheard the advent of a fourth—*presto*—in came Mons. D—, to relieve the meek man who had acted as coryphæus to the music class; and after a little tugging had soon produced from his pocket that without which you never catch a Frenchman—a *thème*. The theme being announced, we proceeded (not quite *tant bien que mal*) to scribble it down at his dictation, and to amend its orthography afterwards from a corrected copy on the slate. Once more the indefatigable bell obtruded its tinkle, to proclaim that Herr Roth was coming with a Fable of Gellert, or a chapter from Vater Pestalozzi's serious,

novel, *Gumal und Lina*, to read and expound, and catechise upon. This last lesson before dinner was always accompanied by frequent yawns and other un-repressed symptoms of fatigue; and at its conclusion we all rose with a shout and rushed into the corridors.

On resuming work in the afternoon, there was even less attention and method observed than before. The classes were then broken up, and private lessons were given in accomplishments, or in some of the useful arts. Drawing dogs and cows, with a master to look after the trees and the hedges; whistling and spitting through a flute; playing on the patience of a violin; turning at a lathe; or fencing with a powerful *maitre d'Armes*;—such were the general occupations. It was then, however, that we English withdrew to our Greek and Latin; and, under a kind master, Dr. M——, acquired (with the exception of a love for natural history, and a very unambitious turn of mind) all that really could deserve the name of education.

We have now described the sedentary life at the chateau. In the next paper the reader shall be carried to the gymnasium; the drill-ground behind the lake; to our small menageries of kids, Guinea-pigs, and rabbits; be present at our ball and skating-bouts in winter, and at our bathings, fishings, frog-spearings, and rambles over the Jura in summer.

We regret not to have seen the second installment of this English boy's *Reminiscences of Student Life at Yverdun*. If written, it was not published in the magazine in which the first appeared. The student does not appear to have appreciated or have profited by Pestalozzi's original methods, which are herein so well set forth. He was not caught young enough and had become too hardened in the unvitalized and mere memory processes of the English public schools.

#### REMINISCENCES OF DR. MAYO.

We find in the reminiscences and life of another English visitor, who became both student and assistant at Yverdun, a more hearty appreciation of the great educator's personal character, and the fruitful results of his sojourn in the old feudal castle and in the somewhat noisy family and not very wisely administered institution of Pestalozzi. We close this chapter with an extract from a pamphlet issued by Rev. Charles Mayo, LL.D., in 1826, giving the substance of several lectures delivered by him in the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street (founded by that great practical educator and countryman of ours, Count Rumford—Benjamin Thompson, of Walpole, Mass.), on the principles of Pestalozzi's educational system. Dr. Mayo and his daughter introduced into England the Pestalozzi improved methods of infant and child instruction, which were pursued in the Model and Training Schools, of the Home and Colonial Society in London, and which Mr. Sheldon introduced a quarter of a century later into the Model and Training Institution of Oswego, N. Y.

Some years ago an Irish gentleman, traveling through Yverdun, in the Pays de Vaud, was prevailed on to spend a couple of hours in the Institution of Pestalozzi. The first class he inspected was carried on in a language not familiar to him, yet was he much struck with the intelligence and vivacity portrayed in the features of the pupils. But when, the following hour, he witnessed the



power of the method in its application to arithmetic, he discovered in the scholars a clear conception of number and its relations, a precision and rapidity in mental calculation, and an animation and interest in their employment, which convinced him that a secret had been discovered by Pestalozzi, and he was resolved, if possible, to penetrate it. The proposed visit of two hours terminated at the expiration of three months; nor was his admiration of the method confined to a bare speculative reception of the principles; he transplanted into his own country the practical truths he had learned in Switzerland, and though Providence has interrupted the course of his more extended labors, he still, in the bosom of his own family, applies the lessons of Pestalozzi, and teaches his children to revere his name. It was not a theoretical examination of the method that effected this conviction and animated to these exertions; it was a personal view of the practical influence of the system, in scenes lit up by the genius and warmed with the benevolence of Pestalozzi himself. Could I transport you in thought to the scenes where Pestalozzi lived, and taught, and suffered with his scholars, the heart would feel even before the understanding discerned the beauty, the truth of his principles. A skeleton view of his system might lead you to a cold approbation of his views, but it must be the living, the breathing portraiture of the man that must awaken your love, and dispose you to imitate what you have learned to admire. I have seen him surrounded by his pupils, have marked the overflowings of his tenderness; I have read in a thousand traits of good-nature the confirmation of his history. I have witnessed the affecting simplicity, the *abandon* with which he speaks of all he has done and essayed to do for humanity. Could I convey to others the sentiments I feel for him, Pestalozzi would be loved and honored as he deserves. Three years of intimate connection with him, every day marked with some proof of his affection, may well have knit my heart to his; and among the most cherished recollections of the past is, that Pestalozzi honored me with his friendship, and thanked me for cheering his decline.

#### HENRY (LORD) BROUGHAM.

Among the English visitors to Pestalozzi, whose testimony to the originality and value of his methods as well as to the disinterested character of the man, before the Education Committee of 1818, carried immense weight wherever the proceedings of the English parliament were known, was Henry Brougham. He commenced in 1816 that public agitation of the claims of the people to better schools which culminated in the legislation of 1870.

It was Pestalozzi and men of his type who inspired the Great Commoner of England, as Henry Brougham was called before a title had confounded him with a group of much inferior men, with his exalted estimate of the schoolmaster in his peaceful vocation.

"His calling is high and holy; his fame is the property of nations; his renown will fill the earth in after ages in proportion as it sounds not far off in his own time. Each one of these great teachers of the world, possessing his soul in peace, performs his appointed course,—awaits in patience the fulfillment of the promises,—resting from his labors, bequeaths his memory to the generation whom his works have blessed,—and sleeps under the humble but not inglorious epitaph, commemorating one in whom mankind lost a friend, and no man got rid of an enemy."

## PESTALOZZIANISM IN GERMANY.

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JOHAAN GOTTLIEB FICHTE.

JOHAAN GOTTLIEB FICHTE, whose rousing addresses to the German nation in behalf of National Education on the Pestalozzian system, in the hour of her greatest humiliation, was worth more than a victorious onset of arms against her foes, was born at Rammenau, in Upper Lusatia, in 1762, of parents of Swedish descent, and in humble circumstances. His father was a ribbon weaver, and the son was indebted for his superior opportunities of education to the Baron Von Miltitz, who secured a place for him first in a clergyman's family at Niederau, then at the town school at Meissen, and at the Princes' school at Pforta (1774-80), closing with higher and larger opportunities at Jena and Leipsic.

While a private tutor at Zurich (1789 to 1792), he became acquainted with the educational views of Pestalozzi, and with Johanna Rahn, a niece of the poet Klopstock, to whom he was married in 1793.

Thus equipped he entered the field of intellectual and moral philosophy, and by his publications and lectures achieved a reputation which ranks him high among the great thinkers of Germany, and by his bold advocacy of a national system of popular and liberal education, when a foreign army had possession of all the fortresses and cities of the country, entitles him to a place among the world's great educators. His death, in 1812, cut short the influential career which his connection with the new University of Berlin opened.

FICHTE'S ADDRESSES TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE, 1809.

Fichte's addresses to the German people belong primarily to the political history of the nation in the period of its deepest humiliation, but they are well entitled to a distinguished and honorable place in its literary and educational annals. Among the many striking phenomena of that eventful period, there is none that exceed in real interest and instructiveness this one of a literary man, single handed and surrounded by foreign troops, setting before him as a duty which he of all others was called upon to fulfil, the task of a people's regeneration. Uniting the patriot's

enthusiasm with the prophet's inspiration, Fichte raised a voice which rang through every corner of Germany, and summoned to the rescue of his country, all that remained of nobleness and devotion among her sons. It was to no vain display of military glory that he roused and directed their efforts; he sought to erect the structure of his country's future welfare and fame on a far deeper and surer foundation. In strains of the most fervid and impassioned eloquence he pointed out the true remedies for the national degradation, the culture of moral dignity, spiritual freedom, and mental independence. In these addresses he first announced the plan, and delineated all the chief features of that celebrated system of public instruction which has since been developed to the inestimable benefit of Prussia, and raised her in this respect to a proud preëminence among the nations of Europe. Never were a people called upon to arouse themselves to a nobler enterprise, and never was such a summons pealed forth in tones of more manly and spirit-stirring energy.

These addresses were fourteen in number. After speaking of the general principles of the new education which he proposed, Fichte devoted several lectures to the question of national characteristics, to the main difference between the German and the other Teutonic peoples, as revealed in history, and in their general life, and to the question of what really constituted a nation in the higher significance of the term, as well as what constitutes true patriotism. In the tenth address he comes to a more definite treatment of the details of the education which he proposes; and in the addresses which follow, he points out the classes on whom rest the responsibility of executing this plan, and what are the proper means of its execution. We cite a few passages from the tenth address on Pestalozzi and his system.

"Pestalozzi must needs remain in the history of our age one of the most extraordinary and beautiful phenomena. This his contemporaries feel; posterity will appreciate it still more deeply."

To the course of instruction which has been invented and brought forward by Henry Pestalozzi, and which is now being successfully carried out under his direction — must we look for our regeneration. . . . With this system of popular education for the entire rising generation must the nation address itself — at once and persistently.

It will be seen from the following pages, taken from the History of Primary Public Instruction in Prussia (Barnard's *National Education in Different Countries*; volume one — German States, pp. 360–69), that the trial of Pestalozzianism in Normal and Model Schools had already begun before Fichte's eloquent voice had been heard in its advocacy.



Dr. Diesterweg concludes his Pestalozzian centennial discourse at Berlin in 1846 as follows:

By these men and these means—men trained in the Institution at Yverdun under Pestalozzi and the study of his publication, and the application of these principles in the model and normal schools of Prussia after 1808, was the present Prussian or rather Prussian-Pestalozzian school system established—for he is entitled to at least half the fame of the German popular schools. Whatever of excellence or eminence they have, they really owe to no one but him. Wherever his principles have been deviated from, there has followed a decline. Whatever of progress yet remains visible is a development of his principles. Whatever in our system is based on human nature, is taken from him. His experiments have secured their world-wide fame to the German schools. From France, England, Italy, Spain, Russia, Poland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, America, whoever desires to study the best schools, resorts to Germany. Whatever fame they have, they owe to Pestalozzi. Wise people have made use of his creations for organizing improved institutions for training teachers. But the first impulse was given to the movement by the noble Swiss. As the waters flow from that land in every direction, in like manner have fruitful principles of instruction been diffused from it into every country where improvement can be detected.

The men and women by whom especially the method and spirit of Pestalozzi were diffused in Germany are: Frederiek William III and his Consort Louise;\* state councilors Nicolovius and Suvern; the philosopher Fichte, by his immortal addresses to the German nation; high school-councilor Zeller in Königsberg; the Prussian teachers trained at Yverdun; namely, Kawerau, Dreist, Henning, Braun, Steger, Marsch, the two Bernhards, Hänel, Titze, Runge, Baltrusch, Patzig, Preuss, Kratz, and Rendeschmidt; royal and school councilor Von Türk in Potsdam; seminary-director Gruner in Idstein; professor Ladomus in Carlsruhe; the prelate Denzel in Esslingen; seminary-director Stern in Carlsruhe; principal Plamann, in Berlin; seminary-director Harnisch in Breslau; Karoline Rudolphi in Heidelberg; Betty Gleim in Bremen and Elberfeld; Ramsauer, royal tutor in Oldenberg; professor Schacht in Mentz; seminary-inspector Kruger in Bunzlau; seminary-director Hientzsch in Potsdam; principal Scholz in Breslau; Dr. Tillich in Dessau; director Blochmann in Dresden; principal Aekermann in Frankfort on the Mayne; principal de Laspé in Wiesbaden; seminary-inspector Wagner in Brühl; seminary-director Braun in Neuwied; seminary-preceptor Muhl in Trier; seminary-director Graffmann in Stettin; catechist Kröger in Hamburg; inspector Collmann in Cassel; and others. By means of these men the Pestalozzian common schools were set in operation throughout all Germany; and in Prussia, the Prussian-Pestalozzian system. As during Pestalozzi's life Yverdun was a place of pilgrimage for teachers, so afterward, from Europe, America, and elsewhere, men came to observe the German and Prussian common schools.

\* Queen Louise, who superintended the education of her own children, visited frequently the schools conducted on the plans and methods of Pestalozzi, spending hours in each visit, and aided in many ways those who labored to regenerate the popular schools of Prussia.

*A. General Historical Remarks.*

1. It is these men who laid the foundation of the real power of Prussia, and whose labors made the steady development of a true system of public education possible, compared with which, all that had been done before must appear poor, of subordinate value, and of a merely preparatory character. The inhabitants of towns, not to speak of the peasants, had hitherto been scarcely willing to be educated, however earnestly the government labored in their behalf. A man of the rural population, still kept in bondage, could not become a teacher, even if he had been willing, unless his grace the feudal lord consented, who, as Rochow himself says, was "king of Prussia" on his estate. Abbot Steinmetz of Klosterbergen actually boasted in 1737 that Magdeburg were a good place in which to procure pupils for his normal school from among the immigrating foreign journeymen; the feudal lords, too, who were at his "pedagogium," conducted by him in Klosterbergen, frequently left servants who were inconvenient as candidates for schoolmasterships at the normal school, instead of taking them along with them to the University. We read in Kruenitz's "The Village Schools, Berlin, 1794:" "The schoolmaster is either a soldier, school-boy, servant, or he has been preceptor, famulus or domestic to a member of the consistory." "Those of the first named three stations of life, mostly show great looseness in morals, and are ignorant of the duties of their future position;" nor does he say any thing favorable of the others. The teachers, as a class, were mostly recruited in a peculiar manner, somewhat similar to the 'strand-right.' Frederic II was certainly not so very wrong, seeing the difficulty of filling the vacancies or increasing the number of teachers, when he calls his invalid corporals a source from which any supply could be drawn. A sufficient number of teachers, coming regularly and freely from the people, could not be relied on whilst servitude existed. So long as the mass of a people consists of bondmen, who expend their best energies in working for their lords, receiving the poorest pay, so long can they have no inducement earnestly to try to develop their intellectual powers or to educate their children. It is scarcely just to call it want of moral power, when they betray opposition to their children's attending school; they are sullen, they are indifferent, they are altogether morally crushed. Why learn any thing, many a father may have asked, when the children have no other prospect but villein socage? And this may perhaps make it comprehensible why Sack, the counselor of the consistory, ventured to say publicly: "It sounds very fine, when we speak of the family of a hard-working peasant, sitting round their comfortable hearth on long winter evenings, listening to the father or son, as he reads from a useful book; but this is certainly nothing but an ideal, which will do very well for a romance, but which can scarcely be realized in this matter-of-fact world, at least in the Mark, for some time to come." And the peasants of the Mark were not worse off than those of other sections.

2. Frederic William III deserves the highest praise for having lifted

from the rural population the weight of serfdom, which prevented all development of the people, and for having placed them in a condition to become free men. The nation awoke, after the reform of the State organization, to the consciousness of its power, and developed it; a sufficient number of well qualified individuals of the rural population showed henceforth a steadily increasing desire to become teachers or to acquire knowledge. The seed scattered during school time could now take root and thrive in town and village. The town population derived at the same time great advantages from the new "city constitution," which granted them the right of self-government, under the liberal control of the State. It may so happen, that even at the present time the aldermen of some poor little towns, far distant from active commercial intercourse, have not yet done all that could be desired, i. e. there may be such places in which the schools have not yet been properly established and cared for; yet the town-schools of Prussia have reached such development and have been so liberally endowed during the fifty years of the existence of the city constitution, that all preceding efforts appear trifling, and their future prosperity is fully assured. This is especially true of Berlin.\*

Besides the liberal legislation which made it possible that schools could flourish, other expedients were employed by which the improvement and extension of public schools in Prussia were promoted. The assistance of new and progressive elements from abroad was introduced, as for example by Carl August Zeller (1809) of Württemberg; and by many able men, who were sent into other countries to obtain there not only a better understanding of the great problems of human culture, but to be inspired with greater enthusiasm for their solution. In the letter which Baron von Altenstein, then at the head of the education section of the department of the Interior, afterwards Minister of Education and Worship, wrote, under date of September 11th, 1808, to Pestalozzi, he says: "the young men to be sent must draw information at the purest source, must study not some branches of your system of education and instruction, but become intimately penetrated with its animating spirit, must learn how all the branches work in their mutual relation and in their intimate connection; must learn, under the guidance of its venerable originator and his respected assistants, how to apply it; must, in the intercourse with you, not only thoroughly develop their intellects, but also warm their hearts for their duties as educators; must become animated with the same convictions of the sacredness of their duties and with the same ardent desire, which inspired you to devote your whole life to it."† Thus were gathered a large number of young men from Prussia round Pesta-

\* For the very instructive history of the development of public instruction in that city, which takes precedence of all other cities in the liberal expenditure for the establishment and maintenance of public schools, see the *Administrative Reports* on schools of the city of Berlin, which have been drawn up and published by the magistrate of Berlin, annually, since 1842. Those from 1851 to 1860 are republished in the "*Berliner Blätter*" (1864,) No. 2 to 20. Consult also *Studies on the Mark, Vol. IX.*; Dietr. Ritterhausen: *Contributions to the history of the Berlin elementary schools*, Berlin, 1864, page 144.

† *Stolzenberg's Contributions to History*, p. 2.



lozzi; who faithfully garnered up the teachings of that Swiss educator, brought them into their country, cultivated and developed them, as the head of recently-established normal schools, or as members of the Board of Education, according to the peculiar condition and the wants of the country, and rendered the name of Pestalozzi better known and honored than it had ever been before. Among these were Hennig and Dreist of Rügenwalde in Pomerania, Kawerau of Elbing, Kratz of Winzig in Silesia, Renschmidt of Rosenburg in Silesia, Preuss and Patzig of East Prussia; the brothers Bernhard of Halle, Haenel of Breslau, Steger of Prussia, Marsh of Silesia, Ksionzek of East Prussia, Titze of Silesia, Runge, later in Potsdam and Bromberg, and Baltrusch of East Prussia.

It was quite natural that the Pestalozzian school, as it may be called for brevity's sake, (it originated with Pestalozzi, yet it was intellectually and popularly, though not politically, developed in Prussia, whilst it remained unchanged in other German States,) took hold of, or rather placed itself in connection with, every thing that could be rendered useful. Thus, (1.) all that had reference to the country, its geography and history, were taught with the German language, from a pedagogic and patriotic point of view; (2.) Vocal exercises, in the social meetings, from which the modern singing societies, even the singing festivals, derive their origin;\* (3.) Instruction in drawing, principally promoted by the private drawing school of Peter Schmidt in Berlin; (4.) Instruction in music; (5.) Perfect development of the body, either by placing themselves in connection with already existing establishments for physical culture, (*Turnanstalten*,) or establishing new ones.

The Prussian Pestalozzi school was essentially religious, and had even more of positive Christianity than the original school itself of Pestalozzi, yet it tolerated all difference of opinion; it was more religious and tolerant than its age. Though active in various directions, it had a sound foundation; though narrow-minded in some respects, it had a liberalizing principle; it inspired patriotism in the hearts of the young; it showed courage in its weakness; the friendly hand of government assisted it in its troubles, and therefore it has attained glory and produced glory. King Frederic William IV was well acquainted with Pestalozzi's ideas, and he wrote to the founders of the German Pestalozzian school: "The spirit which animated Pestalozzi in his life and actions was that of moral earnestness, of humility, and of self-sacrificing love of these Christian virtues, which he, inspired by something higher, exercised during all his life, although the true understanding of the source from which he derived his power, was only revealed to him in later years. For he himself confessed to me that he had found in Christianity alone the comfort which he had formerly sought in vain in a different direction."

3. The government of the State, in the hands of men like Süvern, Nicolovius, and other noble spirits, was little influenced by customs,

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\* The singing societies of men (*Maennergesang Vereine*,) owe their origin and development mainly to Fr. Wilh. Berner, music teacher at the Normal School in Breslau, 1813.

many of which experience had proved to be decrepid and worn out, but were animated by an ideal which appeared to promise the realization of their hopes. The Prussian government, with faith in the regenerating power of a true national education, determined to introduce it. And thus it was that Prussia, still smarting under Napoleon's scourge, took for some time the lead of all the German States, not by issuing more or less ineffective decrees, but by actual experiments in the details of national education. There was spirit and life in Prussia, there was much activity in doing and liberty in contriving, with little outward parade. Any foreigner, visiting Prussia, might observe that the vitalizing breath of government, like the spirit of God, was acting upon the whole people.

Even the less impulsive could not help being influenced and carried away by this career of progress, because the government showed a firm resolution to press right on toward the desired goal. The work was certainly begun at the root, by the most earnest endeavor to create a body of professional teachers for public schools; which class of men, considering either their education, or their number, or their origin, or by any law, did not exist. There were plenty of sacristans, school-keepers, and their assistants, but in truth no real teachers of the people. How could there have been any demand for such teachers before there was a people? There always were, in Prussia as well as elsewhere, individuals, noblemen, citizens, peasants, common people, but there was no Prussian people, no nation in the kingdom of Prussia. Frederic William III has created it, essentially by the abolition of serfdom, verbally by his subsequent appeal "To my people," which brought every individual into a close community of a common life, death, battle, and victory, with its king; and induced all to embark in an enterprise and to pass through trials, the most sacred which exist for a nation. The youths of that nation, no longer in the state of serfdom, but faithful to their king to the death, required teachers, if there was any real intention of educating them. This work could hardly be done either by the buckram old sacristans, or by the class of schoolmasters, recruited from among ancient tailors. It was the older Pestalozzians, so graphically characterized by Harnisch, who were the progenitors of the older and middle-aged teachers in the Eastern provinces, and among whom a great variety of shades of opinion may be observed. In Saxony, for instance, the education of the teachers—if it may be so called—received a certain coloring from the rationalism of the clergymen. New normal schools were established every year, mostly by the government, but also by private enterprise, particularly in Saxony, to satisfy the increasing demand for teachers among them. There were new normal schools in Karalene (1811,) Braunsberg (1810,) Marienburg (1814,) Jenkau, (1815,) Graudenz (1817,) Neuzelle (1817,) Coeslin (1816,) one in 1816 in connection with the orphan asylum in Bunzlau (founded 1744.) Older establishments were reorganized, as the Evangelic normal school in Breslau in 1812 (founded 1753;) the Catholic normal school in Breslau in 1813 (founded 1765;

the old Berlin seminary for sacristans was transferred to Potsdam in 1817. The work of educating teachers was carried on in many of the most favored of these establishments, perhaps with a one-sided zeal, but always with an earnestness and with a success which reflects honor on their founders and directors. Nor can their merits be disputed of having given the main impulse to public education, of having been its principal promoters, of having laid the foundation to the structure of the national system of schools, whose magnificence is now so evident, and which had never before existed, or even been thought possible in any country. In these institutions, mental powers were awakened, young men educated, grown men inspired with enthusiasm for the welfare of the nation, methods devised, materials found out and rendered useful, objects of teaching rendered accessible to public schools, expedients for a better school administration pointed out, institutions proposed—all of which undoubtedly bear witness to an activity never thought of before. Schools multiplied, books for teachers and pupils were written, pedagogic periodicals published;\* all of which favored the growth of a literature for teachers, who, as a class, became more and more prominent, educated, and respected, whilst they were formerly scarcely known and never mentioned. Labor, for those who were active in the normal schools at that time, was a real enjoyment; the school was considered the *nervus vagus* of the organism of the State, and the instrument by which life was to be reformed, ennobled, and elevated. "The teachers could not but work with their whole heart for the advancement and glory of the country. They would eat and drink, of course; the Searcher of hearts knows that they in their weakness tried to advance their professional and individual honor, and that they frequently were feeble laborers in His empire; but they possessed a consciousness which others did not possess; they felt that they were not only instructors, not only school-masters, but also educators of the nation without being demagogues, friends of the people without being their flatterers, and they had great influence over their minds." "The Prussian Pestalozzi school was intrinsically religious; it spread all over the country from 1812 to 1820, having been, though in the beginning, with a certain caution, very properly recommended to its young advocates by the authorities, because many organs of State and school, lost in their old-fashioned practice, considered them suspicious innovators." Harnish believes he is justified in saying "that in 1820 to 1825 the spirit of modern school-organization had become the ruling spirit of education in the whole Prussian empire." This extension was greatly assisted by certain courses of lectures, (i. e. those delivered by Bernhard, Tuerk, and others,) as well as by teachers' associations, the best known and most influential of which was that in Berlin, (now called the Elder Teachers' Association,) and another in

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\* Among them may be mentioned "The School Adviser on the Oder," 1814 to 1819, a periodical which represents the vigorous spirit of that time, edited by the director of the Catholic normal school, Dr. D. Krueger, and the director of the Evangelic normal school, Dr. W. Harnish, in a spirit of harmonious teacher fellowship never before evinced.



Breslau. The principal centres, from which this spirit radiated, were the normal schools; wherefore the most prominent counselors of the Board of Education were more or less in connection with them. This is especially true of Tuerk, Bernhard, Schröer, Gass, Sckeyde, and Neumann. All these men, laboring in the same spirit, were in intimate coöperation, being either personally acquainted with each other from the start, or brought together by personal visits or correspondence.

*Official Reaction against Pestalozzianism.*

4. During the great events of 1813 to 1815, and as long as their glowing fire continued to inspire statesmen and leaders of the people, i. e. till 1819, it was difficult to decide whether the schools derived their importance from the life which surged around them, or whether their importance was due to their intrinsic power, very carefully fostered by the State authorities. Up to that time the friends of the national schools in Prussia had been animated by an exclusively educational zeal. But soon after 1817, in which year the king had created a separate ministry for ecclesiastic and medical affairs, and for instruction, and given it to Baron von Altenstein, other influence obtained ascendancy over the government both of Prussia and other States. The school had become an organ of the body politic, both of the State and in the affection of the people, which could not be undervalued; the school, which, in the opinion of some over-cautious men, had taken an indiscreet, progressive course, was checked, though at first mildly, in its apparently too ardent zeal. The encouragements of the authorities were no longer cheering, natural, frank, or frequent; the authorities, who had formerly favored and actually fostered the Pestalozzian spirit and method among teachers, especially in Silesia and other Eastern provinces, allowed it to be felt that a degree of displeasure had been produced by the openly expressed desire to infuse more of that spirit into public education; and they even took occasion to express to Pestalozzians their dissatisfaction of the strict observance of the methods of their school, without being able to propose any remedy or substitute. They considered it necessary to advise them not to act too rashly, not to attempt to teach, to try or to oppose too much at the time being. They then began to speak of attempting too much, and recommended and praised moderation. The time arrived when they dared to speak of "the limited intellect of a subject, as though a subject was not a citizen and a man." Who would like to describe that period of reaction, after having lived through it? For the young, who did not, it has been delineated with sufficient power in Menzel's general history, (vol. xii, p. 80, sq.) But the normal schools had diffused already too much fresh blood and spirit into the teachers of the so-called "old provinces," and the previous magnanimous administration had allowed it to affect the schools too far, that the fire which they themselves had kindled, could be easily quenched.

Silesia had been placed in advance of the other provinces by the influ-

ence of young Harnisch,\* in Breslau and later in Bunzlau, under the confiding and inspiring administration of president Merkel, and of Gass, the counselor of the consistory. A clergyman of the Mark represents in "School-counselor," (*Schulrath* on the Oder, page 120.) the Silesian schools which he had seen, to be superior to those of the Mark; they were certainly superior to those of Saxony, which had been under the Westphalian regime. Why should Harnisch have been transferred from Silesia to Saxony, unless for the purpose of purifying these institutions of their spirit of trivial rationalism, (established by Dinter and Zerrenner, who had been considered the true guardians of education,) and to instil into the minds of the young generation of teachers, sounder Prussian ideas and feelings.

Superintendent Händel labored in Neisse in harmony with Harnisch, though with more moderation, calling to his assistance Christian Gottlieb Scholz, (later so well known as a practical schoolman by his many writings, and by his zeal,) and published with him together the "*Schulbote*," which was widely circulated and read in the province.

Tuerk had initiated rather than effected a radical reform in Potsdam, when Strieg, now honorably pensioned, began his beneficent activity as director of the normal school, later as counselor of the Board of Education, and continued to work with zeal and success for many years by his sound judgment and moderation.

There was in Berlin, even in 1825, when Beckedorf began to publish his periodical, no remarkable pedagogic zeal.

#### B. HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE SEVERAL NEWLY-ACQUIRED PROVINCES.

##### 1. Saxony.

a. The province of Saxony, containing four hundred and sixty square miles, with two millions of inhabitants, mostly Evangelic, is partly composed of portions of the oldest hereditary possessions, partly of comparatively recent acquisitions, (duchy of Magdeburg, principalities of Halberstadt and Erfurt, the former cities of the empire, Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, and portions of the Eichsfeld,) and lastly of a portion of the kingdom of Saxony. That is, it was formed of portions of Germany in which the Reformation had its birthplace, and where the German organization of schools had been first accepted by the people. When the districts before mentioned were annexed by Prussia, there was no necessity for the government to establish schools; it had only to foster and to improve them. Magdeburg with Klosterbergen, Halle with its Francké foundation, Halberstadt with its teachers, became centres for a quiet but not ineffective instructional activity; so were Erfurt and Mühlhausen, in their own way and according to their power, though the district of the Altmark left much to be desired for a long time. The schools, particularly those in the country, bore, in form and nature, more or less the character of those of the other German States of the same religious con-

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\* See Harnisch "The Morning of My Life."

fession and family, viz., the teachers were mostly sacristans who taught according to old routine, and were destitute of any progressive spirit; the arrangements were poor and traditional; their effect on general education very moderate. The intrinsic value of the schools in the province of Saxony was measured by the capacity of individual teachers; the traditional institutions offered no other obstacle to their development than the teachers themselves. Where there happened to be teachers of talent, zeal, and self-acquired education—and where among the clever men in Saxony, where among Evangelic men had such teacher ever been absolutely wanting?—there were some schools which might be held out as patterns to others. Franké's pedagogic efforts in Halle, and the activity of the philanthropists in Saxony and Thuringia had always kept alive a feeble and intermittent love of instruction and education among clergymen and teachers.\*

b. When the districts beyond the Elbe were torn from the Prussian monarchy in 1807, to form the so-called Westphalian kingdom, their administration came under the influence of Jerome's government, established in Cassel; and their schools were not in a very favorable condition. How could a work be done in those times of war, which can flourish only in peace; how, in those days of intense and universal selfishness, could the field of education, which requires self-denial and devotion, be tilled? There were at that time clergymen and teachers enough, whose labors had no other object than to earn the applause and the favor of the ministers who ruled in Cassel. Zerrenner in Magdeburg, clergyman, teacher, director of the normal school, &c., did not shrink from the task of composing and publishing a "Westphalian Children's Friend," and to dedicate it to a prominent man of the Westphalian bureaucracy, in order to show Westphalian patriotism. He gained by the book honor and position, and thus a great influence over teachers and schools; it brought Magdeburg into the repute of being foremost in the organization of city schools, and in an effective system of instruction. With the humanitarianism, the dignity, the circumspection and prudence peculiar to him, he organized the schools of the district according to his own views, and succeeded by his utilitarianism and sentimentality in satisfying the population of those districts. Some of his disciples have even been able to make their fortune by the liberal use of Zerrenner's writings and precepts.

c. The centre of the pedagogic activity in the formerly Prussian Saxony, Halle, having allowed Franké's spirit to escape from among them, had ceased to be the representative of the Saxon views of an improved system of instruction and education. Niemeyer's eclecticism could not obtain or restore this influence either by his pedagogic lectures or by his three volumes of "*Principles of education and instruction.*" The centre of gravity had shifted to Dresden, at the time when Dinter had become a prominent ecclesiastic and pedagogic individual. If Zerrenner may be called the *magnus Apollo*, then Dinter deserves to be

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\* Barnard's "*German Educational Reformers.*"



Ἐργῆς ὁ κοινός of the rational and sentimental art of teaching at that time.\* Their names had a great influence with the teachers, their clever method in teaching gained them friends, their comprehensive writings were considered to be very practical and very useful by the teachers of the Elbe-districts of Prussia and Saxony, and even in other places where Pestalozzi's method has never been able to gain a firm footing. Dinter made Pestalozzi the hero of a satirical poem, which he published in Erfurt, and with which the publishers made me a present, some years later; subsequently he declared Pestalozzi, in the Napoleonic style of those years, to be king of the lower classes, whilst he exalted Socrates to the leadership of the higher, at the same time reserving for himself a position above both. Zerrenner, the eclectic and diluted mixture of Von Rochow, Basedow, and Niemeyer, considered Pestalozzi to be a man who inconvenienced himself and his disciples a great deal too much by the amount of activity which he desired and made necessary; the same results could, in his opinion, be obtained much easier by the gentle application of enlightening information. "To enlighten the brains," to produce correct conceptions by good definitions, that was his preference, his passion, his talent. His influence and his writings overflowed land and people, under the pretext that they aimed at a popular rationalism, and that they taught an enlightened religion, comprehensively expressed, in place of an obsolete theology. *Qualis rex, talis grex*, at least in that school of teachers which had its origin in that man. Distinguished by a gentlemanly appearance, by pliant smoothness and caution of expression, it seems that this school was wanting in power, animation, concentration, and particularly in a truly Christian spirit. To teach generally useful knowledge in the abstract, a historical comprehension is necessary, which it did not possess. Its object was to grow more clever and smarter than those people who lived before us in utter darkness, from which to have escaped people should be thankful. This is not the proper place to show the connection of the "friends of light" with the head-quarters of Zerrenner, but so much is certain, that both moved on the same circumference, although it can not be said that the doctrines of the friends of light originated with Zerrenner.

d. Whilst the old Saxon districts of Prussia were influenced by Zerrenner, the new Saxon districts were under the influence of Dinter, because many teachers had been his pupils, and most of them were readers and admirers of his writings. The Prussian government transferred Harnisch as soon as possible, (1822,) from Breslau to Weissenfels, in the southeastern portion of the province of Saxony, as director of the normal school. The writer of these lines was sent (1840) to Erfurt, in the southwestern portion of the province, where Möller had labored so long as teacher at the normal school, and as counselor of the consistory, with as much circumspection as success. This was done to protect the increasing number of young teachers in Thuringia against the widely spread rationalism which had already taken possession of the souls or

\* See Barnard's "*Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism*."

was being nourished from Weimar and Gotha, (by Rœhr and Bretschneider.) Whilst in the South of the province the Prussian teachers opened their hearts to a Christian life in and with the people, and spread their influence with more or less evident success, as particularly in Mühlhausen by the beneficent coöperation of the brave teachers Otto and Fehre: the North of the province had to wait patiently for a long time, till the Magdeburg normal school could be removed to Barby, till the extinction or dissolution of private normal schools, which had existed so long in Eilenburg and Grosstreiben under Zerrenner's patronage, could be effected, till the normal school at Eisleben could be reorganized, and a new normal school could be established in Elsterwerda. It is more than probable that the schools, particularly in the Northern and central portions of the province, had their silent foster-fathers and tenacious representatives in opposition to those, who had been influenced by the new normal school in Weissenfels since 1822, and in Erfurt, both previous to 1829 and subsequently in 1840.

e. Harnish did not escape the contests which Beckendorf had expected to be in store for him, when he went to Saxony. Though he alludes to them in his "*Description of the Weissenfels normal school, Berlin, 1838,*" it is to be regretted that he has not been able to continue his biography, because the plain manner in which he wrote would have represented his position in all its importance during these conflicts. Short allusions can be found at the conclusion of Harnish's work, "*The morning of my life,*" p. 449. When Erfurt had become a Prussian town again, a normal school was soon established there, originally by the private exertions of several brave men who had the improvement of schools at heart, such as counselor K. Hahn, dean Möller, Cantor Fischer, K. Reinthaler, candidate for ordination, &c.; it became (1829) a State institution by the influence of Zerrenner, who succeeded in procuring for parson Sickel, his disciple, the place of the former director, Möller.\* He was succeeded by Philo, in October, 1840, who labored to revive in that establishment a spirit more in harmony with the Gospel than that which had hitherto governed it.

#### *Stralsund and Pomerania.*

2. The governmental district of Stralsund, which includes the duchy of Vor Pommern or Swedish Pomerania, (to distinguish it from the duchy of Vor Pommern belonging to the district of Stettin,) and the principality of Rügen, hence the country North of the Peene river, contains fourteen towns, and was annexed in 1815.† There reigned, till 1637, the

\* Diesterweg's *Pedagogic Germany*, Vol. I., p. 286.

† The contributor of these communications has labored these eight years as a teacher in different places in Vor Pommern; he therefore writes partly from his own observation and personal experience. Moreover there have been consulted: Mohnike and Zober, *Stralsund Chronicl.*, 2 vols. Stralsund, 1833; John Jacob Grumbke, *New and minute geographical, statistical, and historical Notes on the island of Rugen*, 2 vols., 1819; Biederstedt's *Collection of all ecclesiastic, &c. resolutions in the duchy of Vor Pommern and Rugen*, 2 vols., Stralsund, 1817; Ohm's *Chronicl. of the town of Barth*; Count Krassow, *Contributions to the history of New Vor Pommern and Rugen*, fifty years ago; and at the present time, Greifswalde, 1865, *Some official documents and manuscripts*.

dukes of Pommern-Wolgast, and after the death of the last descendant of this line (Bogislav XIV.,) under which the duchies of Wolgast and Stettin had been united, they fell, together with the country South of the Seene river, (Old Vor Pommern,) the mouths of the Oder, and Stettin, to the Swedish crown, to which they belonged for two centuries. That is a long period, and the inhabitants of Vor Pommern and Rügen have been quite comfortable under the mild government of the kings of Sweden; in their almost patriarchal condition, they had but rarely to complain of claims on their willingness to sacrifice something to the general welfare of the State. But as for intellectual culture, and particularly as for the education of the lower classes, almost nothing was done; at least the attempts of government to improve the schools produced no effect worth mentioning.

The first schools for the people appear to have been established soon after the Reformation.\* They were mostly kept by sacristans in villages that had churches. At the same time, a higher class of schools, called Rector-schools, were established in towns, to supply the want of the citizens.

a. *Town-schools.*—Johannes Æpinus published in Stralsund as early as 1525,† particular regulations for Church and School, according to which two *free-schools* for the young of both sexes were to be established. The principal object in view was instruction in God's Word. A superintendent was to be at their head, a Latin teacher and two other school-masters were to be employed. The whole regulation consists of five sections, of which the second, third and fifth run thus: "God having commanded all parents that the children should receive instruction in His laws, two schools are needed, one for boys and one for girls." "Because we profess to be Christians, we should be careful that such schools should be established according to Christian law, that the youths may not only receive information in the word of God, but that they should be fortified to act according to it." The main work the schools are expected to do is, to instruct the children in doing right, and to teach them how to live in compliance to God's word."

A second organization of Church and School for Stralsund was published in 1535 by Dr. John Bugenhagen. It does not essentially differ from the one issued ten years before. Thus it says: "We also direct that two schools shall be established, for the poor and for the rich living here who reside within the limits of the town; in the one shall Latin and German be taught, in the other shall girls be educated." The boys"

\* At the meeting in Treptow, (December 13th, 1534,) of the dukes Philip I and Barnim IX, it was resolved, "that the preaching of the Gospel should be allowed without hindrance, that churches and schools should be established, and that the estates of the Roman Catholic Church should be confiscated."

† About the author of this regulation for Church and School, Mohnike says: "There lived at that time in Stralsund, as director of the school at St. John's Churchyard, a man called John Æpinus, whose real name was Hœck or Hoch; he played later, in 1528 and 1529, an important part in the history of the church of Hamburg. This man, though not mentioned as a clergyman in Stralsund, must have enjoyed great authority in consequence of his learning and practical ability, for it was he, and not Ketelhodt, who was applied to, to draft this regulation."



school was to have one rector and five assistants. The school consisted, as magister Philippus Melancthon has directed in his book for the visitations in Saxony, of three classes, yet the rector was authorized to form a fourth class. This institution has not been an elementary school, nor a high-school either, but a rector-school, what we would now call a common town-school. The educational establishments in the other towns were of a similar character, but little is known about them, before the province was annexed by Prussia.

The town and provincial school \* at Bergen was established after the Reformation, and had only one class for boys. The girls received instruction in the school of the sacristan, which may have been in existence before the Reformation. John Empel was the first rector in 1562. The reports are not very cheering; those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contain almost nothing but complaints about the individual and public distress, the wretched condition of the schools, and the unproductive exertions of the city authorities to relieve them. The country suffered much during the Thirty Years' War. The school derived no assistance from the Swedish government, when it had taken possession of Pomerania. The inhabitants of Bergen took the oath of allegiance to Adolphus Frederic in 1754, and thought this a good opportunity to give some hints at the necessity that the very dilapidated school-house should be repaired. They therefore made a transparency with this motto: "If the hand of the Almighty had not protected me, I should long since have been a heap of rubbish." And another, showing the temple of Minerva, had this motto: "As Adolphus Frederic will rebuild the temple, this school-house will also be repaired by him." Yet, *O fallacem hominum spem et inanes nostras contentiones!* There were no repairs made.

The school in Barth is mentioned in a document as early as 1325, in which Wratislaf, duke of Pomerania and prince of the Rügians, says: "I also authorize my privy council to appoint a schoolmaster and a sacristan whenever there is a vacancy."

The oldest instruction for a school organization in Barth is by duke Bogislaf XIII, in the year 1584; it contains much detail, and is closely connected with the organization of the church. But in how sad a condition the schools were, even after a lapse of two centuries, may be seen from the following lawsuit in 1743. Rector Zunghen requested that the school fees should be increased, because the price of wood was so very high; the council did not approve of this request. The rector therefore had no longer any fire made in the school-room, and had even the benches removed. The council made complaints to the consistory, but received no answer. The council renewed the complaint, stating that there had not been any school for three weeks; then the rector was ordered (1743) to have the school-room properly heated, on the penalty of a fine of thirty thalers. But Junghen did not obey; on the contrary, he protested.

\* The denomination *provincial school* is a mere title, because the inhabitants of the province, i. e. of the country about Bergen, contributed nothing to the salary of teachers, &c., nor did they generally send their children to that school.

against the sentence and continued the lawsuit. All the while there was no instruction given to the children, because there was but one school-room. The rector gives a description of this room, and tries to prove by figures that the quantity of wood furnished to him was altogether insufficient. The room was twenty-eight feet long, twenty feet wide, and ten feet high; the walls were of brick and loam, yet the seams, not being filled up with mortar, were mostly quite open. The clergyman of Bodstedt gave it officially as his opinion, that the room required ten cords of the best beach and oak wood, to be properly heated from 7 A. M. to 4 P. M. during the winter season. The school had two classes in 1774, and in 1789 most likely three, for there is mentioned a subrector, besides a rector, a writing-master, a teacher of arithmetic, and a sacristan.

There were similar schools in Grimmen, Loitz, Tribsees, Lissan, and Darngarten, some under a rector, others under a deacon; there was in Wolgast, Barth and Bergen, (with some interruptions) a subrector, besides the rector. The undersigned has not obtained any special reports on Wolgast, but, to judge from some old statistics, schools must have been in a flourishing condition, most likely because the dukes resided there for a long time. In Franzburg, Richlenberg, and Garz, were schools kept by the sacristans. So had the market-town Gingst a so-called German school, in which the deacon (just licensed to preach) had to give two lessons every day. The town of Sagard on Yasmund (a peninsula of Rügen,) established a school in 1792, liberally assisted by the Swedish Count Brahe; it had but one teacher, who was at the same time parish clerk and organist.

A more detailed description of the development of the town-schools is not an object of this article, but it may be mentioned that in 1815, the two towns which had gymnasiums, viz., Stralsund and Greifswalde, supported, besides the sacristans' schools, each a citizens' (*industrial*) school and a school for orphans.

## PESTALOZZI'S EDUCATIONAL LABORS FOR THE POOR,

AND FOR  
POPULAR SCHOOLS.

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"It is to the charitable efforts of Pestalozzi"—remarks M. Demetz, the founder of the most complete and successful institution of reformatory education in the world, in a report on the Agricultural Reformatory Colonies of France,—“that we owe the establishment of agricultural colonies,” that is, of institutions, organized on the basis, and in the spirit of the family, with agricultural employment as the principal means of industrial training, and with methods of instruction, moral, intellectual, and physical, so far as applied, good enough for children of any class of society, and yet capable of being followed by an intelligent mother in the home of the poor. Not that Pestalozzi's own plans and methods under his own application, were eminently successful—for they were not. His institution at Neuhof, was a disastrous failure, in its immediate results, both as a school, and as a pecuniary speculation. But the christian spirit in which this excellent man labored—the family organization into which he gathered, even the outcasts of society, living among such pupils as a father, as well as pastor and teacher, and denying himself the quiet seclusion and comforts of the home which the fortune of his noble minded wife had secured for him, that he might inspire the orphan, and the abandoned and even criminal child with filial attachments, cultivate habits of self-reliance and profitable industry, and thus enable them “to live in the world like men”—this spirit, system and aim, the dream and labor of his long and troubled life, imperfectly inaugurated at Neuhof, and never fully realized at Stanz, Burgdorf, and Yverden, but widely diffused by his writings, and the better success, under more favorable conditions, of his pupils and disciples in Switzerland and Germany, have led to the establishment of new educational institutions for rich and poor, of schools of practical agriculture, as well as of agricultural reformatories, and at the same time has regenerated the methods of popular education generally. To the connected and comprehensive survey of Pestalozzi's Life and Educational System by von Raumer, we add a notice of his labors at Neuhof by Dr. Blochmann, of Dresden, and by Dr. Diesterweg, of Berlin, from discourses pronounced on the occasion of the Centennial celebration of Pestalozzi's birth-day on the 12th of January, 1846.

### PESTALOZZI'S POOR SCHOOL AT NEUHOF.

PESTALOZZI having failed in a plantation of madder which he had commenced in connection with a mercantile house of Zurich, on an estate of about one hundred acres of land on which he commenced a house in the



Italian villa style, to which he gave the name of NeuhoF, projected the plan of an educational establishment respecting which Dr. Blochmann,\* an admiring pupil and avowed follower thus writes:

It was not in Pestalozzi's nature to sink under misfortune, so long as he could pursue the attainment of the object of his life. He had early learned and deeply fixed in his mind the maxim,

"Tu ne cede malis, sed contra fortior ito."

He advanced like a roused lion, with resolute courage, against all unfriendly influences. In spite of the severe distress into which the unforeseen withdrawal of the Zurich house plunged him, he determined to go on, and to make his landed estate the centre of operations for his educational and agricultural plans. He resolved even upon more and higher designs. Henceforward he will live amongst beggar children, and share his bread in poverty amongst them; will live like a beggar himself, that he may learn to teach beggars to live like men.

He also proposed to render his establishment an institution for the poor. This undertaking attracted attention. It was considered a noble and benevolent enterprise; and his views and principles had so much influence, in spite of the mistrust of his practical ability, that he found assistance in Zurich, Bern and Basle, and was able without much difficulty to obtain the necessary funds for the institution, by the aid of a loan, for several years, without interest. His friends on all sides assisted him; more especially Iselin of Basle, whom he had met and known in the Helvetic Diet, and who introduced the beloved enterprise to public notice in his *Ephemerides*.

The Institution for the Poor at NeuhoF was opened in 1775. Poor children flocked in from all directions, many of them gathered by Pestalozzi himself from their misery, and out of the streets. He had soon fifty children, whom he kept busy in summer with field labor, and in winter with spinning and other handicrafts, instructing them all the time, and developing and clearing up their mental faculties, especially by oral recitations and mental arithmetic.† Pestalozzi had early perceived

\* HENRY PESTALOZZI. *Touces at a Picture of his Life and Labors*: from his own testimony, from observation, and communication. By Dr. Karl Justus Blochmann, Privy School-Councillor and Professor: Leipsic. 1846.

† The idea of such a school for the poor, in which agricultural and industrial labor were to be combined with instruction, accompanied Pestalozzi, to whose mind it was so new and stimulating, all his life; and even remained like a sunbeam shining from behind the dark sad clouds of the past, his last love, his last active desire. What, however, he never completely accomplished, has been done by Emanuel von Feilenberg, who was assisted in the work, not only by his certain and practical skill and experience, but especially by his good fortune in discovering in Vehrli, such a man as is very seldom to be found, but absolutely necessary in the actual realization of such a school. Whoever, like myself—and there are thousands—has become thoroughly acquainted with Vehrli's school in Hofwyl, must be convinced that in institutions for the education of the poor so organized, conducted in such a spirit, with such love and self-sacrifice, there is to be found an inestimable blessing for the state and the people. Feilenberg has shown from his account books, that a poor boy, received at his ninth year, and remaining in the institution through his eighteenth, pays by his labor during the last half of his stay, for the excess of the expense of maintaining him over his earnings, during the first half. Lange, in his work on "The Country Educational Institutions for Poor Children," (*Landliche Erziehungs Anstalten für Armenkinder*.) has made very thorough researches into the

that in the nature of every man are innate powers and means sufficient to assure him an adequate support ; and that the hindrances arising from exterior circumstances, to the development of the natural endowments, are not in their nature insuperable.

The usual means of benevolence and mercy (as he was accustomed to name the orphan houses, institutions for supporting the poor, &c., of the period,) seemed to him to stimulate and encourage the evil, instead of helping it. The thousand public and private ways of spending alms, with which the times were crowded to nausea, the beggar making and hypocrite training modes of assisting the poor, seemed to him only a palliative. The only means of affording real assistance he saw to lie in this ; that the inborn natural powers of every man to provide for his own necessities, and sufficiently to perform the business, duties and obligations of his being, should be developed, encouraged, and set upon an independent footing. With this conviction the impulse increased within him to labor for this definite purpose ; that it should become practicable for the poorest in the land to be assured of the development of their bodily, spiritual and moral powers both in relation to their own characters, and to their personal, domestic and social relations ; and through this development to obtain the sure basis of a peaceful and sufficient means of existence. He had already taken the first step in this direction, by admitting into his house beggar children and others abandoned to neglect, that he might rescue them from their debasing condition, lead them back to manhood and a higher destiny, and thus prove to himself and those around him more and more clearly the truth of his opinion. His institution was to comprise the means for a sufficient instruction in field labor, in domestic work, and in associated industry. This was not, however, the ultimate purpose. That was, a training to manhood ; and for it, these other departments were only preparatory.

First of all, he proposed to train his poor children to exertion and self-control, by forbearing and assiduous discipline, and by the ever powerful stimulus of love. He aimed to possess himself of their hearts, and from that starting point to bring them to the consciousness and the attainment of every thing noble and great in humanity. "I had from my youth " he says, "a high instinctive value of the influence of domestic training in the education of poor children, and likewise a decided preference for field labor, as the most comprehensive and unobjectionable external basis for this training, and also for another reason : as it is the condition of the manufacturing population which is increasing so rapidly amongst us, who, abandoned to the operations of a mercantile and speculating

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subject, not only from other writings upon institutions for the poor after the model of Fellenberg's, but from his own repeated and extensive travels and personal observation. Our own teacher's association (*pädagogische verein*, at Dresden,) has proposed as a chief aim of its practical efforts, the realization of an institution for the education of poor and abandoned children, after Pestalozzi's model ; for which purpose, it purchased some eight years since, a property in great part already in cultivation, and with a roomy mansion house, near the Lößtanner Schlage, which was dedicated on the 12th of January, 1845, by the name of the, Pestalozzi Foundation, (*Pestalozzi Stiftung*.)

interest, wholly destitute of humanity, are in danger, in case of unforeseen accident, of being able to find within themselves no means of escape from entire ruin.\* Full of a love for my father-land, which hoped for it almost impossible things, and longed to lead it back to its native dignity and power, I sought with the greatest activity not only for the possible but for the certain means of averting the coming evil, and of awakening anew the remainder of the ancient home happiness, home industry, and home manners. These designs sank deep into my heart and often made me feel with sorrow what a high and indispensable human duty it is to labor for the poor and miserable, with all the means which our race possesses, in church, state or individuals, that he may attain to a consciousness of his own dignity through his feeling of the universal powers and endowments which he possesses, awakened within him; that he may not only learn to gabble over by rote the religious maxim that 'man is created in the image of God, and is bound to live and die as the child of God,' but may himself experience its truth by virtue of the divine power within him, so that he may be irresistibly and really elevated not only above the ploughing oxen, but above the man in purple and silk, who lives unworthily of his high destiny."

With such lofty and magnificent views, and with a heart at even a higher level of love, Pestalozzi labored at NeuhoF from sunrise to sunset, amongst his beggar children. He lived steadily up to his principles, laboring in his vocation to the full extent of his powers; always knew what he was seeking, cared not for the morrow, but felt from moment to moment the needs of the present. Among his children were very many ungovernable ones of a better class, and still worse, many who had brought themselves from a better condition to beggary, and who were presumptuous and pretentious by reason of their former situation; to whom the energetic discipline which he applied, according to his design, was at first hateful. They considered their situation with him as more degrading than that in which they had been before. NeuhoF was full every Sunday of the mothers and relatives of children who found their situation not what they had expected. All the impertinences which a miserable rabble of beggars could indulge in a house without visible protection or imposing exterior, were practiced, to encourage the children in their discontent; even so far that they were often tempted to run away by night just after they had been washed clean and clad in their Sunday clothes. However, these difficulties would little by little

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\* Upon the influence of manufacturing wealth amongst the Swiss at that time. Pestalozzi expresses himself thus in another place: "The paternal love of the upper and the filial love of the lower classes, in consequence of the increase of the manufacturing interest, is going more and more to ruin under the effects of ignoble wealth. The blinding height of arrogance derived from an eminent position obtained by money, the deceitful cornucopia of an unreliable life of mere pleasure, has drawn all within its destructive influence, even down to the commonest of the people, and carried them into the crooked path of a spiritless and powerless routine life. Truth, honor, sympathy, moderation, are daily vanishing. Pride, insolence, recklessness, contemptuousness, laxity, immorality, the eager pursuit of vain and ostentatious pleasure, the cherishing of boundless selfishness, have taken the place of the ancient simplicity, faith and honor.



nave been overcome, had not Pestalozzi pushed his undertaking to an extent altogether beyond his means, and undertaken to modify it according to the original design, which supposed the possession of the utmost knowledge of manufacturing and of human nature; qualities in which he was lacking in the same measure, in which he needed them urgently for managing his institution. Moreover, he hurried on to the higher branches of instruction, before supplying the solid foundation of acquaintance with the lower; an error recognized as the leading one of the teaching of the age, against which he had striven in his scheme of education with all his strength. For the sake of a fallacious prospect of greater profit, in higher branches of industry, he committed, in teaching his children to spin and weave, the very faults which he had so strongly abjured in all his expressed opinions upon education, and which he saw to be so dangerous to children of all classes. He would attempt to secure the finest spinning, before his children had acquired even a small amount of firmness and surety of hand in coarse work; and undertook to manufacture muslin before his weavers had attained skill in weaving common cotton stuff.

Through these and the like mistakes, through his ignorance of business, and his great lack of a sound practical faculty of learning it, it happened that Pestalozzi fell every year deeper in debts; and when these also from time to time had been paid by the self-sacrificing generosity of his noble wife, there came at last an end of this means of help, and in a few years the greater part of his substance and his expected inheritance was dissolved into smoke. The great confidence which he had enjoyed among his neighbors, changed when his undertaking failed so soon, into an utter and blind rejection of any shadow even of faith in his enterprise, or of belief in his possessing any capacity at all as a teacher. But such is the way of the world; it treated Pestalozzi, when poor, as it treats all who become poor by their own faults. Their money being gone, it withdraws also its confidence from them, in matters where they really are capable and efficient.

His enterprise failed, in a manner excessively painful, both to himself and his wife, in the year 1780, in the fifth year of its existence. His misfortune was complete; he was now poor. He felt most deeply the condition of his noble hearted wife, who in the excess of her devotion had mortgaged away for him nearly all her possessions. His situation was indeed shocking. In his over handsome country house, he was often destitute of bread, wood, and a few pennies, wherewith to defend himself from cold and hunger. Only the entire forbearance of his creditors and the kind help of his friends preserved him from despair and entire ruin.

Thus he lived a poor and destitute life in NeuhoF for eighteen years, fighting with want and misery. He lived as a poor man amongst the poor; suffered what the common people suffered, and saw what they were. He studied the wants of the lower classes and the sources of their misery, in a manner which would have been impossible for one in better circumstances



THE SCHOOLHOUSE AT BIRR, WITH PESTALOZZI'S MEMORIAL

# PUBLICATIONS BY AND RELATING TO PESTALOZZI

## I. WORKS BY PESTALOZZI.\*

1. PESTALOZZI'S WORKS, (*Werke*), Tübingen, 1819-26. Cotta. 15 vols.  
These include:—
  - a. *Leonard and Gertrude*, (*Lienhard und Gertrud*), vols. 1-4.
  - b. *How Gertrude teaches her children*, (*Wie Gertrud ihr Kinder lehrt*), vol. 5.
  - c. *To the innocence, earnestness, and nobility of my fatherland*, (*An die Unschuld, den Ernst und den Edelmuth meines Vaterlandes*), vol. 6.
  - d. *My researches upon the course of nature in the development of the human race*, (*Meine Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*), vol. 7.
  - e. *On legislation and child-murder*, (*Ueber Gesetzgebung und Kindermord*), vols. 7 and 8.
  - f. *On the idea of elementary education. An address delivered at Lenzburg, 1809*, (*Ueber die Idee der Elementarbildung. Eine Rede, gehalten in Lenzburg*), vol. 8.  
("In great part the work of Niederer."—*Biber*. It first appeared in the "*Weekly for Human Development*," [*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung*].)
  - g. *Pestalozzi's letter to a friend upon his residence at Stanz*, (*Pestalozzi's Brief an einen Freund über seinen Aufenthalt in Stanz*), vol. 9.  
(This first appeared in the "*Weekly*.")
  - h. *Views on industry, education, and politics*, (*Ansichten über Industrie, Erziehung und Politik*), vol. 9.
  - i. *Address to my household, delivered Jan. 12, 1818*, (*Rede an mein Haus, gehalten den 12 Jänner, 1818*), vol. 9.
  - k. *Figures to my A B C-Book*, (*Figuren zu meinem A B C-Buch*), vol. 10.
  - l. *Views and experiences relative to the idea of elementary education*, (*Ansichten und Erfahrungen, die Idee der Elementarbildung betreffend*), vol. 11.  
(This had before appeared under the name of "H. Pestalozzi's views, experiences, and means to secure a mode of education adapted to human nature." Leipzig, 1807.)
  - m. *On the principles and plan of a periodical, announced in the year 1807*, (*Ueber die Grundsätze und den Plan einer im Jahre 1807 angekündigten Zeitschrift*), vol. 11.
  - n. *Report to parents and the public on the condition and organization of Pestalozzi's institution in the year 1807*, (*Bericht an die Eltern und an das Publicum über den Zustand und die Einrichtungen der Pestalozzischen Anstalt im Jahre 1807*), vol. 11.  
(This had already appeared in the "*Weekly for Human Development*," but in the collective edition it was materially enlarged.)
  - o. *A word on the condition of my pedagogical enterprises, and on the organization of my institution during the year 1820*, (*Ein Wort über den Zustand meiner pädagogischen Bestrebungen und über die Organisation meiner Anstalt im Jahr 1820*), vol. 11.
  - p. *A few discourses in my house in the years 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812*, (*Einige Reden an mein Haus in den Jahren 1808, &c.*), vol. 11.
  - q. *Christoph and Else*, vol. 12.
  - r. *Swan-song*, (*Pestalozzi's Schwanengesang*), vol. 13.
  - s. *Theory of Number and Form*, (*Zahl und Formlehre*), vol. 14.

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\* This list is taken from Raumer's "*History of Pedagogy*," vol. ii, p. 489.



- i. *Theory of Form and Dimension, (Form und Grossenlehre),* vol. 15.
- u. *Address at Langenthal, Apr., 16, 1826, (Rede, den 26sten April 1826, in Langenthal gehalten,)* vol. 15.  
Some important objections have been made to this edition ; primarily, that it is imperfect.
2. WORKS OF PESTALOZZI not included in the collected edition of 1819–26.
  - a. *Agis, or Spartan legislation, (Agis, über die Spartanische Gesetzgebung.)* (Pestalozzi's first work.)
  - b. *Evening hour of a Hermit, (Die Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers.)*  
(This first appeared in Iselin's "*Ephemerides*" for 1780, and was reprinted in the "*Weekly for Human Development*," in 1807.)
  - c. *A Swiss Gazette, (Ein Schweizer-Blatt,)* in two volumes, 1782 and 1783.  
(Not being acquainted with this, I do not know whether Pestalozzi was sole editor or not. About 1798 he published another "*Swiss Popular Gazette*," under authorization from government.)
  - d. *Pestalozzi's elementary works, (Pestalozzi's Elementarbücher,)* especially the "*Book for Mothers, (Buch der Mutter,)* Tübingen, 1803. The "*Intuition Theory of the Relations of Size, (Anschauungslehre der Massverhältnisse,)* and the "*Intuition Theory of the Relations of Numbers, (Anschauungslehre der Zahlenverhältnisse,)* by Krüsi, are quite as important for Pestalozzi's works as the theories of Number, Form, and Size, by Schmid, in vols. 14 and 15.
  - e. *Views on Subjects to which the Helvetic Legislature ought specially to direct its attention, (Ansichten über die Gegenstände auf welche die Gesetzgebung Helvetiens ihr Augenmerk vorzüglich zu richten hat,)* Bern, 1802.
  - f. *The Fate of my Life, as Principal of my Educational Institutions at Burgdorf and Yverdun, by Pestalozzi, (Meine Lebensschicksale als Vorsteher meiner Erziehungs-institute in Burgdorf und Iftern,)* Leipzig, 1826.
  - g. *The Instruction of the Sitting-Room, (Die Kinderlehre der Wohnstube.)*  
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Reader:—Please to communicate any omission in the foregoing list known to you to Henry Barnard, Hartford, Conn.

*Recent Editions of Pestalozzi's Works.*

KRUSI, of Zurich, has published two editions of *Leonard and Gertrude*, following the text of the original editions of 1781, 1783, 1785, and 1787. The first was published in 1831, in 4 vols., and the second in 1844-57.

PESTALOZZIAN MUSEUM, established at Zurich in 1879, appointed a committee on the occasion of the centennial of the first publication of *Leonard and Gertrude*, to issue a new edition of that work in two vols.:

"*Lienhard und Gertrud, erster und zweiter Theil, neu herausgegeben zum Jubiläum der Original-Ausgabe vom Jahr 1781: Zürich 1881; dritter und vierter Theil, neu herausgegeben als Fortsetzung der Jubiläum-Ausgabe des ersten und zweiten Theils, von der Kommission für das Pestalozzi-Stübchen: Zürich, 1884.*"

This edition was accompanied by two treatises upon the "History and Composition of *Leonard and Gertrude*," by Dr. Hunziker.

MANN (Von Friedrich) has published several of Pestalozzi's best works in *Beyer's Bibliothek pädagogiker Classiker* (Langensalza):

*J. II. Pestalozzi's ausgewählte Werke, mit Pestalozzi's Biographie; 4 vols.*

Mann's edition contains the following works: *Leonard and Gertrude; The Evening Hour of a Hermit; Extracts from the Schweitzerblatt; Sojourn at Stanz; How Gertrude teaches her Children; Opinions and Experiences concerning the Idea of Elementary Education; Address delivered at Lenzbourg in 1809; Pestalozzi's Addresses at his home in 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1818; The Swan-Song.* Mann follows the text of the original editions.

SEYFFARTH (L. W.), the rector and pastor of Luckenwalde, published from 1869-1873, a cheap edition of Pestalozzi's works, the only complete edition which has been edited since that of Cotta, under the title:

*Pestalozzi's sämtliche Werke, gesichtet, vervollständigt und mit erläuternden Einleitungen versehen, von L. W. Seyffarth, Rector und Hilfsprediger zu Luckenwalde.*

This edition was published at Brandenburg in sixteen regular volumes and two supplementary, and contains all of Pestalozzi's works which Seyffarth had been able to procure. It is more nearly complete than Cotta's, and the text is taken from that of the original editions except that of *Leonard and Gertrude*, in which he is believed to have followed the text of the first four volumes of Cotta's edition, which became in his edition the first four parts of the romance, and under the heading of part five he has added what appeared as the fourth part in 1787, and which was omitted in Cotta's edition.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, published in 1885, "*Leonard and Gertrude*, translated and abridged by Eva Channing." pp. 181, 12mo.

DR. VOGEL (AUGUST), in a thin volume of 136 pages, gives a summary of Pestalozzi's Pedagogy in extracts from his principal writings. Published at Bernburg in 1882. J. Bacmeister.

The Milton Bradley Company, Springfield, Mass., issued, in 1887:

PESTALOZZI'S PEDAGOGY IN HIS OWN WORDS; with a Summary of his Educational Views by American, English, German, and French Educators, and a list of 400 treatises devoted to Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism, and an Index of 16 pages to the same, and to Barnard's Memoirs of Pestalozzi, his Assistants, and Disciples. Edited by Henry Barnard. 228 pp.

The above volume of 228 pages, equivalent to 464 pages in smaller type and measure, contains more of Pestalozzi's publications in his own words than can be found in all the different treatises respecting him, in the English language. It also gives summaries of his pedagogy by Busse, Compayré, Diesterweg, Gill, Leitch, Mayo, Quick, Woodbridge, and others.

# OBJECT TEACHING — PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

[From the German of F. Busse, Principal of the Girls' High School of Berlin.\*]

## 1. — AIMS AND PRINCIPLES.

PEDAGOGICAL authorities have the most diverse views upon object-teaching, both in regard to its position and value in general, and to its principal and subsidiary objects in particular. The reason of this is, that no other discipline embraces the individuality of the child on its physical and spiritual sides to such a degree as this does. We speak of exercise in observation, object-teaching, practice in thinking, or practice in understanding, practice in speaking or in language, just according as we are thinking more especially of the sense-organs and observation, the ability to think, the speaking a language. From the standpoint of an enlightened science of teaching, the averaging of these various views, and the uniting of these aims, is a necessity.

Since object-teaching is the earliest teaching, and that which begins before the child is old enough to go to school (Pestalozzi, Frœbel), since it takes hold of the child in the full, undifferentiated unity of his powers, it is of importance to presuppose that the child has an inborn individuality. That clumsy view which considers that what we call individuality does not arise until it is produced by the influence of time and place, persons and circumstances, and, most of all, by education and instruction, — that view, I repeat, prevails amongst those who strive to dispiritualize nature everywhere, and especially human nature, and is unworthy of an enlightened science of teaching. Just as little as instruction can form its empirical conditions — that is, mental capacity and organs of speech — in the child, but, instead of that, presupposes them, just so little can it dispense with the logical conditions; namely, the *I*, endowed with powers of observation, discernment, feeling, and willing, — what Genesis calls "the living soul," what Solomon calls "the breath of the divine power."

No investigator has yet succeeded in drawing the wonderful boundary-line between the spiritual and the physical in human nature; but if we are trying to establish the meaning of the important idea, "intuition," we must keep the physical and spiritual sides of our being apart.

Man, as a sensibly spiritual being, has, first of all, a receptivity for impressions of that which is about him and goes on before him. This receptivity is called sense. The activities, capacities, and powers of the soul which come first into consideration are, therefore, of a purely receptive kind. It is the decidedly preponderant activity of sense. While the impressions of the exterior world are in the act of being appropriated by the soul, the first soul-formations, the sensations and perceptions, arise.

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\* From Diesterweg's *Wegweiser*, edition of 1873.



These are all matters of experience. We need only call to mind the popular expression, "The stupid quarter of a year," which ends with the child's first smile, that beam of consciousness which is greeted with infinite joy. The child has at this period the ordinary vicissitudes and excitements of its nervous life in pleasure and pain, as well as the wonderful modifications of them in its sense-organs. It hears a fondling voice, looks into a faithful eye, tastes the sweet milk, feels the mother's breast, the gentle lifting and carrying of the arms, and the swinging motion of the cradle. These are the sense-impressions, or sensations, which flow towards him daily during the short moments of wakefulness.

With admirable wisdom, nature has so regulated the organism of the child that it passes these first days and weeks in the arms of sleep; for could it immediately, like the young lambkin or colt, use its limbs, such an immeasurable, incomprehensible world of impressions would stream in upon its inner being, that self-consciousness, unable to master them, would be forever overcome and unable to develop itself. Do not we teachers have the corresponding experience daily in the dissipated and distracted youth of our great cities? Do we not have it hourly when, in the presentation of a new subject, we give too much at once, and overstep the limits which lie in the power of self-consciousness?

But the child has not merely sense-impressions or sensations, which bear the token of individuality; it has also sense-intuitions, that is, a multiplicity of sensations which are united together into a *unit* by the synthesis of the interior sense, (named by Kant "the table of the inner sense," of which the five senses are only radiations.)

The beast also shares in both the sense-impressions and the sense-intuitions, and indeed, as we must confess, possesses these to a higher degree than does man, since it belongs entirely to the world of sense, and is endowed with sharper organs of sense, so that it may exist in that world.

When, for instance, the ape is busy with an apple, he has, in the first place, the sense-impression of *sight*, by means of his eye; in the second place, that of *feeling* in his hand; in the third place, the impression of *smell*, if he holds it to his nose; in the fourth place, that of *taste* upon his tongue; and, finally, also that of *hearing*, if the fruit falls to the ground, or seeds rattle. But these five different impressions do not remain in him as one multitude, but are united upon the table of his inner sense without his participation, and yet with infallible certainty, so that he has the unity comprehended within itself of the sense-impression of the apple.

Let us look at the horse. He hears the crack and swing of the whip; he has often enough felt the smarting impressions of it, and sees it immediately when the coachman has the instrument in his hand; but these three sense-impressions remain in him, not as any thing isolated, but blend into the unity of a sense-intuition.

The child is similarly circumstanced in relation to the external world. As soon as longer pauses of wakefulness take place, the eye follows the movements of the mother, and the impressions of her friendly face, of her tender voice, of the nourishment she gives, of the lifting and carrying and

other cares she bestows upon him, unite in a total picture, in a unity of the sense-intuition.

The sense-impressions are the first, the sense-intuitions the second, and the latter mark already a step of the greater powerfulness of life in general, and of the development of sense in particular.

But, while the animal rises up into the world of sense-impressions and sense-intuitions, the power of the inborn and now gently moving self-consciousness raises the sense-impressions into perceptions, and thereby raises also the sense-intuitions into intellectual intuitions.

The perceiving is next becoming assured of something, and in itself is yet an undefined, general turning or application of the subjectivity to an object, a direction of the spirit to an outside thing, a consciousness of parts, character, and differences now becoming clear. But if a perception is internally grasped and worked up, and the perception takes place with a more decided consciousness, then the occurrence becomes a spiritual intuition.

Intellectual intuition (or intuition absolutely) is each conscious, more distinct perception or unity of several perceptions, with an internal summary.

Intuition is quite a significant word. To look (or to inspect) expresses subjective activity, not mere seeing, as the eye of the animal may be said to attach itself to the external object attracting the senses, but expresses the act of sounding it. Intuition signifies such inspection as exalts the object to the contemplator's real objectivity.

An intuition presupposes :

1. An immediately present object.
2. The influence of the same upon one or several sense-organs.
3. A spiritual activity, to bring this influence to the consciousness; therefore the active directions of the spirit, and the grasping of the same.\*

The mind of the child now incessantly works on. He obtains mastery more and more swiftly, and more and more victoriously over the sense-impressions and sense-intuitions; the wealth of perceptions and intellectual intuitions, and his self-certainty in them, becomes ever greater; finally, the power of intuitive thinking becomes so great that single intellectual intuitions become IDEAS. It is these which have always left behind in the child's soul the deepest traces, and they become ideas as soon as the mind has power to objectivate them; that is, to dispose of them as of things owned, and, independently of the world of sense, to be able at will to call them forth out of itself, or to thrust them back.

But here comes in the need of a sign; that is, of a word, not as if the

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\* REMARK. Intuition, in the narrower, original sense, is a conscious impression obtained through the sensation of sight. To *intuit* means, first of all, only the activity of the soul called forth by sight. But since the most distinct and the most surely defined impressions are called forth, and all other sense-perceptions are supported, perfected, and even corrected by the sight, the word *intuition* has, since the time of Kant, been extended to all sensuous perceptions. In the wider sense, every impression which is elevated by the sensibility (feeling) is an intuition; what is external thereby becomes internal.

word called forth the idea, not as if it were the creator of the idea, but it serves as the seal of the idea, as the signature of a mental possession.

Long before the first attempts at speaking, a little hoard of ripening ideas has been formed, and a joy, a rapture accompanies the first efforts to speak, for the child has need of feeling itself and enjoying itself in its self-certainty.

From the idea fixed in the word, man finally rises in maturer age to the conception, but let us add, only imperfectly. Few men who are accustomed to think, take the trouble so to shape the hoard of their ideas and undeveloped conceptions that they become fixed according to their contents and scope. The great multitude allow themselves to be satisfied with ideas and conceptions as nature and life obtrude them, as it were, — and let us say just in this place: object-teaching cannot and will not give an understanding of the external world, which will be clearly conformable to its contents. Whoever should aim to sharpen the formal side of this instruction in such a way, would, in consideration of the mental immaturity of the child, commit the severest mistake, and would give into the hands of the opponents of this system the sharpest weapons. Also exclusively to accentuate the material or practical side of this instruction, the exercise of the senses and the enrichment of the intuitions and ideas, would be censurable, since this instruction is only of value when opposites are connected.\*

Where an extent of phenomena is given, an intent or content must also be sought. Where the external world is brought before the observation (too often, alas! only by pictures), the way to the understanding of it must also be opened, and the later grasping of the conception in due proportion to its contents must be prepared for.

Intuition without thinking would be blind, and thinking without intuition would be empty, dead, word-cram, trifling.

Luther, with all the force of his German nature, was zealous in his opposition to that dead, abstract teaching and learning, and urged on the intuitive method.

"Now," he said, "let us look directly upon the created things rather than upon popedom. For we are beginning, thank God, to recognize his glorious works and wonders in the little flower; when we think how powerful and beneficent God is, let us always praise and prize and thank him for it. In his creatures we recognize how powerful is his word, how prodigious it is." He also drew attention to the relation of the thing to the word, and considered the understanding of the word only possible by the understanding of the thing.

"The art of grammar," he says, "points out and teaches what the words are called and what they mean, but we must first understand and know what the thing or the cause is. Whoever wishes to learn and preach, therefore, must first know both what the thing is and what it is called before he speaks of it—recognition of two kinds, one of the word, the other of the thing. Now to him who has not the knowledge of the thing or action, the knowledge of the word is no assistance. According to an

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\* In other words, when the organ of comparison is brought into play.



old proverb, 'what one does not understand and know well, he cannot speak of well.'"

No creative transformation of the essence of education could, however, proceed from the school, which remained for centuries the serving-maid—less of the Church than of Churchdom. The British giant Bacon had first to give us his *Novum Organum Scientiarum*, that fiery token of a new time, which had its central point in the natural sciences, and to bring on the absolute break with the middle ages as well as with antiquity. As Luther came forth against a mass of human traditions by which the manifestations of God in the Holy Scriptures were disfigured, so Bacon appeared against the traditions of human institutions which darkened the manifestations of God in creation. Men were from that time forth no longer obliged to read the arbitrary and fanciful interpretations of both manifestations, but could read the manifestations themselves. He wished men to demand the immediate contemplation of creation.

"Hence let us never turn the eyes of the mind," he says, "away from the things themselves, but take their images into us just as they are." He saw how in his time the physics of Aristotle were studied, but not *Nature*. Men read in books what the earth is, what their authors related about stones, plants, animals, &c.; but with their own eyes to investigate these stones, plants, and animals, occurred to no one's mind. And thus men were obliged to surrender at discretion to the authority of those authors, since they never thought of making a critical examination of their descriptions and stories by their own immediate experiments. But such a proving was so much the more necessary because these authors themselves had their information at third or fourth hand. It is incredible now what a mass of untruth and fable has been heaped up everywhere in books of natural history, what monsters their geology created, what magic powers they gave to stones, &c. (See Raumer's Päd.)

When Bacon summoned the world to turn their minds from the past and to look with open eyes into living nature, he not only gave to the experimental sciences (including also pedagogics) a new impulse in general, but he was also the father of realistic pedagogy. Ratichius and Comenius learnt from him, and the '*real*' school, the industrial school, the polytechnic institutions, down to the object-teaching of Father Pestalozzi, have in him their foundation. When Bacon's pupil, John Locke, set up "the healthy soul in the healthy body" as the chief maxim in education, is it not the same thing as when Pestalozzi and Fröbel desired "the harmonious development of human nature," and preached conformity to nature in education and instruction?

In opposition to the empty, deadening word-teaching that grew rank in the schools, "the poisonous seed of scholasticism," Ratichius exclaimed:

"Everything according to the ordering and course of nature, for all unnatural and arbitrary violent teaching is injurious and weakens nature. Let us have every thing without constraint and by inward necessity. First the thing itself, then the conception or meaning of the thing. No rule before we have the substance. Rules without substance lead the understanding astray. Every thing through experiment, minute investigation.

"No authority is good for anything, if there is not reason and a foundation for it. No rule and no system is to be allowed which is not radically explored anew, and really founded upon proof."

Truly when one hears such golden words, one is tempted to ask, "Why were those battles on the field of pedagogy necessary? Why must a Franke, a Rousseau, a Basedow, a Pestalozzi, a Diesterweg, a Fröbel come, if, as Jean Paul said in his *Levana*, 'merely to repeat that a hundred times, which is a hundred times forgotten'?"

In the path which Ratichius had trodden, strode forward a sovereign, and with all the power and burning zeal of a reformer, Amos Comenius, the author of the first picture-book for children, the *orbis pictus*, in which every thing that can address the childish love of objects and representations of objects, whether in heaven or on earth, in the human or the animal world, is illustrated and explained by description and comment.

He is to be estimated, starting from a sound, compendious observation of human nature and its relations, as well as of pedagogic problems, as the spirited father of the so-called object-teaching as a special discipline.

He says: "With real insight, not with verbal description, must the instruction begin. Out of such insight develops certain knowledge. Not the shadows of things, but things themselves, which work upon the mind and the imaginative powers, are to lie ever near to the young. Place every thing before the mind. Insight is evidence. Only where the things are actually absent, is one helped by the pictorial representation.

"Men must be led, as far as possible, to create their wisdom, not out of books, but out of the contemplation of heaven and earth, oaks and beeches; that is, they must learn to see and investigate the things themselves. Let the objects of physical instruction be solid, real, useful things, which affect the senses and the powers of the imagination. That happens when they are brought near to the senses, visible to the eyes, audible to the ears, fragrant to the nose, agreeable to the taste, grateful to the touch. The beginning of knowledge should be from the senses. What man has an insight into with his senses, impresses itself deeply on the memory, never to be forgotten.

"Man first uses his senses, then his memory, next his understanding, and lastly his judgment. Let us teach not merely to understand, but to express what is understood. Speech and the knowledge of things must keep step. Teaching of things and of speech must go hand in hand. Words without the knowledge of things are empty words."

This running parallel of the simultaneous learning of things and words was the deep secret of the method of Comenius.

In the time of Hermann Franke, — who, as the noble friend of man, the father of the poor and the orphan, the great champion of the German people's-school, deserves to be called the forerunner of Pestalozzi, in organizing talent so far superior to him, — the elevation of *bürger* life had become so great, the relations of trade and commerce had been so widened, and the pedagogics of Comenius had created so much esteem and astonishment in the realists (physicists), that the 'Real'-School was able to blossom forth upon the ground of that truly practical piety which raised morality to a

principle of education. The general law of the method was continual conversation with the pupils; catechism was the soul of the instruction. All subjects which had heretofore been taken for granted must be looked into and examined critically at the moment. Rare objects of nature were collected in a naturalist's cabinet. Especially were the children to become acquainted with the nature lying around them, with the occupations of human life, with the workshops of the handicrafts.

When such pedagogic wisdom as this did *not* bear the hoped-for fruits, — when the schools, which had been added to life, as it were, by a beneficent piety, were estranged from it again by an ossified pietism — the blame lay, as always and chiefly, in the direction which has hitherto fettered the human mind whenever it has set *form* above *essence*.

But as in the domain of statesmanship, so also in the domain of pedagogy, a revolution was preparing in France.

It was Rousseau who, in "Emil," wrote a book for the literature of the world which Göthe called "the Gospel of human nature."

Let us turn our eyes wholly away from the external and unsuccessful experiment, since "Emil" is indeed only the form for proclaiming the doctrine of the Pedagogy, the candlestick for these flames, the setting for these pearls; this book was and is, especially for France, as well as for the world-wide development of Pedagogy generally, a fact.

Only Pestalozzi has with equally imposing power fought for the means of education gained by listening to Nature itself, for the beginning of education at birth, for instruction gained by insight and self-activity, for self-formation through experience; but Pestalozzi stands higher than Rousseau, for as the latter had not the conception of the mother, so was wanting in him the paternal power of the heart, with which he might, with his "Emil," have grasped and sustained a unique and fully authorized influence over that great whole — a nation. In the meantime, the flood of light which flowed from him over Pedagogy, was so potent that the power which blockheads opposed to the illumination could only be compared to the mist which softens the light of the sun.

Under the influence of this spirit, which came to be dominant, the school of the philanthropists was formed, which earnestly pursued the ideas of Rousseau: "Everything through and for the harmonious development of man." The founder and representative of this aim was the energetic Basedow.

In his elementary work, accompanied with one hundred *Chodowieckischer* copper-plates (the forerunner of our picture-plates), he gave out an arranged plan of all necessary knowledge for the instruction of youth from the beginning up to the academic age.

This normal work was followed by the "Philantropin," at Dessau, as a normal school. Distinguished men, Campe, Salzmann, Rochow, worked still further in the spirit of Basedow. The noble Von Rochow wrote: "Youth is the time to be taught. First in school comes the practice of the senses and the application of the souls in attention or watchfulness, particularly the habit of sight-seeing and hearing; then practice in reflection upon every thing which happens, and in comparison and discrimination."

In the Basedow-Rochow period there was a strong opposition to the care-



less old school-ways. Instead of the one-sided training of the memory, they wished for an awakening, soul-refreshing instruction and development of the thinking power in the pupil. In order to secure this, they proceeded to teach them to think, to speak, to observe, to investigate; they recognized that above all things, correctly apprehending senses were a fundamental condition for correct judgment. Now they insisted upon further material apparatus for culture, and upon a better method, upon enriching the pupils' minds with material knowledge and multiplied accomplishments.

*The King in this kingdom, the genius of Christian-human pedagogy was Pestalozzi.*

In the midst of the wrecks of his life he still found, as a single costly pearl, the motto of education for all times: *The development of human nature on the ground of nature; education of the people on the firm ground of the people and the people's needs.*

In opposition to the petty and pernicious principle of utility he found in the eternal ideal of human life the welfare of man.

*The development of human nature on the ground of nature* is the grand thought to which Pestalozzi sought to give permanence to his method ("Book for Mothers"), which his truest pupil, Fröbel, sought in the kindergarten, and their followers in the so-called object-teaching.

"When I look back and ask myself," says Pestalozzi, "what I have offered peculiarly for the cause of human instruction, I find that I have established the highest, most advanced principles of instruction in the recognition of *intuition* as the absolute foundation of all knowledge; and setting aside all single doctrines, have endeavored to find the essence of teaching itself and the ultimate form by which the culture of our race must be determined as by nature itself."

All the pedagogues were agreed then, that for the first instruction visible material, lying within the sphere of the child and accessible to him, is to be chosen for observation, expression, and information, together with the first practice in reading, writing, and counting. An object-teaching conformable to nature, aiming to produce self-activity in the child, was the word of the new pedagogy.

We will now pass on to the contemplation of the place, of the aim, and of the method of object-teaching.

The foundation of instruction forever won by Pestalozzi in the principle of intuition, soon made an end to the so-called pure-thinking exercises of the Basedow school, which, executed with arbitrarily selected and most unmeaning material, occupied an isolated place in the instruction, and missed the living connection. It had been seen that these thinking exercises, ignoring the material worth of knowledge, led to an *empty formalism*; that the one-sided enlightening of the understanding must lead to poverty of mind in other fields.

Now since Pestalozzi had demanded *for each subject of instruction* the power of intuition, the plunge into the material, its all-sided consumption and its organic relations, the isolated exercises in pure thinking were no longer needed, and they were struck out from the plan of the lessons, and the so-called object-teaching took their place. Pestalozzi, in his strivings

to seize upon the truth, did homage to the thinking exercises, and once, it is said, passed six weeks with the children musing over a hole in the carpet. Later, as the importance of nature as the best teacher disclosed itself to him, he set up (see "The Mother's Book") the human body as, according to his view, the nearest and ever-present object-lesson to the child.

The body is certainly the nearest material object to the child, but it is not the nearest material for object-teaching. Does not the child direct his eyes first to things around him, to furniture, plants, animals, &c., before he directs them to his own person? to colors and forms rather than to his limbs and their movements? Not merely the object in itself, but the application of it in pointing out and naming the different parts of the body, a mere mass of names, the situation of the different parts and exclamations of wonder about them, the connection and use of the limbs, &c., is not a lesson conformable to nature. If Pestalozzi's scholars repeated — the mouth is under the nose, the nose is over the mouth, and similar remarks, the material gain for the children must have been like that of the peasant when he threshes empty straw. The mistake of that experiment time and progress has swept away. Pestalozzi's scholars soon went on in a more natural manner, and struck out the following sequence: schoolroom, family, house, house-floor, the sitting-room, the kitchen, the ground, the cellar, the yard, the habitation, the city, the village, the garden, the field, the meadow, the wood, the water, the atmosphere, the sky, the season, the year and its festivals, man, body and soul — God.

Others endeavored to add essentially similar material in the course of the year. This instruction in and from nature, which developed continually into thoughtful intuition and intuitive thinking, and unfolded the power of speech in every aspect, from the simplest forms up to poetical ones and to song, — in short, which took captive the whole child in his intuition, his thinking, feeling, and willing, and enticed him to self-activity, seemed to certain inspired pupils of Pestalozzi to be materially and formally so important that they declared a special place for it in their plan of instruction to be quite insufficient, and that it was the all-important CENTRE and support, with wholesale condemnation of the material aim of reading and writing in the first school-year. With object-teaching as the common foundation, drawing, writing, sounding the letters (*lautiren*), reading, declaiming, singing, exercises in grammar and composition, geometry, arithmetic, domestic economy, natural science — up to religion, were to be developed in a natural way.

The Vogel Schools in Leipzig have sought to realize these high ideas.

It must indeed be confessed that these ideas can be realized in the hands of a teacher who is furnished with rich pedagogical experience, who has a profound understanding of his mother-tongue in grammatical and æsthetic relations, and who, above all other things, has preserved his childlike disposition. Such a teacher will succeed in reaching this summit of educational art founded on the great law of human development from unbroken unity up to the unfolding of principles into their reunion in a still higher unity; and he will, in all probability, do more in the two first school-years to bring the children farther on, to lay a wise and correct foundation of

culture, than if he began according to the old practice, with separate branches of instruction from the first hour. But whether it is possible to fix the central point in a series of normal words, which, planned on a one-sided principle, are yet expected to serve the most varied principles, is more than questionable.

One of the most important testimonies to the place and value of object-teaching, is Grassmann, who, in his "Guide to Exercises in Speaking and Thinking," as the natural foundation for the sum-total of instruction, confesses himself friendly to this high culture. He says: "The first exercises in language must be in conversations, which are to make the children acquainted with the things of the external world, their properties, their relations and connections, and lead them to receive this outward world correctly into themselves, to portray it again, to shape it, and to make an inward representative world of it which will exactly correspond to the outer; also to guide them to readiness in speech, especially upon the objects of the senses." In later times, Richter (of Leipzig) has described this standpoint in the most striking manner in his prize treatise upon Object-Teaching.

Testimonies have likewise been given to the opposite view. Based upon the predominating formal aim of object-teaching, together with the suggestion of postponing the material aim of reading and writing, and the duty and right to handle every subject and to strive at every step for the whole in the quite antiquated maxims of the word method and the cultivation of the memory, they have not merely left out the object-teaching to this extent, but have stricken it especially and wholly from the programme of lessons, and have tried to prepare the same fate for it as was decided upon for the abstract exercises in thinking.

For two decades has resounded from that side the saying: no independent object-teaching but in connection with the Reader.

Reasons:

a. The object of observation (*Anschaung*) and conversation upon it is for the most part too prosaic to the child's circle of thinking and ideas to give any exciting elements of knowledge.

b. The artistic systematic treatment of objects, and the specialties to be sought out in every individual thing, (size, parts, situation, color, form, use,) is a torment to children and teachers.

c. The desire that children should already speak upon whole propositions is opposed to the way and manner in which backward-speaking children improve and enrich their speech. They need in the beginning more *single* words and expressions for things and actions which they perceive, rather than little propositions which they may repeat like parrots.

d. If we wish to help the thinking and speaking of the young, we need no special objects lying around; but the means of help and culture lie in instruction, in speech and reading, and in biblical history.

e. Our object-teaching was only an hour of gabble, a training without any special value. The judgment of another voice is: "If it was meant that the object-teaching should belong specially or strikingly only to the earlier years of development, or should serve only for the elementary



material of teaching, there lies at the foundation of this conception a false idea of the nature of man, as well as a false idea of what man has to appropriate for the development and nourishment of his morally spiritual nature. Insight belongs to thinking as warmth belongs to the sunlight. Where it is wanting to the thinking, the pulse-beat of spiritual life is wanting. The method of insight must show itself powerfully for the development and exercise of the mental activity during the whole period of teaching. Object-teaching is to be brought into requisition in every stage of learning."

Beautiful and true as these words sound, they are yet one-sided. Do those, then, who wish to recommend independent object-teaching misunderstand and deny the necessity and worth of teaching by intuition? By no means. Reading, writing, counting, memorizing, singing, biblical stories, are the departments of instruction of the elementary classes. It is not contradictory to unite and sprinkle in exercises in thinking, observing, and speaking, and above all to do this lovingly and with power. Yet how is it with the progressive ordering of this physical (*realen*) fundamental knowledge? Does not our object-teaching bring its order with it in the most natural manner, while the exercises in observation and in language, in this addition to the primer and the reader, have a great dispersive power, a want of design, an instability, and dissipating, of the mind?

What Völter says is scarcely more than an empty phrase: "What a pupil already knows, what is not new to him, what he learns without instruction, is not the object of his curiosity, and consequently cannot be the means of awakening his mental power."

But the object-teaching will reach several ends at once: It joins on its material to what is already known, adds something new and interesting to this material for culture, so that the mind is excited and awakened, called into activity, and its circle widened. It would be indeed a misconception, and a failure if we should talk with the little ones about nothing but what they already know and have heard and felt. We would have no hold of them, it would be flat and uninteresting, and would only get them to sleep. No one would designate this as the object-teaching we so highly prize.

The famous Prussian Regulation of October 3d, 1854, expresses itself plainly in regard to object-teaching:

"Since all the instruction is to be based upon observation, and must be used as well for thinking as for speaking, abstract instruction in observation, thinking, and speaking, is not in place in the elementary school of a single class."

Goltzsch, as the one interpreter of the Regulations, sees in object-instruction only "empty, unessential exercises in thinking and speaking, and puts in its place memory-cramming. The seizing, imitating, and appropriating of worthy and rich thoughts presented in fit material, in excellent spoken expression, with which the child must busy himself long and repeatedly, according to the nature of the thing, leads him yet unpractised in thinking, and especially the child poor in words, farther on in his thought and speech-forming than the tedious and wearisome exercises in his own

thinking upon all sorts of dry stuff which is adapted neither to work excitingly upon his thinking powers nor his feelings."

The words sound sophistical, for they seem to be directed against the long rejected exercises in thinking, while they really mean object-teaching.

The better interpreter of the Regulation, Vormann, rich in experience, restores object-teaching through a back door, when he says, "It is absolutely necessary (that is, under all circumstances) to have conversations with children to a certain extent, and of a certain kind, as they usually can neither speak coherently themselves nor understand the coherent speech of the teacher. This is because they need to be made susceptible of further instruction, whether oral or from the book. But these conversations must not be about abstractions like space and number; they must be about real objects in their immediate surroundings."

"Some cultivation in thinking and speaking is one of the first and most indispensable requisitions," says Goltzsch, thus contradicting himself, if a real instruction in reading is to be possible, and if any instruction is to answer its aim.

A methodical man, Otto, of Mühlhausen, (*Allgem. Schulzeitung, Juliheft*, 1842,) rather arrogantly allows himself to perceive that, "Intelligent exercises in observation have been organized into a certain teaching of objects, but the practical part of this is nothing else but domestic economy, natural science, geometry, counting, &c., in their elements. There is no reality in it as a particular subject. Now follow the evidence that we only see and look into, that which we have known and understood, and from that is inferred the strange assertion that it is *not* the observation, and consequently not the object-teaching, which helps to correct representations and conceptions, but *language*, and especially *book-language*."

We will let Mr. Otto take the second step before he has taken the first, and rather hold to the sayings of Göthe, the master of language:—

"I think also from out of the truth, but from out of the truth of the five senses."

"Nature is the only book that offers great things of intrinsic worth on all its leaves."

"I am the deadly enemy of empty words."

"I must go so far, that every thing must be known from observation, and nothing by tradition or name."

In gigantic proportions by the depth of his grasp above the aforementioned opponents of object-teaching stands the Bavarian school-counsellor, Riethammer; and we could make no reply to that witty censuring voice, if we did not know that in spite of all, that there is an object-teaching which, imparted with vivacity on the part of the teacher, is suited in full measure to the nature of the child, and to the material, so far as the child has relation to it; and if we had not a hundred times had living evidence how this instruction works when a skilful hand makes use of it, how the class are all eye and ear, how the children live in it, and how eagerly they look forward to these hours as their most delightful ones.

On the contrary, it makes a sad impression when this contemporary of Pestalozzi confesses to the following views:

"The only exercises in intuition, which are essential as an artistic direction of the mind in every kind of first instruction, are those on objects of the inner world, which are not like those of the outer world, independent of the mind itself, but must first be brought to view. These exercises must begin early, before the mind loses its pliability to them by the preponderating influence of the outside world; and it is, therefore, a double loss to fill up this season of formation with outside things, which can offer nothing to the mind so long as it is not ripe for profound contemplation, and yet, which take up, unavoidably, such a broad span of our lives.

"Exercise of observation of spiritual subjects, as the earliest instruction, is nothing else but the exercise of memory.

"For the independent observation of intellectual subjects, that is, for intellectual comprehension of the world of ideas, the youthful mind is not yet ripe; it needs to be much more exercised first. But this exercise requires that, before all things else, it shall learn to fix intellectual objects, and bring them into view. For that, it is necessary that they become objective; they will become so when stated in words, in the expressions in which they have received form by devout and spiritual-minded men. To accept ideas in this objective form, is called, bringing spiritual subjects to the intuition; and in memorizing such expressions, the problem for the beginning of instruction is consequently solved."

It is only astonishing to us that Riethammer does not propose for this process of objectiving (of bringing spiritual subjects to the intuition) the language of the republic of letters, Latin, as was the custom a hundred years ago. A compromise is no longer possible here.

The memory-cram is to solve the problem of a natural educational instruction. The "word method" is to be mind-forming; mechanism and death are to be called life!

Ratichius, Comenius, Franke, Rousseau, Basedow, Rochow, Pestalozzi, have lived and striven in vain.

"Hold fast what thou hast, that no man may take away thy crown," says Scripture; and object-teaching is such a crown.

But to take the medium between the extremes is our task.

We cannot follow the idealist of object-teaching so far as to grant him, at once, the exclusiveness he desires for this foundation, because the pedagogic endowment, presupposed for its success, which extols the handling of the material to the point of *art*, is found only in the rarest cases; and also, because we must take into account the demands of parents and relatives upon the schools. For, in the very first school year they follow the development of the child with disproportioned interest, and base the measure of their judgment upon his progress in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Still less will we reject all object-teaching, but will demand for the sake of its personal aim, that it shall be made the underpinning, and retaining the principle of the intuitive method in all domains and with all kinds of material, and the handling of all the branches of instruction, as of an organic whole, that it shall be intrusted, at least three or four times a week, for two hours at least, not to the hands of the youngest, most inex-



perienced teacher, man or woman, but to the most skilful, practical, and experienced.

*In this view of ours the majority of the schools in Germany, at this period, agree.*

The more the material for the exercises in observation and language in the first school years is selected in reference to the most childlike demands, and the more adapted to their minds, the more exciting to independent action are the exercises, the more will the child show earnestness in observing, and the better judgment will he form about things, circumstances, appearances; the more likely will he be to judge correctly how and what they are in themselves, and what connection they have with life itself. The endeavor should not be to urge the children into all kinds of physical knowledge in a dry and meagre manner, but to enrich them with such knowledge whose ample material for the purpose of instruction leads to good strong fundamental principles. These should be wisely limited (the introduction into all possible physical knowledge being kept in view), as a check upon vague and confused wandering.

Instruction gains in contents and value when it handles in good order a worthy, comprehensive, and able material, and rises into independent object-teaching in the first school years.

#### *Different Kinds of Intuitions for Object Teaching.\**

1. *Sensuous* intuitions: not given merely mediately through the senses, but immediately; outward objects.

2. *Mathematical* intuitions: representations of space, time, number, and motion; also belonging to the outward world, not directly given by the senses, but mediately.

3. *Moral* intuitions, arising out of the phenomena of virtuous life in man.

4. *Religious* intuitions, arising in the nature of man, whose sentiments relate him to God.

5. *Æsthetic* intuitions, from the beautiful and sublime phenomena of nature and human life, (including artistic representations.)

6. *Purely human* intuitions, which relate to the noble, mutual relations of man in love, faith, friendship, &c.

7. *Social* intuitions, which comprise the unifying of men in the great whole; in corporations, in community and state life. The school cannot offer all these subjects of intuition according to their different natures and their origin, for it will not take the place of life; it only supposes them, connects itself with them, and refers to them, but it points them out in all their compass, occupies itself with them, and builds up with them on all sides the foundation of intelligence.

The *sensuous* intuitions relate to the corporeal world and the changes in it. The pupil must see with his own eyes as much as possible, must hear

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\* We here add a beautiful resume of the intuitions as they were given by our old master Diesterweg in answer to the questions: "What intuitions? What shall we awaken? Out of what fields, whence, shall they be taken?" "Let us look at the different kinds," he says; "let us enumerate them."

with his own ears, must use all his senses, seek out the sensuous tokens of things in their phenomena upon, under, and above the ground, in minerals, plants, animals, men and their works, sun, moon, and stars, physical phenomena, &c.

The *mathematical* intuitions are developed out of the sensuous by easy abstractions lying near at hand; the representations of the expansion of space compared one with another; the things of time one after another; the representations of number—the how much; the representations of change in space, and the progression of the same. The simplest of these representations are those of space; the rest become objects of intuition by means of these, by points, lines, and surfaces; in arithmetic, for example, points, lines, and their parts are the material of intuitions.

The *moral* intuitions come to the pupils through their lives with their relatives, or in school through school-mates and teachers. These are naturally *inward* intuitions, which are embodied in the expression of the countenance, in the eye, and in the speech. The pupil's personal experience here, as everywhere, is the chief thing. Happy the child who is surrounded by thoroughly moral, pure men, whose manifestations lay in him the moral foundation of life. The moral facts of history are pointed out to him by the teacher in a living manner, by means of the living word of the eloquent lips and the feeling heart.

To *religious* intuitions the child comes through the contemplation of nature, its phenomena and beneficent workings; through the piety of his parents, the commands of the father and mother; through the contemplation of the community in the house of worship; through religious songs in the school; through religious instruction and confirmation in the school and church; through religious-minded teachers and pastors; through biblical stories, &c.

*Æsthetic* intuitions are awakened by the sight of beautiful and sublime objects of nature (stars, crystals, sky and sea, rocky mountains, landscapes, storms, thunder-showers, flowers, trees, flowing rivers, &c.), and of objects of art (pictures and picture galleries, statues, gardens, products of the poetical art and of human speech). We can classify their specific differences, calling them moral, æsthetic, &c., but I hold it better to place them in one category. The strong moral law, equally binding upon all men, is not included in this field, for its contents cannot be unconditionally required. That belongs to the *free* beautifully human development which is dependent upon conditions that are not attainable by every one.

The so-called *purely human* intuitions are furnished by the nobly-formed human lives of individual men, whose characters proceed from the strongest conceptions of morality and duty, from sympathetic affections, friendship, love, compassion, and loving fellowship, and other shining phenomena of human life as they are met with in the more refined development and culture of lofty and pure men. Happy is the child who is in their sphere! If the home has nothing to offer in this respect, it is difficult to supply the want. Let the teacher do what is possible by the hold he has upon the school and by all his own manifestations.

The *social* intuitions, that is, the social circumstances of men in a large

sense, are determined for the child by the manifestations of the community in the schools, in the churches, in the assemblies of the people, in public festivals, and especially by the stories in which the living insight of the teacher into the life of states, peoples, and warlike communities defines to the scholar the best living representations of great deeds.

Our early state's life, which was domestic, not public, was an obstacle to the growth of these intuitions, so important to development. How can he who has experienced nothing, understand history? How can he who has not observed the people, make a living picture of its life? Small republics have a great advantage in respect to the observation of public life and patriotic sentiment. Words, even the most eloquent, give a very unsatisfactory compensation for observation. The year 1848 has in this respect brought most important steps of progress.

Prominent above all other considerations is the importance of the life, the standpoint, the intelligence, the character of the teacher, for laying the foundation of living observation in the soul, in the mind, in the disposition of the pupil. What the teacher does not carry in his own bosom, he cannot awaken in the bosom of another. It can be compensated by nothing else, if there is failure in him. The teacher must himself have seen, observed, experienced, investigated, lived and thought as much as possible, and should set up a model in moral, religious, æsthetic, and purely human and social respects. So much as he is, so much is his instruction worth. He is to his pupils the most instructive, the most appreciable, the most striking object of observation.

### *The Immediate Aims of Object-teaching.*

Thus far we have considered object-teaching in its relations to teaching in general. Now we must turn our attention to its immediate aims. 1st. Object-teaching may be made the special means of training the senses. Such teaching would consist of exercises in observation, in order to develop the latent strength of each sense, that of the eye in particular. 2d. The chief aim of object-teaching may be to develop forms of observation and the laws of thought. These exercises we may call exercises in thinking. 3d. Object-teaching may have for its main purpose the development of language, and all the lessons therein may be exercises in speaking and writing. The proper thing to do is to unite sense-training, thinking, teaching, and language exercises, and work them together, — the great aim of object-teaching. The training of the senses lies at the foundation of all, and must be made the chief means of all teaching.

But it must be conceded that an intelligent guidance to right seeing and hearing is a wonderful help.

Thousands have eyes and see not; ears, and hear not. Thousands go through a museum and come out none the wiser. They have in fact seen nothing, because they have not intelligence. Observation without representations and conceptions remain blind. Real exercises in observation without exercises in thinking are an impossibility. On the other side, exercises in thinking must work injuriously rather than usefully if they have not found in living observation a fountain of unconquerable interest.



And since it is a striking fact that no representation, no conception exists without a word, since we cannot think except in language, thoughtful observing and observing thoughtfulness, in connection with a continuous development of the mother-tongue, is the chief aim of object-teaching.\*

To this aim, as soon as a child is able to write down a proposition, also to confirm to some extent what is expressed, which must be reached toward the end of the first school year, two subordinate aims are allied:

1. Preliminary exercises in grammar in the systematic use of cases, of prepositions, and of adverbs of time and place, but above all of word-formations.

2. Exercises in composition by writing down little groups of propositions connected according to the sense.

## II. THE METHOD.

The chief laws of the method are:

### 1. *Instruction by actual inspection.*

Life wakes up life. The real object is therefore to be shown before the picture of it, (if the secret of life does not work so attractively that the instruction becomes impossible; but in the case of living animals, a living stork or dog in the schoolroom abolishes the possibility of instruction, for the interest of the children is so powerful in the life itself that it does not objectivate the individual thing, which is thus forgotten.)

Among pictures, the model takes the precedence of the drawing; among the drawings, the colored of the shaded; and the shaded again are to be preferred to the linear drawing.

Every object that is spoken of, and all their relations must stand out clear and defined before the outer sensuous and the inner mental observation (or inspection) of the scholar, and on that account must be advanced from the real, sensuous, to the inner abstract inspection.

There is nothing more aimless than object-teaching without actual observation (inspection). The instruction can first bear justly and correctly the name of object-teaching and of the intuitive quality, when it is based upon the actual observation (inspection) of things or relations. What many words and long definitions will not effect, will be effected by immediate observation (or inspection).

Object-teaching, therefore, needs the best use and application of the *material of observation*. The kindergarten justly uses little staffs, sticks of various lengths, cubes of various kinds of wood, building boxes. The teachers of the lower classes in the elementary schools do right to show various objects, models made of wood or paper, plants in nature, or colored pictures of animals, plants, and human productions. Such apparatus for observation works in the most favorable manner upon the development of the children. In many ways the principle was good in the early object-teaching, but the observation defective; they took care to impart knowl-

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\* We turn wholly away from the little speaking-exercises which figure as a part of the first instructions in reading, and have only the outward aim of making clear and distinct, individual sounds, and cannot therefore argue with Luben, that object-teaching and the teaching of reading should form an undivided whole.

edge, but made too many words, and neglected the apparatus. Since all recognition or understanding of things proceeds from observation, is founded upon incentives to it, upon perceptions and inspection, and in the mental work already proceeds from observations gained, it is above all things important that clear and correct observation be attained by means of real things. An object-teaching without apparatus for observation is like a house without a foundation.

Instruct by means of observation while you are aiming at the waking up of the inner sense. As soon as you have attained a little whole, within an hour, convince yourself of the condition of the observation (or inspection) thus gained, before you put away the object or the picture of it, in order to let the child re-produce what he has gained.

2. *Go from the easy to the difficult.*

a. Then, from the known to the unknown, from the near to the distant.

Go on and add something to the observations which you know the child has made, and when you have united all these, widen the image as fast as the comprehensive power of the child will allow you to do so. It must not be a question here of setting up a special way as a generally desirable one. Whether one places *the room* in the foreground, and passes out from the schoolhouse, in ever wider circles up to the sky, with the sun, moon, and stars, or whether one looks upon the year, with its phenomena, as the nearest real thing, and adds to the changes of the seasons the material which nature and culture offer, it is all the same; both may be excellent; everything depends upon the handling.

b. *Go from the simple to the complex*; then from single objects to two and several, that the acts of comparison and discrimination may come into play. Then let more objects come into the group. Groups form at last a collected image.

Go also in language from the simple to the complex; from naked proposition to the widened, connected-compound, abbreviated propositions, &c.

c. *Go from the concrete to the abstract.* Proceed from the contemplation of the sensuous signs, before you draw upon the higher laws of thought. Do not apply foundation and consequence, or even condition, if cause and effect have not previously been made clear.

Go first from the *real*, then from the *possible* and *necessary*; first the individual thing, then the *particular* thing, then the *general* thing.

3. *Give in each hour, if possible, a little whole in contents and form.*

Work out every lesson in writing, for only so can you satisfy this kind of instruction in which contents and form are equally important and must develop themselves symmetrically; thus only can you know to be perfected what you have already given, what you are now giving, and what you wish to give next; then this instruction, like no other, will show you its formative reaction. But be cautious not to overstrain the child in your strivings to round off and complete his power. Instruct according to the nature of the material, but instruct also according to the nature of the *child*.

4. *Use poetry in the service of this instruction.*

An infinite number of the most beautiful poems offer themselves as if spontaneously, as flowers of contemplation. You will in years have the

richest variety ; and do not forget, when you lay this instruction before yourself and build it up *as a whole*, that it is poetry which seizes and ennobles the man — *the whole man*.

### 5. *Use conversation.*

As to the outer form of the method, no instruction offers so much scope for exciting richly compensating conversation as this. Obviously, as in every catechism (Socratic method), there is given back, from sentence to sentence, a clear group of well-arranged observations, in the most naturally connected principles possible. Thus the teacher has the richest opportunity to introduce in a living manner, from-time to time, little poems and stories.

## III. IMPORTANT WRITINGS AND AIDS FOR OBJECT-TEACHING.

1. *Easy Directions for Intelligent Instruction in the German Language, including Speaking, Drawing, Reading and Writing, Observation by Inspection and Understanding.* By W. HARNISCH. Breslau, 1839.

This pamphlet, which is specially a guide to the first instruction in language, belongs here, because it at the same time contains exercises in observation and speaking. The first section of the second part treats of them: — 1. The beginning of this instruction ; 2. To know and to name objects ; 3. The counting of things ; 4. The parts of things ; 5. Color ; 6. Form and situation ; 7. Size ; 8. Sound ; 9. Feeling, smell, and taste ; 10. Prime material of things, circumstance, and use ; 11. The arranging and order of things ; 12. Cause and effect ; 13. Necessity and arbitrariness, means and aims ; 14. Representation and sign ; 15. Surroundings and relations ; 16. Summary of the foregoing in one whole.

The author's view of the value and place of this instruction may be seen in the following remarks :

"The exercises in observation contain not merely many germs, which may develop into godliness (religion), but almost the beginnings of all other objects of instruction ; they form the roots of instruction. Thinking especially cannot exist without them, and without thinking there is no instruction in language properly so called. The exercises in observation must there, as everywhere, take the precedence of exercises in thinking and understanding.

"Exercises in thinking and understanding without exercises in observation are plants without roots. We see this in common life. For the more man has seen and experienced, the more all-sided are his thinking-powers ; and all exercises in understanding which have proceeded only out of the forms of the understanding without insight or reality, we are accustomed to call by the contemptuous name of *school-wisdom*."

2. *Guide to Exercises in Thinking and Speaking as the Natural Foundation for General Instruction ; particularly for the First Instruction in Language in the People's Schools.* By F. H. G. GRASSMAN. With three Copperplates. Second edition. Berlin, 1834 : by G. Reimer.

This is a desirable treatise "upon the natural treatment of instruction in language in the people's schools ; and upon its connection with the other subjects of instruction in these schools." We point out the chief thoughts as far as they touch upon our subject.



Reading is not to be the first or beginning of instruction in the school. The objection to this beginning is based upon the aversion which children have to learning their letters. Nature has decreed that in the first years of life the child shall receive and picture to himself the outer sense-world, and that the inner spiritual life shall be awakened by occupation with sensuous things, till the time comes when this inner spiritual life and impulse shall be itself the object of contemplation. This development by means of the outward world has not ended when the child enters the school.

The inner world of representation needs an outer world in which it may embody itself—language or speech. The representation pictures itself outwardly by means of the word, and thereby becomes a communicable representation, and this representation first attains thereby its definite, perfected existence. By means of language, the child arrives at the intelligent recognition of the objects around him and of their relations to each other.

Writing is a picture of speech, and by this (indirectly) a picture of the inner representative world of man.\* So as man is to learn to know the prototype earlier than the image, especially if there does not exist between the two a natural and necessary, but an arbitrary connection (our letters are to be looked upon as signs arbitrarily chosen), the child must first learn to speak before it learns to read. If we connect this with what has gone before, it follows that :

The first instruction in language must consist of conversations which make the children acquainted with the things of the outward world, their properties and mutual relations, and give them the opportunity to learn to speak of them correctly, intelligently, and significantly.

These exercises in thinking and speaking are to be the common trunk from which all other objects of instruction are to branch out as twigs. In regard to the material, it must contain the elements of all the single objects of the instruction ; in regard to form, it must be so arranged, as far as possible, that the children shall learn not merely parts of speech, but all kinds of words, and these in their various forms, inflections, derivations, and combinations, and in an easy way. The language itself must not be an object of contemplation, but a collection of words must be made, out of which in future the general rules and laws of the language can be developed.

In the arrangement of the material, the progress must be in regular steps from the nearer to the more distant ; from the known to the less known, and from this to the quite unknown ; from that which falls directly upon the senses to that which is first found by the help of the accompanying activity of the understanding.

If the instruction in reading and writing goes side by side with this from the first entrance of the children into the school, one hour a day, or from three to four hours a week, should be devoted to this object-instruction. CONTENTS : 1. Names of things ; 2. Whole, and parts of the whole ; 3. Number of things ; 4. Place, position, attitude ; 5. Light, color ; 6. Form ; 7. Size ; 8. Direction ; 9. Sound ; 10. Perceptions by feeling, smell, and taste ; 11. Rest and motion ; 12. Connection of things ; 13. Time.

The whole is brought out partly in a catechetical way, partly by prin-

ciples, which are to be discovered by the developing conversation. This is a model work and a master-work, — actual head-work, the most advanced course of teaching-exercises in observation and experience to be found in our literature (of the present time). No teacher should be without it.

But whether the whole can be carried out in the elementary school, as the majority of these schools now are, we doubt; indeed, our verdict is against it. There must be rarely favorable circumstances secured, if a teacher, as the Professor hopes, shall be able to carry the child through this course by the end of the ninth year of his age. We must apply the wise view which the author makes apparent for the carrying out of his opinion upon instruction in language, and also upon these exercises in speaking and thinking. He says: "Many weighty and well-founded recollections and doubts recur to the mind, which, in view of the reality of existing relations of life, and of prevailing and dominant customs, opinions, and judgments of the present generation, may easily be advanced, and are well known to every practical schoolman. No one can feel it more keenly than I do, or know it better than I do; as it is on account of the well-founded existence of such recollections of long standing that I require, before the introduction of this plan, the condition that it shall be freed from all the limitations which arise out of the present condition of things."

But with full conviction we agree with the following opinions:

"In view of the plan which we introduce, it is of the highest importance that we carry in our souls an ideal of every occupation which one has to execute, of every office which is to be filled, how it should be done, and how it would be done, if every hindrance and disturbance were out of the way, and if every power which is brought into play worked as perfectly as it can by virtue of its nature. To let such an ideal enter wholly into life as its guide, rarely ever happens, since the reality of life meets it at every step and on every side, limiting and destroying its influence; yet the strivings of those who wish to better things must have their roots in the ideal, and must find in it the goal of their activity. For whoever carries it within his breast, and seeks to approach it more and more, as far as circumstances and relations permit him to do so, takes care so to arrange and form every individual influence that it may correspond to the image before him, and thus prepare for the future presentation of the whole, and he seizes every opportunity to form in others the correct view of this subject. He thus brings insight and skill into all his acts, while he who has not such a goal before his eyes cannot, with all his best efforts, and the most indefatigable industry, demand the best thing of himself, and often loses it."

This course of instruction is to be contemplated as such an ideal for the elementary schools in general. Would that the teachers might comprehend it in its essence, and approach it in fact and truth! The most earnest study of this work is just what is needed for the elementary method.

But for those teachers who are obliged to limit themselves to a less thorough course of thinking and speaking exercises, we recommend the following works (certainly with a few exceptions) of Fuhr & Ortmann. On account of the necessary attention to the existing state of things everywhere, with rare exceptions, we have placed the aim and the standard of

these exercises lower, in order that the attempts made to realize them shall be really successful.

3. *Instruction in the Little Children's School; or, the Beginning of Instruction and Formation in the People's Schools.* Fourth improved edition. Bielefeld, 1845. Published by Belhagen & Klasing.

This pamphlet proposes a course of instruction : (1) which is throughout practical and easily applied ; (2) which chooses its material out of the immediate surroundings of the school-children, and avoids all costly and foreign apparatus ; (3) it is worked out with the utmost clearness and perspicacity, so that it will easily enable every teacher to introduce the exercises in observation and speaking into the school.

*Contents of the First Section.* Knowledge of Objects in the School-Room. — 1st Exercise : Naming and describing these objects. 2d Ex. : Comparison and discrimination. 3d Ex. : Contemplation of definite bodies.

*Second Section.* First Elements of Natural History and Domestic Economy. — 1st Ex. : The human body. 2d Ex. : The plants of the home garden. 3d Ex. : Domestic animals. 4th Ex. : The house. 5th Ex. : The dwelling. 6th Ex. : The elements.

*Third Section.* Preliminary Exercise in Drawing and Writing.

*Fourth Section.* Instruction in Reading.

*Fifth Section.* Beginning of Arithmetic.

*Sixth Section.* Beginning of Instruction in Singing.

*Seventh Section.* Exercises in Memory or Tunes for Head and Heart.

*Eighth Section.* Furthering Instruction, and School Aims in general.

The individual exercises are offered not in the catechetical, but in a more familiar form ; methodical remarks, hints, and views are given in them.

In consonance with the above-mentioned didactic rules, the objects are not to be treated according to the common conceptions of size, form, color, number, &c., but every subject according to its own peculiarities, or elementarily, or, as Herr Grube says, organically. (See Grube's *Inst. in Arith.*)

4. *Methodical Guide for Exercises in the Cultivation of Language in the Lower Class of the Elementary School.* By C. G. EHRLICH, Director of the Seminary of Soest, in Nassau. Second improved edition, 1839. Fr. Heischer, in Leipzig.

The author shares with others the view that reflection and the art of speaking must be awakened and stimulated *especially* in the lower class of the elementary school, since the neglect of a deep, firm foundation for it during the whole school season, can never be made good afterwards ; but he differs from other writers and teachers upon the subject in thinking that the exercises in speaking should be exercises in the language itself. Authors before mentioned give precedence to exercises in speaking, observation, and thinking, and postpone those in language, but employ the thinking and speaking powers upon the materials of the surrounding world. Herr Ehrlich also agrees in this when he adds his exercises upon the immediate experiences and observations of the child ; but he takes into consideration in this the knowledge of language, in what way will become clear when we



point out the chief contents of his treatise, and sketch the characteristic signs of this treatment of the material. The book is divided into two parts, the theoretical and practical.

*First Part.* Aim and requisitions of the exercises in language in the lower class..

*Second Part.* Examples :

- (1) The elementary school is to rise up from below.
- (2) Exercises in language the special means.
- (3) Extent of the same.
- (4) Comparison between the conversation of the mother and the teacher.
- (5) Chief requisites of such exercises: *a*, Course of teaching, and of some material; *b*, Preface to the conversation; *c*, General choice of the material; *d*, Language of the teacher; *e*, Superintendence of the conversation; *f*, Means of exciting emulation; *g*, Outward arrangements.

The knowledge of the forms of speech (in a practical way) in which it is brought to the consciousness of the children, leads the author into the consideration of the contents and order.

He gives his view in the following precepts, which are worth considering :

*First.* "If you lead the child to thoughtful *seeing*, you do much more for him than if you bring him forward in reading and writing. His reading and writing without thinking are worthless. Men make the least use of these arts" (is it not so?) "but *a really seeing eye, a really hearing ear, and a thinking mind*, every one needs every moment of his life." (Does it injure thousands, nay, millions of men to read?) "1. Because they do not use this art very generally in life, or they unlearn it again even when they have once learned it in the regular way. 2. Because the books which are put into their hands contain much that is useless, much that is untrue, distorted; obsolete views, superstitious opinions, &c. Hence there are regions in Germany where learning to read is of questionable advantage; for it may be used for the planting and sustaining of superstition and similar perverseness." (Why not also for the destruction of the same; and why does Catholicism strive against the common-school law?) "For it is not by reading that man cultivates himself. It depends upon *what* he reads, and his capability of reading with understanding."

*Second.* "The effect upon the cultivation of the mind of learning to speak is very clear, for the following reasons: By knowing the names of things, and of their properties, the attention is often for the first time drawn to the things themselves. In the same manner, also by the varieties of the names to the varieties of the things; for instance, the different kinds of the color of green — grass-green, mountain-green, apple-green, finch-green, bottle-green, bronze-green, sea-green, &c. Also, by means of language our attention is drawn in early childhood from lower to higher conceptions, (for instance, 'The goose is a bird.') By naming these, we hold firmly in the mind representations and conceptions of things, and learn to think in language."

*Second Part.* This portion of the book is the most important, viz.: *The Examples.* (1) Conversations with children from six to seven years of

age: two conversations with new-comers; the surroundings in the school-room; handwork; the kitchen; domestic animals; words of endearment (diminutives); abstract conceptions; single verbs.

(2) Conversations with the whole lower class, or with children from seven to ten years. Preparation of the teacher for exercises in speaking.

These conversations are rich in instruction: 1. Because they are so communicated, not as if they were written out before the hour, but as if they were really held in the school of the seminary by the author. 2. Because they are to be looked upon as a model in a wide sense of the word (not like the asses-bridge, to be used slavishly). Herr Ehrlich is a master in conversation with children. Therefore this book is a gift to be thankful for. Having proceeded from the very soil of the school, in the strongest sense of the word, the teacher can learn from it how to make living and instructive conversation with children, since an old master has done it before him. Remarks which join the single examples unite the second part of the book with the first, and the results following each talk given in a review show what should be reached in the single talks.

The author believes, as we do, in the use of signs. A wave of the right hand means that *all the scholars shall speak*; a circular motion with the left hand (a zero) a *full answer*. To wink means *repeat the whole*. We hope the reader will not consider these as puerilities.

We are sorry that want of space forbids us laying before the reader one of these instructive conversations, with all its outward and inward introspections; but we recommend this thoroughly practical treatise.

5. *Guide to the Principles of Education and Instruction*. By DENZEL. Third Part, First Division, First Course: Object-Teaching for Children from 6 to 8 Years of Age. Stuttgart: Mezler, 1828. Third edition.

The distinguishing or discriminating character of this course consists in the author's connecting the religious with the material and formal points of view, that is, the exercises in observation or introspection have the distinct aim of undertaking to develop the religious consciousness. The author's caution and circumspection are well known.

6. SCHLOTTERBECK: *Theoretical and Practical Handbook for the Instruction of the First School Year. For Teachers and Female Educators just beginning*. 1. Domestic Science in the First School Year. 2. First Instruction in Language, Reading and Writing. 3. Exercises for the Cultivation of the Senses. — Wismar, Rostock, and Ludwigsluft. Publication house of the Hinstorff bookstore. 1868.

We have here a work of great industry, arising out of a deep interest in the cause. Just on account of its one-sidedness, it has an effect upon the present time. It follows Schlotterbeck in recommending "gymnastics of the senses" for the people's school, and at the end the "introduction of Fröbel's kindergarten into the elementary classes." The views taken from Schlotterbeck are the following:

1. The chief aim of object-teaching is the cultivation of the senses and of formal nature.

"What object-teaching has hitherto striven for is not to be reached by

the means of the exercises proposed. It is only exercises of the senses, which are designed to give them a greater perfection for the correct comprehension of the outward world, and to assist the mind of the child in its development through its perceptions.

"The cultivation of the senses is to strengthen and support the whole instruction by giving efficiency to the organs of observation, and by the reception of new observations in the child's mind."

2. Object-teaching must move in the field of the world of the senses, and adjust it.

3. For this aim the objects must be brought to the children's view in their naked reality, and be treated objectively throughout.

4. The representation of the object observed must also have its rights. It gives the best proof of the correctness of the comprehension of it.

5. What has been observed can be represented by language.

6. What has been observed can also be represented in a plastic form.

7. By the cultivation of the organs of the senses, and by the plastic representation of the object, more is done for widening the child's circle of representation than by the most searching exercises.

8. Therefore, we desire to have cultivation of the senses in the school, and for the elementary class in especial, first, a yearly course of from four to five hours a week, which we designate by the once common name of object-teaching. After that time let it cease, not because the cultivation of the senses is then looked upon as perfected, but because it can be carried on at home, and the further instruction in the school must undertake wider culture.

9. Object-teaching does not exclude exercises in language; but these must not be the chief aim.

10. Object-teaching need not be looked upon as the foundation of instruction in physics.

11. Religious knowledge, so far as it allows itself to be mediated by observation, does not belong to the domain of object-teaching. Object-teaching must be allowed to take the precedence of the religious element as little as of the instruction in language or natural science. It must move according to its nature on the domain of the sense-world, and fails wholly in its aim if the religious element is not the chief object.

12. Object-teaching must not aim at clothing the material in a poetic form. "This would stand in direct opposition to its aim. By object-teaching the comprehension of the world of sense is indirectly imparted, the correct relation between cause and effect, foundation and superstructure, life and death, is established, therefore the objects must be brought before the child in their naked reality, and be treated objectively by the teacher throughout. The living sense of the child will lay in poetry of itself, and abundantly enough where the ripened understanding sees only dead and cold material. Real poetry lies in nature itself, and is therefore given out by it at the same time with the objective comprehension."

The course of teaching planned on the above principles is divided into three sections:

1. Cultivation of the eye by the color, form and position, size and distance, of bodies.



2. Cultivation of the ear by exercises in time and hearing.

3. Cultivation of feeling by direct exercises in the cultivation of the senses of touch and taste; and by exercises for attaining a greater security and solidity of the body, namely, by strengthening the limbs.

This treatise is in quite the spirit of Frœbel. The author plans the exercises which Frœbel had chiefly intended for the kindergarten for the first school-year of the elementary class. They are as excellent for the kindergarten, where they have proved themselves so well adapted for the cultivation of the senses and the development of the mind, as they are out of place in the school. Here the ground-principle must be firmly established; *the culture of the senses must be aimed at with suitable material.* To aim at merely formal culture lies outside of it. What cultivation of the senses is to be reached in the school must come out of the contemplation of the objects of the object-teaching, primarily out of the contemplation of natural bodies. From them the child learns their "colors, forms, and varieties," and every intelligent teacher goes back from this to *ground colors* and *ground forms*. By the "quantities" the instruction in arithmetic makes known the theory of forms and the instruction in drawing. For "cultivation of the eye" the instruction is given by writing, drawing, scientific, geographical, and mathematical observation; for "cultivation of the ear," instruction in speaking, reading, and singing; for "cultivation of the hand," writing, drawing, and handwork. Hence it happens that a great part of these exercises in our full school classes are not practicable, as, for example, the coloring of pictures, the cutting of paper, the building with cubes, the plaiting with strips of paper, the folding of paper, the pricking of figures, the clay work, whittling of wood, the observation of forms of things at different distances and in different positions, &c. It is impossible for a teacher to watch all these exercises, and prevent the dangerous use of colors, scissors, knives, pricking-needles, &c.

Besides this, the author places little value upon the spoken statement, but would use the exercises in language chiefly for the instruction in reading. But if the object-teaching is to sharpen the senses, and thereby excite the attention, it must also assist the development of language. Observation enchains and quickens the thinking power, and brings the judgment to the tongue, which fastens the same in a word. When the children have been accustomed by the object-teaching to see sharply and precisely the things brought to their *contemplation* and description, and, where the opportunity offers, also to hear distinctly and feel strikingly, the school certainly offers all it can to satisfy just claims.

But the author is of the opinion that salvation lies only in Frœbel, whose play-school must go into the people's school. We can look upon this only as a pedagogic error. For the gymnastics of the senses, life must do the best, not the school-room with its bare walls. Finally, why shall we not use the tongue and the nose as chemistry does? At the Vienna Exposition we really saw a whole series of innocent, variously smelling, and tasting, apparatus for object-teaching, designed for the elementary school.

We cannot recommend the work for the object-teaching we defend, however dear it may be to Frœbel's scholars, who will find much in it that is stimulating.

7. *Theoretical and Practical Handbook for Object-teaching, with particular reference to Elementary Instruction in Physics.* Frederick Harder. Altona, 1867. Four editions.

A book of such significant compass, which has lived through four editions in twelve years, must have some value. This value lies in the correct and practical observations from which the author proceeds, and which he develops into a guide systematically executed, as well as rich and various in the material offered for the instruction.

He gives the key to his work in the title. He is of the opinion that object-teaching, whose centre must be sought in physics, is not to be finished in the elementary class, and on that account adds: 1. A course which shall give, after object-instruction proper, a *second* course, also designed for the underpinning, which works out the elements of physics with the scholars who have been mentally strengthened by object-teaching (in the space of another half-year).

This course of instruction is essentially the well-known one. The author begins with the first conversation of the teacher with the fresh elementary scholars, then passes into the school with its contents, speaks of the same to the whole and to individuals, introduces comparisons of things in the school-room, passes to the people in the school, then considers the school-house and teachers' dwelling-house, the occupants of the parental house, the dwelling-place, buildings, squares, streets, inhabitants. The sections, which make the specialty of the work, treat very practically of men, animals, and the plant world, and contain a preparation of instruction in geography and natural science. The work recommends itself by specially rich and richly-suggestive material, arranged in suitable sequence on methodical principles. The author is of the opinion that this instruction stands independently, and is to be stretched over the whole school life.

8. *Principles and Course of Teaching for Instruction in Speaking and Reading.* AUGUST LÜBEN, Germany, Director in Bremen. Third improved edition. Leipzig, 1868.

Lüben's writings should be intelligently studied by every elementary teacher.

The practice of the author to connect object-teaching with reading and writing is well known. Richter has energetically protested against this union, and we indorse the protest, while we think that the exercises in speaking, known to all, and which smooth the path to the sounding of the letters (*lautiren*), do not take the place of the object-teaching proper. Although the author does not consider merely the exercises in speaking, but also those in language, yet the object-teaching, which has its own aims and course, is not justly estimated.

The aim of object-teaching Lüben also discusses briefly:

1. To practise the child in correct seeing and contemplation.
2. To enrich the powers of his understanding with worthy representations.
3. To cultivate his judgment.
4. To increase his readiness in language.

Many good things are given in the examples, and the little treatise, which, on account of its authorship, is an authority in the domain of instruction in the mother-tongue, is worth reading.

9. *Object-teaching in the Elementary Schools. Represented according to its Aims, its Place, and its Means.* By CARL RICHTER. Crowned prize-work. Leipzig, 1869.

This treatise is a rich accession to the literature upon object-teaching. In a theoretic point of view it is the best work which exists upon that subject. By the ideal which Richter would realize in object-teaching, he will gain many opponents without injury to the various opinions in practice. The work should be known to every elementary teacher, although it is only theoretical. Cultivation of the senses is one chief thing with the author. Schlotterbeck seems to have excited him much. It is now generally the laudable endeavor to enlarge the material of observation for the elementary classes as far as it is practicable, although on the other side the limit can easily be passed which protects it from extravagance.

The rich contents of the book consist of a guide, three sections, and a review. The *guide* contains historical matter upon object-teaching, conception of essence of observation, relation of observation to language, and importance of observation to the mental life.

1. The first section speaks of the task of object-teaching, and paragraphs have the following titles: Condition of the Child's Mind before the School Age; the School and its First Task; Cultivation of Observation in General; Scientific (real) Culture; Cultivation of the Senses; Cultivation of Language; Moral and Religious Culture; Choice and Arrangements of the Objects for Object-teaching.

2. The second section treats of the place of object-teaching, and is divided into four paragraphs: Rejection of Object-teaching; Isolated Place of Object-teaching; Connection of Object-teaching with Reading and Writing; the Vogel-Method.

3. The third section speaks of the means of object-teaching, and treats of the position of Objects of Instruction in Nature, Models and Pictures, Drawing and Measuring.

This work contains no finished programme of object-teaching, but is a work upon that subject which cannot be read without lively interest, and which treats with extraordinary clearness the question of object-teaching, its place in other courses, and the means requisite for carrying it out. It will be of lasting use, and is urgently recommended.

10. *Object-teaching. Its History, its Place in the Elementary School, and its Methodical Treatment.* By W. ARMSTROFF. Langensalza, 1869.

This is also a theoretical treatise of the same general character with that of Richter, but not so exhaustive. It recommends itself to the teacher by its simplicity and clearness. Object-teaching is, with this author, that instruction of the elementary classes in which single things are taken from the nearest surroundings of the pupils, observed by the senses, described, and thus brought to their comprehension. It must not be confounded with "instruction by



observation." And it must not be considered identical with exercises in thinking and speaking, with domestic economy, cosmology, and useful common knowledge. All these subjects are kindred, but not in congruity.

In his statement of the historical development of this instruction upon topics, the author goes back to Luther's and Melancthon's efforts, and draws treasures from the labors —

1. Of Bacon: "Everything depends upon our never turning the eyes of the mind from things themselves and their images just as they are absorbed into us."

2. Of Comenius: "The first connection of the thing with the knowledge of language."

3. Of the Philanthropist: "The culture of the understanding must proceed from actual inspection; Physics (*Realien*) must be the chief objects of fundamental teaching."

4. From Pestalozzi: "Observation is the foundation of all knowledge."

After discussing these historical points, treatises which exclusively pursue the formal aim of development, for which the material need not be too various, he goes on to the exercises in understanding and thinking of *Zerrener*, *Krause*, *Grassman*, and finishes with *Graser*, *Diesterweg*, *Wurst*, *Scholz*, and *Harnisch*, who combated the connection between the formal and scientific principle.

The mission of object-teaching is fully shown by the psychological development. It is designed to raise the observations and representations already in hand with the children into clearness, order, and consciousness, so as to help the pupils to a wealth of intuitions at the same time that they are using their senses; to excite their self-activity, and accustom them to a habit of attention; and out of the intuitions gained to develop conceptions, judgments, &c., and thereby to sharpen the understanding, put them in possession of book language, cultivate their sensibilities, and prepare them for instruction in science (*real*). As means of object-teaching the author designates, chiefly, nature, man, God. He urges original, direct observation, and only where the means for this are not present, or *in natura*, does he recommend pictures.

The treatise answers the following questions:

1. Where is the origin of object-teaching to be sought, and how has it developed itself in the course of time?

2. Wherein consists the problem of object-teaching?

3. What place in instruction shall it take?

4. By what means are the aims which it pursues to be reached?

While Richter makes object-teaching the all-ruling centre in the programme, Armstroff confines himself to Lüben's point of view, with whom object-teaching, reading, and writing, are to be united into one whole. Armstroff's work is worth reading next to Richter's.

11. *Theoretico-practical Guide to Object-teaching for Elementary Teachers and Parents*. By CARL DAMBECK, School Director. Hamburg, 1869.

A parallel treatise with Richter's, but very valuable practically.

It is divided into two parts, a theoretic, and a practical part. In the

theoretic part the author speaks of the aim, the method, the teacher, and the apparatus for object-teaching, which is with him the fundamental and preparatory instruction for the other branches.

The practical part treats of the collection, grouping, and distribution of the material. The author closes with a sketch of a methodical course of object-teaching for two years.

The first course for children from six to eight years of age groups the material for the four years which are to be used as designated.

The second course arranges the material for children between eight and nine, according to psychological development and the branches of instruction; it also serves as preparation for instruction in language, for mathematics, the natural sciences, geography, history, religion, with much reference to the capability of the children. It is hence made a material which for the greater part can be used in the middle course.

In conclusion, the author enumerates the material of the instruction which is necessary for the success of this department; namely, models, mathematical bodies, a collection of the most important coins, the measures and weights of the country, minerals, fresh or dried plants, the fruits and seeds of the most important plants, animals either stuffed or preserved in spirits, products of industry, large single pictures, black or colored, a collection of the leaves and twigs of the most important plants. The author assigns an independent place for the object-teaching, and lets reading and writing follow next. In his limitation of the subject he agrees with Richter and Armstroff; with them he assigns the place for it in the two or three first school years.

We cannot deny that the work has proceeded from a vital interest as well for the subject as for childhood, and also shows long practice. It is original in spite of the fact that the idea of spreading the use of the material over all the years given to instruction, and of holding the child in living connection with nature all that time, is not in itself new. The little work is cordially recommended.

12. *Object-teaching for the Lower and Middle Classes of the People's School.* By GEORGE LUZ. *Also Teaching and Reading Material for Object-teaching in the Lower and Middle Classes.* Wiesensteig, 1871.

The first part of the book discusses the theory of object-teaching. In twelve sections the author treats the following rich contents:

1. The origin of object-teaching, and its introduction into the people's school.
2. Object-teaching as the first and preparatory instruction.
3. Conception of object-teaching.
4. Aims of object-teaching.
5. Forms of object-teaching.
6. Opponents of object-teaching.
7. The working of independent object-teaching.
8. The annexation of object-teaching to the reading-book.
9. Characteristics of different readers for the middle class.
10. Review of the programme of instruction of the author.

11. Treatment of object-teaching.

12. Some examples of conversation.

The second part is to be the reader for the use of pupils.

The work is by a pupil of Denzel, but is distinguished by its extraordinary simplicity from the one to be noticed next, by Wrage. Not merely skill in the catechetical treatment of material constitutes the good teacher (and from pages 82 to 90 we find masterly conversations), but also his command of the material. But only he has command over his material who understands how to select it in reference to the nature of childhood; and from this author we learn to know his conceptions of a teacher, and a better could not be wished for; "*the enemy of all shams, all flunkery; the friend of simplicity, of sound discretion—in short, one who really knows the nature of childhood.*"

Of this loving absorption into the nature of childhood, the material for reading and the inculcation of principles in the infant is eloquent testimony. It is a preparatory book for the teacher in behalf of object-teaching, and a copious reader for the lower classes. The problem of how object-teaching can stand in the closest connection with the reader, and yet be independently progressive, is here solved in the happiest manner. What the teacher has hitherto observed and described, the children read after him, and thus reach two things: progress in understanding what they read, reading and repeating with feeling, and comprehension of what they have heard.

13. *Object-teaching in the People's School; or, Observing, Thinking, Speaking, and Writing, as the Foundation for Physical Studies, for Style, and Grammar.* By J. H. FUHR and J. H. ORTMANN. In four double sheets. Four sheets of Object-teaching, interspersed with Sentences, Fables, and Stories, in Prose and Poetry, arranged according to the Four Seasons. Bound in with the Object-teaching, four sheets of Exercises, in all Styles, for all Classes, after the Preparatory Class in Grammar. Second enlarged and improved Edition. Dillenburg, 1873.

According to this author, observation is the element and foundation of all knowledge; and object-teaching, pursued according to its aim, is the only instruction that can be materially and formally truly preparatory and fundamental for the collected instruction of the people's schools, which can rest only upon the firm ground of observation. Object-teaching must strive for correct observation and attention, clear conceptions, correct expression of thoughts, acquisition of useful knowledge of practical things, and cultivation of feeling. A full supply of poetic material serves for the latter purpose and point of connection.

Contents: In twenty conversations are, first, preparatory exercises offered to the teacher, which aim at exciting the feelings of the child, so that it may be confiding and animated. Then the children are led on according to the principle, from the near to the remote, by the following circles of observation: School, house and yard, garden, meadow, field and wood. In order to give the best possible intuitive foundation for physical science, the animals in the family and yard are described, so that they are understood to be representatives, or types of the one, two and four-hoofed



animals, the beasts of prey, the insect-eaters, the rodents, the fowls, doves, swimming-birds, swamp-birds, singing-birds, and birds of prey. Then follows the contemplation of trees, shrubs, and herbs.

The second part may be regarded as a complete course of natural history, and used with much benefit.

The third sheet is peculiarly of Object-teaching. The second part of this treats of the premonitions of Spring in the plant world. Walk in the garden, and naming of the things found in it. Plants; growth; (as specialties, the snowdrops, the garden violets, daisies.) Then follows a premonition of Spring in the animal world (field-larks, stork, cuckoo, the white wagtail). Then the Spring itself; (the usher of Spring is the common primrose.) At last, the fruit-garden (gooseberries, currant-bushes, cherry-trees, and damson-trees). In every lesson, the cultivation of the senses, of language, and of feeling is aimed at. By interspersed speeches, sentences, riddles, fables, tales, in prose and verse, the instruction contains the right nourishment for the understanding, the heart, and the life. A little volume is soon to follow this part, which will contain the rest of the material, so far as concerns the domain of natural history and physics, (mineralogy, domestic economy, and natural science.) The catechetical treatment of many of the lessons, lend, by their numerous suggestions, a peculiar value to the whole work. As to the rest, the author is of the opinion that the material offered in the school should not be used in a slavish manner, as it lies before the view. These materials offer much for the teacher, because they will excite him to studies and contemplations in Nature herself.

Of the first three parts of this splendid work, only the two first lie before us upon object-teaching, and the first of the exercises in style; a definite judgment of it is, therefore, not yet possible. The splendid fullness of the useful material surprises the reader, and he feels delighted with perceiving that he has to do with two teachers, who give nothing but what they have proved by long practice. Every lesson seems to be given as if the talk had been held in the class. The arrangement of the exercises in style are appropriate, so far as we have been able to look them over.

If we dared to make one criticism (snap our fingers at the authors), it would be this: It seems as if by the parallel contents of the exercises in observation and style, a certain monotony would be unavoidable in the later propositions. The pupil will rarely go farther in this field than to descriptions and stories. Pictures overtax his powers. The real mine from whence he will draw his compositions, outside of the nature that forms his surroundings, is human life, fable, parable, proverbs, universal history, and, above all, literature, with its incomparable riches. But we trust to the pedagogic skill of the authors, that they will avoid monotony, and that they will draw from their excellent material with proper judgment.

The whole work is so important, by the wealth of its contents and the abundance of its methodical directions, that every teacher ought to be acquainted with it. We are still so poor in proper apparatus for object-teaching, that we are glad to mention a book that has already found a place for itself in the world's literature.

## CONVERSATIONS ON OBJECTS.

A PRACTICAL COURSE OF ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION IN LANGUAGE, AND FOR  
MENTAL DEVELOPMENT.

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CONVERSATIONS ON OBJECTS—commencing with the earliest indications of the infant faculties, and proportioned to the progressive development of reason which varies in different individuals, will be found not only to be an excellent substitute for the irksome and mechanical processes of almost all our elementary schools, but the best vehicle of diversified knowledge and the ground-work of mental discipline, while it is introducing children to a practical acquaintance with their native tongue. We shall adopt in the discussion of this subject a chapter from C. Marcel's admirable treatise on Language.\*

Although the order in which the various conversations on objects have been introduced may be modified according to circumstances, it must not be regarded as altogether a matter of indifference; for we have endeavored to conform to that which nature follows in gradually inuring the mind to habits of investigation. She imperatively enjoins that the first efforts of the child should be directed to the improvement of those powers by which he may form clear and correct notions of things. He should therefore be made to pass progressively through the exercises in perception, observation, reflection, and reasoning.

Another rule which should be strictly adhered to is, that, whenever a topic, an exercise, or a branch of information, acknowledged to be useful, has been entered upon, it should be occasionally repeated, until the children have a clear insight into the subject brought before them, or until the object proposed from it has been attained. It should also be borne in mind that the following course, although intended as a preparation for the scholastic instruction of boys, is equally suitable to girls; for, until the age of twelve, the intellectual education should be the same.

### SECT. I.—EXERCISES IN PERCEPTION.

#### 1. *Names of objects, their Parts, Matter, and Color.*

From the moment that a child articulates distinctly, various famil-

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\* "*Language as a Means of Mental Culture*,"—London. 2 vols.

lar objects should be offered to his notice, and their use explained; their names being, at the same time, clearly uttered for him, he should be made to repeat them slowly and aloud. But he must not be forced into premature efforts to speak, lest he should acquire habits of indistinct and defective utterance. Premature walking is not more injurious to the organs of motion than is premature speaking to the vocal organs. In order also to guard against fatiguing him by a dry repetition of words, the instructor should enliven the exercise by making, in plain language and in a playful manner, some simple observations on the nature and use of the things which he is called upon to name.

This exercise should, at first, be limited to a few objects at one time, and the same things should be repeatedly presented to him associated with their names, until he perfectly knows these names. His vocabulary should be gradually extended by the introduction of new objects which he is made to observe and name, such as articles of dress, food, furniture, every thing which he can hold in his hand, or which may be seen either from the window or out of doors. This mode of proceeding will soon put a young child in possession of a considerable number of useful nouns. It is a triple exercise in perception, articulation, and memory, which must, from the variety of objects and the movement required in passing from one to the other, be more interesting to the child, as it certainly is more profitable at this age, than the ordinary practices of conning for months over the same six-and-twenty, *to him*, unmeaning letters, reading nonsensical trash, or learning by rote the unconnected words of a spelling-book or dictionary.

As the child's intellect opens and becomes capable of examining objects minutely, of distinguishing their resemblances and differences, of noticing their *parts*, their *matter*, their *color*, their *form*, and their *number*, his attention should be successively directed to all these points. Thus will his mind be early brought in contact with the external world, and be duly exercised by ascribing to every object of sense its qualities and peculiar condition. He will also easily remember the words, when the ideas they signify are once clearly apprehended. A correct acquaintance with the meaning and application of words must not be deemed a matter of little moment in the first years of life. If we consider the disastrous results to which ignorance on these points has led, and the inconvenience which often arises to the best educated among us from this single source, we shall find that time well employed, which is devoted to securing a knowledge of the meaning of words. This practical instruction may be



commenced with the second period of youth—at the age of six. Curiosity and the perceptive powers being then in full activity, the child's attention may be easily cultivated through them, and a spirit of observation, analysis, and comparison, the foundation of a correct judgment, be early fostered.

The first inquiry to be made in the examination of an object consists in ascertaining the parts of which it is composed. These are sometimes so minute that considerable attention is requisite to discern them all. So important is this inquiry, that an acquaintance, for example, with all the parts of a plant, and with their forms and colors, constitutes the knowledge of its botanic character, and involves a considerable portion of the botanic technology. The child must be shown how all the parts of an object are connected, how they harmonize, and how far each is indispensable to the completion and pleasing effect of the whole: thus will he be accustomed to discriminate what is principal from what is accessory, what is useful from what is merely ornamental.

By attending to the matter of which the object and its parts are composed, the child will learn how to distinguish animal, vegetable, and minerable substances; he will form clear ideas of what is natural and artificial, simple and compound, native and foreign, indigenous and exotic.

The next consideration will be that of color: this beautiful property of matter, diffused over all the works of nature and art, will, by the infinite variety of its shades and combinations, offer to the visual faculty an endless means of exercise. Accuracy of perception in reference to it will prove useful for various branches of knowledge and pursuits in life. A due attention to the diversity of colors, to the proportion of parts, and to the gracefulness of forms, considered as the elements of beauty, will sow the seeds of taste.

An acquaintance with colors can be very early imparted to a child. To enable him the better to distinguish them and recollect their names, the instructor should be provided with a tabular illustration of their prismatic order; he should, first, point out to him the primitive colors, red, yellow, and blue, then the three intervening compound colors, orange, green, and violet; and, afterwards, their various shades, from the lightest to the deepest hue. Glasses of different colors, placed by pairs one over the other, would afford him the means of perceiving the effect of the mixture of colors. He may be shown that white is the color of light, or the blending of the prismatic colors, and that black is the absence of them. As all imaginable shades of color can be produced by a diversified mixture of red,

yellow, blue, white, and black, the child may be exercised in discovering which of these elements prevails in any compound color presented to his sight.

## 2. *Numbers ; Ball-Frame.*

The elements of arithmetic may enter as part of the exercises of this early period: the practical nature of its first rules is well suited to the understanding of children. Relations of number and arithmetical calculations are also, from their simplicity and mathematical accuracy, admirably adapted to the training of the young mind to habits of attention and reasoning. But, before a child is exercised in mental calculation, which at this early period might overtask his reflective powers, and before he is taught the numerical figures, which are signs of abstract ideas, he should be accustomed to associate the numerical adjectives with the names of objects which admit of computation; for these adjectives, when used by themselves, being mere abstractions can not impart clear and correct notions of number. A variety of similar things should be employed, particularly the current coins of the country, counters, cards, inch square, or cubic blocks, which, by gradual addition and subtraction of units and groups, would teach the value and relation of numbers as also the fundamental rules of arithmetic; he should be taught to express in numbers the dimensions of objects by applying to them a unit of measure, the inch or foot, as the case may require. When the child has frequently associated real objects with the ideas of number, the numerical names and figures will easily pass in his mind from the concrete to the abstract state.

The ball-frame, consisting of one hundred sliding balls on ten horizontal parallel rods, may, in the hands of a skillful instructor, not only assist in explaining the numeration, that is, the formation and names of numbers, but also serve to teach how to solve readily the elementary questions of addition and subtraction, multiplication and division. If the balls be of two contrasting colors and strung alternately, the eye will be pleased, attention captivated, and calculations considerably facilitated. With this frame a child can himself discover the products of the multiplication of any two factors under ten; he sees that these factors can be inverted, that multiplication is only an abbreviated form of addition, and thereby clearly understands the principles of this operation. The mental act, also, by which he finds out these products will enable him to recollect them better than the absurd mechanical parroting of the multiplication-table.

This frame is not a late invention, as may be seen in Friend's work on Arithmetic, published fifty years ago; it has been used for a long

time in the primary schools of France and Germany. It must not be confounded with the abacus of the ancients, in which one line of beads or balls was made to stand for units, the next for tens, another for hundreds, and so on. But, although the abacus was originally intended for casting up accounts, it might also prove useful in teaching the first principles of arithmetic. The Russians and the Chinese have, from time immemorial, performed calculations by means of such frames; but that of the latter, called *shwan-pan*, differs from the one adverted to here by its having only five beads on each wire, the relative values of which are distinguished by their size and color.

The one hundred ball-frame is preferable to that which is composed of 144 balls, and is adopted in many infant schools in this country, inasmuch as it answers all the purposes of calculation, and besides clearly illustrates the principle of the decimal system, since the relation of units to tens and hundreds is observable through all combinations and computations. It is a matter of great importance that a child should in his first conception of number perceive the simple and beautiful arrangement by which a place is assigned to the different powers of ten that compose any number. In fact, a knowledge thus acquired of the composition of numbers leads to a rapid understanding of the mode of representing them by numerical figures. To effect this last object, pasteboard, wood, or brass figures would be found more convenient and more interesting to a young child than writing on paper or slate.

At a more advanced age, toward the end of the second period, he should be exercised in mental calculation, passing very gradually from simple to complex operations. This exercise, which admits of endless variety, accomplishes several objects: it brings into action the reflective and recollective powers; it disciplines the understanding in exact reasoning; and gives habits of calculation, such as the daily transactions of life require. But not only is arithmetical expertness useful in the practical business of life, it is also indispensable as the basis of all real progress in the mathematical and experimental sciences, in which the learner has constant need of applying the rules and performing the operations of arithmetic.

### 3. *Fractional Numbers; Fractional Apparatus.*

When a child has a clear idea of numeration and of the elementary rules in whole numbers, he may be initiated into the first notions of fractional arithmetic. These notions, intricate as they are, when taught abstractedly through the fractional notation, become extremely simple and intelligible, even at a very tender age, when explained by



means of visible illustrations. The different objects which have been mentioned for counting in whole numbers may equally serve for imparting to young people the first notions of fractions. A number of such objects, being considered as a whole and variously divided into equal parts or fractional numbers, would, by the addition and subdivision of these, illustrate the relative value and the elementary operations of simple fractions. This, however, may perhaps be still better effected by the following contrivance:—

Let about 16 or 18 thin slips of wood or pasteboard, about half an inch in breadth, be made all exactly the same length, say one foot. (This length is convenient, and will, besides, accustom the eye of the child to a useful measure.) Let them be divided by a line across the breadth, the first into two equal portions, the second into three, the third into four, and so on up to the eleventh, which will be composed of twelve equal parts; a few other slips may be respectively divided into 15, 18, 20, 24, 36, 48, 60, 72, and 84 equal parts, which numbers are chosen on account of their having a great number of divisors. Let the lines indicating different subdivisions be of different colors, and those indicating equal portions in the different slips be of the same color—all the halves throughout being thus of one color, all the thirds of another, and so on. Let also the denominator, that is, the number of parts into which the foot-slips are divided, be marked at one of the ends of each slip. These colored lines and written denominators will greatly assist in distinguishing at once the different fractions, reducing them to their lowest terms, and finding out their common denominator.

The pupil with these slips placed side by side under his eye, should be called upon to observe the various subdivisions of the foot which are marked on them, and be told the names by which are denominated the equal parts of each slip, *halves, thirds, fourths* or *quarters*, &c.; he may, from these, discover by analogy, the names of the others. He should be made successively to notice that  $\frac{2}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{3}$ ,  $\frac{4}{4}$ , &c., are equal to one another; that  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{2}{4}$ ,  $\frac{3}{6}$ , &c., are the same; that  $\frac{1}{3}$ , is greater than  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  greater than  $\frac{1}{5}$ , &c.; that  $\frac{2}{3}$  are less than  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$  less than  $\frac{4}{5}$ , &c.; that the fraction is greater in proportion as the numerator is increased, or the denominator lessened, and *vice versa*. He should add, subtract, find a common denominator, and reduce fractions to their lowest terms. In short, he might, by means of this simple apparatus, and, under the guidance of a judicious teacher, gain a clear acquaintance with the denominations, nature, value, and properties of common fractions, long before he could safely be introduced to their numerical symbols and to their abstract forms.

#### 4. *Forms ; Geometrical solids ; Architectural game.*

In order promptly to familiarize the pupil with the most general forms and the terms expressive of them, a collection of small geometrical solids should be exhibited to him, such as spheres, cylinders, cones, prisms, pyramids, and the regular geometrical bodies in different dimensions, as also a cone with its several sections. In minutely examining each of these, his attention may easily be directed, by a natural analysis, from the solids to the surfaces, triangles, quadrilaterals, and polygons ; from these to the angles, lines, and points. In comparing them afterwards, he may find out himself their differences, and classify them ; and, in stating the result of his examination, he is led to the use and to the definition of the scientific terms which designate them, and to the consideration of the first elements of geometry.

By a reference to the geometrical solids a child may easily understand what is meant by *vertical* and *horizontal* ; *perpendicular* and *oblique* ; *parallel* and *divergent*, and *convergent* ; *right*, *acute*, and *obtuse angles* ; *circle*, *circumference*, and *diameter* ; he may be shown the principal properties of triangles, the mode of measuring and dividing angles, the relative length of circumference and diameter, and may be taught by means of small square blocks or cubes, how to measure rectangular superficies and solids.

If the child be made to sketch the outlines of these solids, it will be a further preparation for his future study of that science ; for these diagram sketches, within the power of a young child—and his first step in the useful practice of drawing from nature, will direct his attention more closely to the geometrical forms, will familiarize him with the terms and graphic representations of them, and will give him some practical notions of perspective. The precision and accuracy of eye, gained, at the same time, by the habit of drawing, would considerably assist him in clearly conceiving the forms, proportions, and dimensions of objects. The facility and correctness, also, with which he will execute these figures, if he has early practiced drawing, will, at a future period, render geometry much more attractive ; whilst the elements of this science will, in their turn, tend to give a useful direction to linear drawing.

The practice of ascertaining the various parts, substances, colors, and forms of objects, is an effectual preparation for the study of the natural sciences ; it can not fail to impart accuracy and acuteness to the perceptive powers of young persons ; it will accustom them to observe and analyze things minutely ; while all the

terms relative to these different points will considerably extend their vocabulary.

To those who advocate for children science in play, we will suggest that the young mind may be effectually familiarized with forms and proportions by means of an architectural game composed of brick-shaped pieces, and others in imitation of those which enter into the construction of buildings—blocks of different sizes (say, from one inch to four inches in length, one inch in breadth, and half an inch in thickness,) cubes, arches, columns, with detached bases, capitals, and moldings, in different orders of architecture. These building materials may be so contrived as to present, by their various combinations, illustrations of geometrical propositions, and, by their superstructure, edifices in different styles of architecture. They should consist of close-grained wood, of two contrasting colors, so as to please the eye by their neatness and symmetrical arrangements; and if they be made with mathematical accuracy, and on a scale founded on the national measures, they will be easily raised in conformity to any architectural design, while the eye will be early habituated to a useful measure. The author, anxious to give his children the benefit of such a game, has constructed one with box and Brazil wood (white and red,) composed of about six hundred pieces of various sizes and geometrical forms, on the above-mentioned scale of measurement. It has been for his young family not only an exhaustless source of pleasure and instruction, but an efficient means of forming habits of patience and enticing them to efforts of invention.

#### SECT. II.—EXERCISES IN OBSERVATION.

##### 1. *Properties, Comparisons, and Classification of objects.*

From the age of eight or nine, when the child's perceptive faculties have been exercised on the most apparent properties of things, and when he has learned to confine and prolong his attention, he should be required to examine objects more minutely, to compare them under different points of view, and to state in what particular two or more resemble or differ. These exercises would prove highly interesting to young people, who delight in discovering differences between similar things, and resemblances between different things. The judgment, according to Locke, is exercised by the first act, and the imagination by the second: all the intellectual powers, in fact, which have comparison for their basis, would be thus highly cultivated. He who is best able to compare will know best how to analyze, to abstract, to generalize, to classify, to judge—in one word, to reason.



Various objects should be successively submitted to the organs of sense, and the relations in which they stand to each other be duly examined, in order that, by observation and comparison, their particular properties may be discovered, as well those which are relative to our constitution as those which are inherent in the objects themselves. A true knowledge of things consists in a perfect acquaintance with all their properties. When objects have been considered in all their bearings, the child may be directed how to classify them according to the similarity of their essential attributes. It is, in fact, the relation of resemblance which, by the general notions and corresponding general terms that flow from it, becomes the source of classification and definition, and of all that is valuable in language.

As the attributes inherent in matter may not all present themselves to the mind of the teacher at the very moment when he wishes to direct the attention of the pupil to them, tables containing in juxtaposition adjectives of opposite meanings would enable him to point out all the properties the presence or absence of which can be ascertained in objects.

Every new discovery which results from the investigation of objects exercises the understanding, leads to a knowledge of the true essence of things, and stores the memory with adjectives and abstract nouns, the chief materials of descriptive and philosophical language. A familiarity with such terms, by generating a habit of nice discrimination, and enriching the imagination with vivid conceptions of things, constitutes the characteristic elements of eloquence. Uneducated people are particularly deficient in these two species of words. The child being also led to distinguish the properties which are natural or artificial, essential or accidental, permanent or transient, absolute or relative, and to discover those which belong to one object exclusively, or are common to several, will find no difficulty in making classifications, or availing himself of those already existing, and of their corresponding nomenclatures. Classification is the indispensable complement of observation.

As young persons collect facts, they must be frequently exercised in classifying them with reference to their resemblance or difference. If any number of objects is considered with regard to one or several points of resemblance, the collection constitutes a class named *genus*; subdivisions of these into classes of objects having properties in common and distinct from the rest, form as many *species*; finally, when, on a closer examination, single objects are considered in reference to properties which are peculiar to them, they are denominated *individuals*. The child must be shown that the terms *genus* and *species*

are relative: the same class which is a genus with reference to the sub-classes, or species included in it, may be itself a species relatively to a more extensive, or, as it is often called, a superior genus. *Bird*, for example, a genus with regard to the different species *eagle*, *sparrow*, &c., is, in its turn, a species of the genus *animal*, which is itself a species with respect to the superior genus *organized being*. *Filial love* is a species of the genus *affection*; *affection*, a species of the genus *goodness*; and *goodness*, a species of the genus *inclination*. The distinction of generic and specific terms applies to a very extensive range of mental conceptions.

The complex operation of classifying things according to their points of resemblance, and of distinguishing them by their points of dissimilarity, is one of the highest exercises of our reason and the most admirable effect of analysis. It will develop in a child the powers of observation, abstraction, and generalization, and will prepare him for the study of the natural and experimental sciences, by giving him habits of inductive reasoning—a principle on which these sciences rest.

Nothing is more beneficial to the mind than the early habit of referring particular ideas to general principles, and classifying objects and the notions acquired about them. The memory will best retain the information intrusted to its keeping when arranged according to some principle of generalization. Classification leads to the clear conception and exact definition of terms; because the names given to our generalizations in order to classify things, are connected in the mind with the peculiarities that characterize these things: it becomes the more useful as ideas accumulate on the mind; for, in general, confusion does not arise so much from the number of ideas, as from the incapability of conceiving them clearly and arranging them in a proper order. Classification is the ground-work of inductive philosophy, and of all scientific investigations.

## 2. *Incidental investigations about Objects.*

The act of observing, which springs from the natural desire for knowledge, reacts on that desire and stimulates it, when it has become a habit: if, therefore, the child's powers of observation have been judiciously exercised, his inquisitiveness will increase with his mental development. He may then gradually be brought to investigate incidents connected with an object: among others, what are its different uses, the country whence it comes, the mode of production, the process of fabrication, the instruments employed in making it, and the trades concurring to its completion.

The different uses to which things are applied depending on the properties which they possess, one of these considerations will easily lead to the other. If, therefore, a child is acquainted with the use of an object, he may be requested to infer what must be its properties ; or these being known to him, his inventive power may be exercised in finding how it can be rendered useful : thus is he led to the investigation of causes and effects. At a more advanced age, he will be aided in the search by visiting manufactories, or exercising his ingenuity, as has been recommended, in working various substances ; for the properties of matter are best ascertained by the modification which it undergoes in the arts.

By frequently inquiring into the uses of things, a child forms the valuable habit of estimating every thing according to its utility, and of turning it to account. The inquiry into the mode of production and fabrication will tend to cultivate in him a spirit of investigation and invention, whilst the constant practice of ascertaining causes and effects will foster dispositions most favorable for afterwards making discoveries in the arts and investigating truths in the higher sciences. Mere chance has less to do with the work of invention than is generally supposed : in most instances, the lucky accident which gave birth to the discovery has but set in motion a certain train of thought in an already prepared mind.

In speaking of the place where the manufactured article or the substances of which it is composed, are produced, the preceptor has an opportunity of conveying interesting information on the natural productions of various countries, especially on those of his pupils. Should he have within reach a general map, or, better still, a large terrestrial globe, he will add considerably to the benefit of the lesson by pointing out the situation of every country or town, as its name is mentioned.

In the first examination of objects children should be induced to discover what belongs to nature and what to art. Natural substances assume, by the effect of art, so many forms and appearances, that, in many cases, a great deal of ingenuity is required to find out the original materials. These investigations will bring within the range of conversation the three great subdivisions of natural substances, namely, the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as the various arts of life.

These and the other topics which have now been enumerated as coming within the scope of these conversations, will considerably assist children in comprehending books when they begin to read, and will prepare the way for their future study of many interesting



branches of instruction. A variety of useful notions is elicited, which it would take many years to obtain by the ordinary routine of experience, and which never forms part of a college course.

### 3. *Cautious Gradation to be observed in these Lessons.*

One of the chief objects of early lessons ought to be to excite in a child such a love of knowledge as will induce him to be ardent in its pursuit. His natural desire of variety should be indulged, and the gratification of his curiosity should be combined with his improvement. To make him a more active agent in these lessons, he should, at first, be induced to point out objects, the names or properties of which he does not know, or which he may have forgotten. This simple act of reflection will prepare him for making other inquiries afterwards. In the first stages of these lessons, he should be frequently allowed to choose the objects about which he wishes to be informed; he should be particularly encouraged to ask questions and make observations. Whatever is interesting to him is an appropriate subject of investigation. He will learn with delight new facts and new terms connected with an object already familiar to him, or information given him in answer to his questions; and what he thus learns he easily remembers. The remarks of the child will, in many cases, show the instructor in what manner the subject may be treated. When the topics touched upon are not new to him, he may be questioned about them; when they are, he should receive whatever information is suited to his wants and age; the instructor, at the same time, keeping up his pupil's attention by kindness of manner, liveliness of delivery, and occasional anecdotes.

The benefit to be derived from the conversations on objects will greatly depend on the cautious gradation observed in introducing new considerations, and in not allowing the lessons to continue so long as to produce fatigue. They should cease before the child evinces symptoms of weariness; for it is desirable that the impression on his mind, at the conclusion of the lesson, be pleasurable, in order that he may feel a lively desire for its renewal.

These exercises in observation, which, in the commencement, ought not to exceed a few minutes, may be gradually lengthened, as children acquire with age greater command over their attention, and greater desire for information. Many objects should, at first, be offered to their notice, because the immaturity of infancy does not permit a minute investigation of each; and attention can then be kept up only by variety and novelty. As their powers of observation and reflection increase by exercise, the subjects of consideration

must be gradually diminished, until one may suffice at a sitting. Thus, as they advance, being required to attend more closely to a single object for a greater length of time, more unity of design is preserved, and more depth of information is acquired. But let it never be forgotten that long confinement and protracted application to one subject should be sedulously avoided. There must be no gloom, no misery, associated with the first intellectual exertions: happiness is the privilege of childhood.

SECT. III.—EXERCISES IN REFLECTION.

1. *Size, Weight, Durability, &c., of things.*

When children have been for some time engaged in conversing on the subjects above alluded to, and when reading can be practiced concurrently with and subsidiarily to oral instruction, that is, toward the age of ten or eleven, the instructor will introduce considerations of a higher character. He must now exercise the reflective powers of his pupils; and, for this purpose, he must enlarge their sphere of observation, and explore with them the fields of science.

The properties of things, or the laws of nature respecting them, which are submitted to the attention of young persons, must now be considered as the elements of scientific knowledge. These properties, or, to speak more philosophically, the relations in which things stand to each other, may be classified under three heads: 1. Relations to our constitution, as their *color, taste, temperature, form, &c.*; 2. Relations to other particular substances, as their *compressibility, fusibility, inflammability, fragility, &c.*; 3. Relations to bodies in general, that is, which may be predicated of all bodies, whatever be their particular properties, as *rest, motion, extension, quantity, &c.* The first two kinds of properties are elicited by comparison, and are relative: those of the third kind are independent of relation to any particular substance, and are absolute. The properties which bodies possess as belonging to some particular class of beings, form the data from which to reason in natural history and the physical sciences; the properties of the third kind form the subject of our reasoning in all mathematical investigations.

In addition to the consideration of the parts and substances of objects, to the notions of number, form, color, and other sensible properties, to which we have already alluded, the children will be made to estimate the size, weight, durability, and value of things, the relative proportions of different measures of the same kind, the relative positions of various objects, or of the different parts of one object, their distances from them, and from each other. For this new series

of exercises the learners should be furnished with the various measures in common use, a yard and foot, a quart, pint, and quartern; scales, steelyard, and weights; a dial with revolving hands; gold, silver, and copper coins; a plumb line, a square rule, and compasses. To these should be added the measures, weights, and coins of any foreign country whose language they are to learn.

During the lesson these measures should always be at hand, and referred to as a test in the examination of objects. By frequent application of them, children would form a just idea of measures of all kinds, of the subdivision of time and the value of money, and would soon be familiarized with the calculations required for the ordinary purposes of life. A small sum, made up of the current coins of two countries, would enable them to practice various calculations in reduction and exchange. Different graduated measures of capacity and weight would offer similar exercises to discover their relative value, and show how many measures of one kind are equivalent to one measure of the other. Many interesting arithmetical problems may be founded on the facts thus acquired.

We need scarcely advert to the superiority of this practical instruction over the senseless and irksome task of learning by heart tables of weights and measures, often imposed on children, when they have no idea of what is meant by the technical terms of which they are composed. The details so often found in books of the value and measures of things, the dimensions of buildings, the distances of places, the heights of mountains, the length of rivers, &c., can convey but vague and erroneous ideas to those who do not possess clear notions of the current money, of ounces, pounds, and tons weight, of pints, gallons, and bushels, of feet, fathoms, and miles.

The parts and the substances of objects being now investigated more philosophically than heretofore, will call the attention of the young observers to the classification and nomenclature of organic and inorganic matter, and to the various departments of natural history and natural philosophy. The mention of colors may, henceforth, afford the instructor opportunity of giving to inquisitive learners an insight into the theory of light, of explaining, by means of the prism, the phenomenon of the rainbow, and of investigating many optical problems. Considerations of quantities, forms, dimensions, superficies, and magnitude, will gradually lead to practical arithmetic, to the elements of geometry, and to the measurement of plane and solid figures; those of weight to the principles of gravitation, and, from them, to the elements of mechanics and astronomy; those of distance to perspective and to the mention of the telescope and of astronom-



ical discoveries ; those of durability and time to chronology and history ; those of value and cost to the elements of wealth and to the first principles of political economy ; references to the countries from which objects come will furnish the opportunity of entering upon geographical inquiries. Thus, by the force of association, numberless chains of ideas, depending chiefly on the information and habits of study of the instructor, will exercise the reflective powers of the young, and enrich their memory with extensive and useful knowledge.

## 2. *Physical Geography—Geographical box.*

In all investigations the instructor should seize every opportunity to turn the conversation on useful subjects. But, among those which may engage the attention of the young, geography is one of the most suitable ; for it is addressed to the senses and memory as much as to the reflective powers.

The child is taught the points of the compass relatively, first, to the position of the room in which he is, and, then, to the different parts of the house. He may, afterwards, when he is out of doors, ascertain the geographical direction of the streets, the course of the river, and the relative positions of different buildings. But, before the denominations of east, west, north, and south, are mentioned to him, he should be told of the rotundity of the earth as well as of its double rotary motion, and be made to observe the direction of the sun, its successive positions in the heavens—in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. These terms, arising out of the want which he has of them, will be clear, and easily retained. How many young people are there who, for want of this previous practical information, see in the cardinal points only the four sides of a map !

The geographical terms expressive of the various natural subdivisions and physical characteristics of land and water can never be defined so as to give children clear and accurate ideas of the things which they represent. They are best explained in the presence of the things themselves. But as many of these objects can not be seen in their natural state, their place might be supplied by a small model in relief of an imaginary portion of the earth exhibiting its principal features.

The construction of such a model presents no difficulty : the author, applying to the education of his own children most of the suggestions thrown out in these pages, has made one himself for their use. A lake, a Mediterranean sea, bays, &c., are carved out of wood ; and mountains, rocks, banks of rivers, and undulations of the ground are made with putty ; the whole is painted in oil of the natural color of

the objects represented—white for the snowy peaks, green for the valleys, &c. This model fits in a box one foot square by two and a half inches in depth, of which it occupies the half; the inside is painted a light bluish green, to imitate the color of the sea.

At the time of using this box it is half filled with water, which, coming in contact with the sides of the model and passing under it, produces peninsulas, bays, harbors, creeks, lakes, &c.; and thus gives a faithful and most vivid representation of the physical character of the terrestrial and aqueous globe. To add to the usefulness of this apparatus, a magnetic needle is placed on a pivot fixed on one of the mountains, thus indicating the relative geographical position of every spot.

We need scarcely say that a geographical lesson founded on these elements is highly instructive and entertaining to young children. Their natural curiosity is excited at the sight of this model; and they anxiously expect any information which the instructor is about to impart to them on the physical constitution of the globe, and the natural phenomena connected with its existence. They may be called upon to define in their own words all the terms, of which they have the sensible signification before their eyes; they see that an island is the counterpart of a lake; a cape, of a bay; an isthmus, of a strait: guided by the needle, they may be made to state the relative position of different places, as well as the direction of streams and chains of mountains in reference to the points of the compass. A survey of this fac-simile will give them an idea of the innumerable beauties of the terrestrial surface; it will bring to their notice its verdant plains, its diversified hills, its winding rivers, expanding as they run down to the sea, which spreads its immense sheet over more than half the globe. They may be told of the indispensable agency of water toward the fertility of the earth, the existence of man, the arts of life, and international communication; they may be told of navigation in modern and ancient times, of the mariner's compass and the polar star, of sailing and steam vessels, of maritime discoveries, of celebrated navigators and travelers, and of many other interesting subjects, which would be called to mind by the sight of land and water.

Children take a lively pleasure in traveling, with the end of a pointer, over this Lilliputian world, and naming each place as they journey on, sometimes following down a river from its source to its mouth, or seeking a defile in a mountain to pass into the valley at the other side; sometimes resting on a table-land, or ascending a peak; at other times, going along the coasts over strands and cliffs,

standing on a promontory, or venturing on a sand-bank ; now and then shouting with joy at the discovery of a volcano, a cavern, a grotto, a cascade, or a cataract. All these objects will recall to the mind of an instructor conversant with the wonders of our planet, the most remarkable among their corresponding realities ; the occasional mention of them, at the moment when his young hearers' attention is riveted on the subject, could not fail to be eagerly received. These geographical topics will by an immediate connection turn the conversation on geological and atmospheric inquiries, on the structure of the earth, and the distribution of organic life over its surface ; its mines of coal, salt, metals, and diamonds ; its various strata and fossil remains ; on tides and winds, hot and mineral springs, water-spouts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and a thousand other natural phenomena. Thus will they, in an impressive manner, become rapidly and thoroughly acquainted with the elements of physical geography and the great laws of nature, and be excited, at their entrance upon these studies, by the desire of proceeding farther.

When a child has been familiarized with these elements, his next step will consist in being made acquainted with the nature of maps, that he may early know how to use them, and be induced to refer to them in the course of his reading. This he will accomplish most effectually by constructing some himself, under the guidance of his instructor. If he has been early encouraged to sketch from nature, he will easily draw with reference to the points of the compass the plan or map of the room in which he studies, and afterwards that of the premises and grounds surrounding the house in which he lives. This will enable him the better to understand the relations which maps bear to the reality, and consequently to refer to them with the more profit.

After he has executed several maps of particular places, he may undertake the tracing of whole countries. A black globe of two feet in diameter, at the least, made so as to admit of delineations in chalk, would considerably facilitate this object and enable him to solve many geographical questions.\*

The clear notions of number and measures which the child may, by this time, have acquired will facilitate his further progress in the study of geography, by enabling him to conceive rightly the various numerical considerations which occur as part of that science, such as the superficies of the earth, the extent of countries, the relative distance of places, the amount of population, the length of rivers, the height of mountains, the measure of degrees, and others.

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\* Such Globes are made by Candee & Co., New Haven, Conn.



### 3. *Political Geography; Globe with National Flags.*

Equal in importance to a knowledge of the physical constitution of our globe is an acquaintance with the various races of men who cover its surface, and the numerous political communities into which they are formed. A complete course of geography should comprise these different subjects of consideration. When children have clear notions of the extent, form, composition, and external configuration of the earth, they may with profit be told of the different countries into which it has been subdivided, and be informed of their resources, and of every thing relating to the nations by which they are inhabited. This information constitutes political geography, which is the foundation of political science; for, unless we know the condition of a country and its inhabitants, we can not reason correctly on their wants, customs, and means of prosperity.

The elements of the condition of a country are either natural or artificial. The natural elements are its geographical position, its climate, its boundaries, its coast-line, the character of its rivers, and the quality of its soil, its mineral, vegetable, or animal productions, and lastly, its population; the artificial elements consist of the civil and political institutions of the people, their agriculture, manufacture, and commerce; their progress in the arts and sciences; their language, literature, religion, and mode of life. The attention of the learners should be directed to all these subjects in turn, as circumstances afford opportunities of entering upon them. They should, especially, be shown how the natural elements of a country, by determining the character and peculiar energies of the people, influence their industrial, social, moral, and intellectual habits.

As an introduction to the first elements of political geography we would recommend the use of a globe containing only the terrestrial and aqueous configuration of the earth, with the national boundaries of the different countries and an indication of their capitals. The child, who has to learn these first notions, can, with this globe, easily attend to them without the confusion which, in using the ordinary maps and globe, arises from the numerous names and lines of rivers with which they are covered, and which are not needed at the outset. But to render this first study more impressive and more interesting, we connect it with another branch of information, which, although most useful through life, has been totally overlooked in the education of youth. We allude to those emblems which, floating in the breeze, proclaim all over the globe the existence and power of the nations which they represent.

An acquaintance with national flags is indispensable to naval and military men, and useful to all the members of a commercial community; for they serve to distinguish the different nations in their political, military, and commercial relations. The distinctive flags of the numerous ships which crowd our harbors and docks are to him who is acquainted with them the source of much valuable information. They exhibit in one view our commercial intercourse with foreign nations; they lead the mind to an inquiry into the nature of our imports and exports, and hence into an investigation of our agricultural and manufacturing produce.

The child, having been told the names of the nations to which the flags belong, is desired to place these in the capitals of the countries to which they belong, and which are indicated by small holes into which the ends of the flag-staffs are made to fit. It may be easily conceived how amusing and instructive he will find the occupation of planting these standards in their proper places. When they have been distributed all over the globe, the pleasing effect which their variegated colors and their different emblems present to his eye powerfully fixes his attention: he sees at one glance, and in a striking manner, the relative positions of all nations, and their various possessions abroad.

In order to extend still farther the utility of this geographical apparatus, the size of the flags should vary with the degree of political power of each nation, and the length of the staffs with the extent of territory of each country. On the staffs may be inscribed the amount of population of the respective countries, their superficies in square miles, and the names of their capitals. In addition to these fundamental notions, the instructor could, now and then, as any flag engages the attention of his young pupils, associate with it much useful information concerning the people to whom it belongs. He may speak of their mode of government, their customs, national character, and degree of civilization; of the pursuits in which they are most remarkable, and the discoveries and inventions with which they have benefited humanity; of their standard works, and the advantages to be derived from a knowledge of their language.

With this apparatus, and in the case especially of young persons of the upper ranks, a well-informed teacher may highly entertain his pupils with interesting narratives relating to the veneration of people for their national flags, the honor attached to their defense, or to the taking of one belonging to an enemy, and the deeds of valor to which both gave rise in ancient and modern wars. A description of the armorial bearings of nations and noble families, which originated

in the crusades, and are emblazoned on their different banners and coats of arms, as also an account of the origin of feudal distinctions, and their emblematic mode of transmission to posterity through the devices of heraldry, would excite in high spirited youths a lively interest in the chivalrous exploits of their ancestors, and in the history of the middle ages ; the inquiries might be continued down to modern times, in following the traces of these distinctions still perceptible in the military uniforms of nations and the liveries of private families.

In concluding these suggestions on the mode of introducing young persons to the study of geography, we will extract from an American writer (Horace Mann's "*Report on Schools in Europe*," ) a short and lively description of a lesson on this subject, delivered in his presence by a German professor to an elementary class. We feel the more inclined to do so, as it shows the value of linear drawing in teaching, and presents a new feature in geographical instruction.

"The teacher stood by the blackboard with the chalk in his hand. After casting his eye over the class to see that all were ready, he struck at the middle of the board. With a rapidity of hand which my eye could hardly follow, he made a series of those short divergent lines, or shadings, employed by map-engravers to represent a chain of mountains. He had scarcely turned an angle, or shot off a spur, when the scholars began to cry out, 'Carpathian Mountains, Hungary, Black Forest Mountains, Wirtemberg,' &c.

"In less than half a minute, the ridge of that grand central elevation, which separates the waters that flow north-west into the German Ocean, from those that flow north into the Baltic, and south-east into the Black Sea, was presented to view, executed almost as beautifully as an engraving. A dozen crinkling strokes, made in the twinkling of an eye, represented the head waters of the great rivers which flow in different directions from that mountainous range ; while the children, almost as eager and excited as though they had actually seen the torrents dashing down the mountain sides, cried out 'Danube, Elbe, Vistula, Oder,' &c. The next moment I heard a succession of small strokes, or taps, so rapid as to be almost indistinguishable, and hardly had my eye time to discern a large number of dots made along the margins of the rivers, when the shout of 'Linz, Vienna, Prague, Dresden,' &c., struck my ear. At this point in the exercise, the spot which had been occupied on the blackboard was nearly a circle, of which the starting-point, or place where the teacher first began, was the center, but now a few additional strokes around the circumference of the incipient continent extended the mountain



ranges outwards toward the plain—the children responding the names of the countries in which they respectively lay. With a few more flourishes the rivers flowed onwards, toward their several terminations, and, by another succession of dots, new cities sprang up along their banks. By this time the children had become as much excited as though they had been present at a world-making. They rose in their seats, they flung out both hands, and their eyes kindled as they cried out the names of the different places, which, under the magic of the teacher's crayon, rose into view. Within ten minutes from the commencement of the lesson, there stood upon the black-board a beautiful map of Germany, with its mountains, principal rivers, and cities, the coast of the German Ocean, of the Baltic and the Black Seas, and all so accurately proportioned, that I think only slight errors would have been found, had it been subjected to the test of a scale of miles. A part of this time was taken up in correcting a few mistakes of the pupils—for the teacher's mind seemed to be in his ear as well as in his hand—and, notwithstanding the astonishing celerity of his movements, he detected erroneous answers, and turned round to correct them. The rest of the lesson consisted in questions and answers respecting productions, climate, soil, animals, &c., &c."

"Compare," the author adds, "the effects of such a lesson as this, both as to the amount of the knowledge communicated and the vividness, and, of course, the permanence, of the ideas obtained, with a lesson where the scholars look out a few names of places on a lifeless Atlas, but never send their imaginations abroad over the earth, and where the teacher sits listlessly down before them to interrogate them from a book, in which all the questions are printed at full length, to supersede, on his part, all necessity of knowledge."

#### 4. *History and Chronology.*

Connected with political geography and the subdivisions of the globe is the history of its inhabitants at different periods. Children may be made acquainted with the most celebrated characters of various nations, and the most remarkable events of their history, as particular countries are brought to their notice in the course of the conversation—the instructor taking care always to associate with the historical fact the time and place at which it occurred. It is particularly from sensible objects, from engravings, pictures, statues, bas-reliefs, and ancient monuments, that they should incidentally receive their first notions of history and chronology. Pictorial illustrations, which so generally accompany the text of modern publications, may

easily be procured ; they will, from the vividness and permanency of visual impressions, be a useful auxiliary, in fixing historical facts on the memory.

Some regularity, however, may be introduced in this branch of instruction by means of synoptical tables of events and kings, arranged chronologically and synchronically. With one of these tables, a well informed teacher will be enabled to impart to his pupils a large amount of interesting information on the history of the nation, which is, at the time, the object of their consideration. This instruction should, at first, be purely narrative, the teacher confining himself to memorable events, heroic actions, remarkable sayings, and all those beautiful traits, which, while they interest young persons, tend to elevate their minds, and excite in them a taste for historical studies.

It needs scarcely be observed that children should at first be introduced to the history of their own country in preference to that of any other ; their attention should next be directed to sacred history, which, going back to the origin of the world, is the best preparation for the study of ancient history and for the reading of the Holy Scriptures. With those who are destined to receive a classical education, Rome, Greece, and their mythology may be made occasionally subjects of conversation : and, in general, the history of any nation, whose language is being or is to be learned, should be made an object of instruction, either orally or through books, earlier than would otherwise be desirable.

In alluding to dates, the children should be led gradually from the present time, through a series of epochs not very distant from each other, up to the one referred to. Chronology and history should, in fact, be taught upwards, from the most recent to the most ancient dates, if we wish young learners to form a clear-conception of remote eras. They will benefit the more from the past, as they understand better the present, and can compare one with the other.

A regular course of historical studies, however, can be pursued only by means of a series of works free at first from any detail of wars and political events, and increasing in minuteness and seriousness of matter progressively with the intellectual advancement of the learners. The information which they will thus acquire will be best retained by making it a subject of conversation with the instructor, or by simply narrating in their own words as much as they can remember. Should any important particulars be forgotten, the teacher may recall them and direct the attention of his pupils to them for a second perusal. In order that they may receive from their historical studies

useful lessons of morality and political science, he should accustom them to reflect on the motives of action and the passions of men, on the concatenation of events and their effects on the condition of the people, on the principles of good government, and the causes which produce either the happiness and prosperity, or the misery and ruin of a nation. But this regular course can not be entered upon at a very early age : this would be more dangerous than profitable. History to a young child would only be a confused collection of facts ; for he could not perceive their relations with each other, nor appreciate their causes and consequences ; and these facts, being read without discernment, could but impair his understanding. As it records more injustice and bloodshed than virtue and philanthropy, he would thus be early accustomed to depravity. It is best learned after the age of fifteen ; until this time, young people may prepare for it by the study of geography and the perusal of voyages and travels.

History is particularly objectionable, as are all purely intellectual pursuits, during the first two periods of youth, because it does not exercise the powers of perception and observation. Those branches of knowledge should be preferred, which are favorable to out-of-door instruction, and which take for their theme the works of the Creation.

##### 5. *Excursions in the Country, and visits to Manufactories.*

A child may be introduced to the elements of physical knowledge, in his walks in the country, in the garden, or by the water-side. He may be made to observe the hills and valleys, islands and lakes, fields and woods ; the immense variety of plants, and the action of light, heat, and rain upon them ; the different kinds of soils and the consequent varieties of vegetation ; the origin of streams, the direction of the winds, their important office in nature, and their immense benefit to man. The changes which take place from one season to another should not be allowed to pass unnoticed : interesting phenomena occur at every period of the year, in the spring, especially, when the air, earth, and water are teeming with life. Let him watch the progress of the leaves, buds, flowers, fruits, and seeds of plants ; let him follow the operations of nature in her various states, and observe the assistance which she receives from agriculture. At other times, let his attention be directed to animated nature ; the active scene around him will present new and endless subjects of inquiry ; the birds which fly on all sides, the cattle which graze in the meadow, the insects which creep at his feet, or buzz in the air, all will afford inexhaustible sources of most valuable instruction. If his curiosity



be judiciously excited and directed, he will watch with deep interest the varied and astonishing instincts by which these infinitely diversified beings sustain their existence, unconsciously but unerringly guided by their bountiful Creator.

Such lessons are peculiarly suited to the inhabitants of the country, who, passing their lives in the presence of nature, may derive continual profit and pleasure from the study of her laws, and the contemplation of her wonders. To a person whose attention has not been duly awakened to the external world, and who has not been early accustomed to observe, all the admirable works of creation are lost, the surface of the earth is a blank. The busy scene of nature passes before an unpracticed eye, without communicating an idea to the mind, and without kindling the spirit of devout adoration of Him, whose universal love smiles everywhere.

It is but another proof of the harmony of design in all the works of the Creator, that this method of directly cultivating the observing faculty can not be adequately carried out without a certain amount of muscular exertion, and of daily exposure to the open air, in collecting and examining the varied objects of interest with which creation abounds. In other words, we can not benefit the perceptive faculties without, at the same time, benefiting the muscular system and the organs of respiration, circulation, and digestion; and this grand recommendation in the eye of reason—pursuing study in the field of nature instead of in books alone—is actually, though not avowedly, that which retards its adoption in ordinary education. A ramble from the school-room into the country to survey the works of God, is deemed an encouragement to idleness and a love of pleasure; and, therefore, it is denied.

In rural excursions the sight should be exercised in distinguishing remote objects, and appreciating their number, forms, and dimensions; their distance should be estimated by the eye, and immediately verified by measurement. Short distances may be ascertained by paces, and longer ones by noticing the time consumed in passing over them. Thus, the relation existing between space, time, and motion may be shown in measuring the one by the other. Let the child find out what space can be passed over in a given time, or with a given velocity; what time is required to walk or run, at a certain rate, over a certain distance; what rapidity of motion is requisite to reach a determined point in a given time. Such practices would prove useful in many ways. The estimating of distances at sight, which in some people seems an intuitive act, is merely the result of habit; yet, how few can judge with even tolerable accuracy of the

distances at which objects are from each other, and from their own eye! To estimate the angle which objects make at the eye, is another practice of real utility to all men, and to naval and military men in particular.

A country residence is most favorable for pursuing all these exercises. To those who are confined within the precincts of a town we would recommend occasional visits to foundries, factories, and workshops: art, as well as nature, abounds in sources of instruction. In these visits a child would witness the facts which have already been made the subjects of his conversations, and would see the application of the sciences which will subsequently demand his attention. Thus would mechanical and intellectual pursuits assist each other. "What an immense stock of scientific principles," says Dugald Stewart, "lie buried amid the details of manufactures and of arts! We may form an idea of this from an acknowledgment of Mr. Boyle, that he had learned more by frequenting the shops of tradesmen than from all the volumes he had read."

He whose mind has been early familiarized with the interesting scenes of nature and the wonders of art, will never lose the impressive lessons which they teach. Long after, in the ardor of literary composition, or amidst the excitement of public assemblies, their vivid images will reappear in their pristine luster to give happy expression to thoughts which shall then be awakened by passing events.

#### 6. *Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Zoölogy.*

When, by casual consideration of objects, children have been familiarized with a variety of natural substances, the teacher, introducing more order into his lessons, may venture on classifications, and treat methodically of the three kingdoms of nature. This subject will furnish favorable opportunities for making frequent reference to physical geography, with which it is closely associated, by reason of the diversity of organic and inorganic beings, consequent on the difference of climate in various parts of the globe; whilst the practice of distinguishing the characteristic features of these beings, and following the chain which connects them, is highly calculated to improve the perceptive and observant powers, and to create habits of nice discrimination. The amazing variety of interesting objects which natural history offers for consideration, and the admirable adaptation of means to ends which they exhibit, render it the fittest branch of knowledge for exciting in young people a spirit of inquiry, and a sense of the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

Mineralogy may be made an object of attention in the first stages

of instruction. The distinctive qualities of inert matter are more simple and less numerous than those of vegetable and animal substances; they are more distinct and better defined. Minerals, different from plants and animals, can be kept within reach, and exhibited in all their different states. The brilliant colors of gems and metallic ores, as also their crystallization, a most striking feature of the external character of minerals, are well calculated to excite the curiosity of children and to fix their attention. The singular properties of diamonds, gold, quicksilver, and the loadstone, and the great diversity of purposes to which these minerals, and, more especially, silver, copper, lead, and iron, are appropriated, should be offered to their notice, as also the chief attributes of metals—their luster, sonorousness, tenacity, malleability, ductility, fusibility, specific gravity. The examination of metals will naturally lead to the mention of mines, the modes of working them, the countries where they are found, and the curious processes of metallurgy.

Closely connected with mineralogy is geology, which presents a most interesting field of research; it carries the mind from the consideration of rocks and mines, of mountains and valleys, to the period of their creation, and, by a natural transition, to Him who created them. Geology is, as it were, the earth's autobiography, written in symbolical and unmistakable language. Young persons should be familiarized with its elements and general outlines as soon as they can comprehend them. They may be told of the composition and arrangement of the materials which form the crust of our globe, of the changes which are continually wrought on its surface by the agency of inundations, earthquakes, volcanoes, and of the admirable contrivances by which it has been rendered, throughout successive ages, capable of supporting countless myriads of organic existences.

The important functions which plants perform in the economy of nature, the arts of civilization, and the support of life, claim for botany a prominent place in modern education. Few objects in the external world are more interesting than vegetable productions, and, especially, flowers and fruits, whose richness of coloring, as well as endless diversity of hues, forms, fragrance, and flavor, excite admiration for the wonderful display of power and goodness which they proclaim in their Author. The instructor should bring to his pupil's notice the influence of climate and culture on vegetation, the immense variety of plants, their exquisite perfection and universal usefulness; he should explain their structure and the functions of their organs, their mode of nourishment, of propagation, and their growth,



the nutritious properties of some and medicinal properties of others. Every botanical fact shows design, and affords matter for serious consideration, such as the natural dissemination of seeds, the successive changes of plants, the invariable direction of roots and branches, the circulation of the sap, the transpiration of the leaves, their happy distribution for the reception of light, air, and water, the purification of the atmosphere by their absorbent powers, and many other surprising phenomena of the vegetable kingdom.

To make children acquainted with plants, their names and botanical character, the instructor may, at first, place before them only a few of the most familiar species, and gradually introduce to their notice flowers, shrubs, and trees, less common—passing from indigenous to exotic, with the assistance of pictorial representations. By helping them to examine in what particular each differs from the others—independently, however, at first, of scientific nomenclature—he will enable them soon to distinguish the leading characters of a great number of plants, and will open their minds to endless subjects of admiration in the infinite variety of nature.

Different specimens of timber may also be presented to them, which will further engage their attention in discriminating between the properties of wood, and thence lead to a consideration of its usefulness. There is scarcely a plant of which the whole or some portion is not employed for food, medicine, clothing, or furniture, for distilling, dying, tanning, building, or other useful arts of life. In fact, the innumerable uses to which vegetable as well as mineral substances are applied by man for satisfying his wants or multiplying his enjoyments, may be exhibited in every thing around: such considerations will be an excellent preparation for entering upon the study of the physical sciences.

Zoölogy will afford endless subjects of familiar conversation, both amusing and instructive. The lively interest which children usually take in animals renders these suitable objects for giving them elementary notions of natural history. The domestic species should, at first, engage their attention, and, afterwards, by means of colored prints, the most remarkable among those which do not come within daily observation, may be made the subjects of very useful lessons. The fidelity and sagacity of the dog, the docility of the horse, the intelligence of the elephant, the industry of the beaver, the persevering fortitude of the camel, the generous magnanimity of the lion, will supply matter for entertaining narratives, serious reflections, and incentives to further inquiries. The instructor may speak of the varieties of animals differing with the latitudes in which they live,

of their external forms and characteristic qualities; of their food, dispositions, and instincts, in accordance with their organization; of the tender solicitude they display for their young; and of the services which many of them render to man. Particular mention should be made of those which supply his wants or administer to his well-being, during their lives, with their strength, swiftness, and sagacity, their milk and honey, their wool and silk, and, after their death, with their flesh, skin, fur, hair, feathers, bones, horn, ivory, shell, and other useful articles. If the conversation turn upon birds, he may expatiate on their varieties, plumage, migratory instincts, nest-building, power of imitation and melody. These subjects would lead incidentally to the different modes of fowling, hunting, and fishing in various countries.

Fishes and insects should, in their turn, become objects of inquiry; their diversified conformation, their amazing fecundity, and their wonderful adaptation both to the elements in which they move and to their modes of existence, will challenge admiration. The multiplicity of insects, and, especially of animalcula, is so vast as to baffle the most minute investigation: every plant, every leaf, every drop of water, is the abode of myriads which escape the naked eye, and are visible only by the aid of the microscope. The transformations which some instincts undergo, the ingenuity and industry which others display in the structure of their habitations; their diverse ways of procuring food, their instinctive skill in selecting places of safety for the deposition of their eggs, and in providing for the future wants of the young; their contrivances to guard their dwellings from the assaults of enemies, their modes of defense when attacked, their social habits—we may almost say, their municipal regulations and political constitutions—and innumerable other instances of the wise arrangement of a bountiful God, in providing for the preservation and well-being of his creatures, may be opportunely presented to children by a judicious and enlightened instructor.

It is when the young are filled with admiration for the tender care which the Creator has bestowed on his creatures, that benevolent feelings can be most effectively awakened in their hearts; they may be impressed with the idea that the lower animals, having sensations in common with humanity, cruelty to them is a crime. Pity to animals begets charity to men. The seasonable narration of some remarkable trait of the instinct of animals, of some anecdote of their attachment or sagacity, would interest children, call for their sympathies, and, at the same time, inspire them with a wish to inquire further into natural history. Many celebrated philosophers and

naturalists have acquired their taste for science from some pleasurable association of their earliest childhood. Linnæus attributed his love for the study of plants to some observations on a flower which his father made to him when he was about four years of age. The biography of eminent men would furnish multitudes of incidents which have similarly determined in them corresponding peculiarities of character.

7. *Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, and Mental Philosophy.*

When the children's attention has been, for some time, engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the external forms and characters of objects, the description of which constitutes natural history, they may be made acquainted with the most curious and most important among the innumerable phenomena of nature, the secret causes of which are unveiled by natural philosophy. They may be led to consider the effects of bodies acting on each other, the laws of gravitation, motion, equilibrium, and the various mechanical powers—the lever, the pulley, the wedge, the screw, the inclined plane. They should be shown to what immense advantage to civilized man are these mechanical appliances and others, such as wind, water, steam, and the electro-magnetic fluid. The governing laws of mechanics may be illustrated by implements of domestic use—the poker, scissors, nut-crackers, steelyard, will exhibit various forms of levers; the very playthings of children—a top, a hoop, a kite, a ball, marbles, soap-bubbles, a sucker, a pop-gun, will exemplify diverse principles of science; no toy is despicable, no occupation is frivolous, which can assist in the elucidation of truth.

The pressure, levels, motion, elasticity, weight, and other properties of fluids, as well as the specific gravity of bodies, may be elicited in a familiar way, by the scientific results which bear more immediately on the occupations of life. Swimming, the floating of vessels, canals, water-mills, the water-press and water-clock, forcing and lifting pumps, the fire-engine, syphon, diving-bell, and many other philosophical contrivances, could be made the subjects of most interesting conversations in illustration of the properties of air and water. In alluding especially to the air, its nature and use in the arts may be further explained, and rendered sensible by means of the wind-mill, barometer, thermometer, air-pump, bellows, balloons, &c. Air being the medium of sound, its investigations would naturally lead to the consideration of acoustic phenomena, which may be elucidated by the vibration of bells, the effects of echoes, thunder, gun-powder, whispering-galleries, the speaking-trumpet, wind and string instruments, musical-glasses, &c.



It would be impossible here to enumerate the various familiar modes by which may be illustrated the principles of mechanics, hydrodynamics, pneumatics, electricity, galvanism, magnetism, optics, and astronomy. Books should be consulted by the teacher, both as means of enriching his own mind, and as stores from which he may select such information or such experiments as may be best suited to the understandings of his pupils; but the order in which are usually pursued all serious studies is, by no means, that which we should adopt in communicating the facts, or teaching the language of science to children. His chief object should be, by indulging their taste for variety and taking advantage of circumstances, to inspire them with an earnest love of knowledge. No branch of instruction is better calculated than natural philosophy for exciting and gratifying their curiosity; and, whatever be the way or the order in which they acquire the elements of that science, if they are once conversant with them, every thing they read afterwards will find its place. The particular circumstances of time, place, fortune, or social position, in which the learners are placed, will best suggest to a well informed instructor the department of the science and the modes of illustration which are available or appropriate; but there can be no doubt that, with diagrams and experiments, such as may be found in many popular works on the subject, the elements of natural philosophy may be brought within the comprehension of children under the age of twelve.

With regard to chemistry, the instructor may, as occasion suggests, examine with his pupils the affinity between various substances, their elements, their mutual action, and all attractions and repulsions which form its basis. He should particularly communicate to them information respecting the various bodies and natural elements which are constantly exercising their influence on our condition, and on all things around us, as air, water, steam, gases, light, heat, and electricity; he should explain the nature of bodies in their three states, solid, fluid, and aeriform, their characteristic properties, the laws of composition and decomposition, of evaporation and condensation, of combustion, oxidation, and many other chemical operations of nature or art, which would receive additional interest from experiments introduced for their illustration, or from instances of their application to the arts of modern civilization. Dr. David B. Reid has shown that the leading principles of this science may be easily adapted to the most elementary instruction, and rendered accessible to all classes of society, at such a moderate charge as will not prevent those even in the humbler ranks from attending to them.

All investigations of nature, even those of the most elementary kind, will be found of eminent service in developing and training the mind to habits of observation, inquiry and reflection. They draw attention to natural theology, and are highly calculated to elevate the soul by the admiration which the wonders of creation can not fail to excite, at the same time that they provide young people with an inexhaustible source of mental enjoyment, and afford them positive advantages for the practical purposes of life. This is particularly the case with chemistry, the application of which is so universal and so immediately connected with the arts and all the wants of man. "In this new magic," says Cuvier, "the chemist has only to wish : every thing can be changed into any thing, and any thing can be extracted from every thing." The minds of young persons will be opened to a train of thinking, which, in some, may lead to most important results, if they are occasionally shown by experiments that the infinite varieties of the material world are only different compounds of a few elements.

The thoughts of children may also be directed to their bodily frames, which present all the considerations of color, form, dimension, properties, uses, &c., belonging to matter. The teacher may explain the functions of the sensitive, the vocal, and the muscular organs, the utility of which can be made obvious to the youngest child ; he may, as an example of that admirable adaptation to each other of all the parts of the animal economy in man, show them how beautiful is the mechanism of the hand, how wonderfully calculated it is to execute the commands of the human mind. They will thus be impressed with the consciousness of the infinite wisdom of Him who, in making man superior to all other animals by his intellectual powers, has given him the instrument with which he can exercise his sovereignty over the creation.

From a consideration of the external organs he may pass to that of the internal ; he may examine with his pupils the functions of the stomach, the lungs, the heart, and the brain ; the structure of the bones ; the manner in which the different joints, muscles, nerves, and vessels perform their office ; their mutual subserviency and happy adaptation to the preservation, strength, motion of the body, in fact to the whole constitution of man. Few subjects are more easily taught orally than physiology and anatomy. The presence of the living body precludes, to a great extent, the necessity of written descriptions, of preparations, models, or skeletons. With instruction on this subject should be combined explanations of the great hygienic principles, the observance of which is indispensable. Young persons

should be made acquainted with the constitution of the atmosphere, and with the relation of its elements to the functions of respiration and to the composition of the blood: they should be shown the influence of exercise on the muscles and bones, on digestion and circulation. They will be less tempted to violate the physical laws of their nature, when they are aware of the consequences of the violation. They will better guard against accident or disease, when they know in what manner the human constitution is influenced by air, food, exercise, and moral causes. Every parent is bound to give to his children that information on which their future existence and well-being so greatly depend. A knowledge of physiology more universally diffused would be a check on medical quackery.

The close dependence and analogy which exist between the functions of the physical and those of the mental faculties, will render inquiries about the latter both easy and interesting. There is nothing, for example, in our introductory Book which may not be made as plain to children twelve or thirteen years old, as any other subject of inquiry to which we have adverted. The study of the mind as well as that of the body, is founded on familiar facts placed within his powers of observation and discrimination. He can early be made to consider the different states and actions of his own mind, and to discriminate between attention and reflection, memory and imagination, judgment and reasoning. He may be made to observe what passes within himself when he receives perceptions, when he associates ideas, when he compares and draws conclusions, when he has desires and contracts habits. He can be shown when he applies properly or otherwise his moral and intellectual faculties. He will thus acquire a knowledge of himself and a habit of self-examination, which will teach him how to use his faculties to the greatest advantage; at the same time that it will make him feel his dignity as an intellectual being and as a creature destined to immortality. "But," says Alison, "the great advantage which he will derive from inquiry into the laws of his own mind, is much less in the addition which it gives to his own power or wisdom, than in the evidence which it affords him of the wisdom with which his constitution is framed, and the magnificent purposes for which it is framed."



## ASSISTANTS AND DISCIPLES OF PESTALOZZI.

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PESTALOZZI'S power, as a doer of good, was based upon his untiring energy and his impregnable benevolence and faith in human nature. His intellectual endowments, in the endeavor to develop into a complete system the principles which he felt so strongly, failed him, and he continually became obscure and contradictory. His method of instruction was as spontaneously and unpremeditatedly the result of instinct, as the benevolence which inspired him; but he was unable to state its principles philosophically, or to develop his methodology logically.

Thus he was obliged to rely, to a degree unusual for the leader of a great reform, upon assistants, even for the statement of his views, and the details of his modes of operation; and, accordingly, an account of himself, and of his labors, must, in order to be complete, contain an apparently excessive proportion of narrative relating to them.

In finding such assistants, Pestalozzi was remarkably fortunate. Niederer, Schmid, Krüsi, Buss, Tobler, and many more of the numerous teachers at Burgdorf and Yverdon, were all men of remarkable capacity, either for some one department of investigation and instruction, or for good qualities of mind and heart, which endeared them to Pestalozzi, each other, and the pupils; often for both. And still more remarkable than such endowments is the eminent and persevering self-denial with which some of them—as Niederer—giving up positions of comfort and influence, already secured, entered the ill-managed and disorderly institution, and remained there, year after year, sometimes with small salaries and sometimes with none, and not even always finding abundance of ordinary food, through evil report and good report, until absolutely convinced that their usefulness in it was ended. Nor was this all. With the single exception of Schmid, Pestalozzi's teachers resigned to him whatever of fame and profit might have come from the manuals they compiled in their respective studies, and the books were published either as by Pestalozzi himself, or as the productions of the institution. Accounts of these assistants will be found in the following pages; some of them reasonably complete, but some, owing to the scarcity of accessible materials, somewhat scanty.

The present work also contains short biographies of some of the more prominent of those who were instrumental in propagating Pestalozzi's views and methods in Germany. The introduction of his system into Germany constitutes the most remarkable chapter in the history of modern education.

Of this chapter, a portion, complete within itself, and both interesting-

and important, consists of the introduction of Pestalozzianism into the kingdom of Prussia.

During the subjugation of Germany under Napoleon, the minds of the best and ablest of the Prussian statesmen and philosophers were most eagerly occupied in inventing means which, if not available for an immediate struggle for independence, should at once begin the work of raising the moral, mental, and physical character of the nation to a standard of elevated development, which might insure such a struggle in future, and its success.

Among the instrumentalities used for this purpose, which, together, amounted almost to an entire reorganization of the kingdom, the improvement in education, resulting from the introduction of the Pestalozzian system—and still more of the spirit of that system—occupied a prominent place. To the King and Queen, to the ministry of education, to Fichte, in short, to the most influential public men of that day, Pestalozzi's views seemed to promise the happiest results; and, with a rare liberality and decision, measures were at once taken to prove them experimentally and thoroughly.

These measures were two: the employment of an able Pestalozzian in founding or reforming institutions already existing, and the sending to Yverdun young men of promise, to draw their inspiration, as teachers, from the fountain-head of the new method.

Carl August Zeller was chosen to perform the former task, and was, in the year 1809, invited from Wirtemberg, where he had been laboring zealously among the teachers to introduce the new method, to Königsberg, in East Prussia, on terms honorable to the government and to himself. He was received with enthusiasm, and set himself earnestly to work, lecturing, instructing, reorganizing, with untiring zeal, industry, and efficiency. Notwithstanding a few errors of judgment, his labors gave a great and lasting impulse to education in that portion of Prussia; and one at least of the institutions he founded, at Karalene (*i. e.*, Livonian for "Queen,") in the government of Gumbinnen, is yet useful as an orphan-house and teachers' seminary.

The second measure taken by government was the sending of young men to be educated as teachers in the Pestalozzian principles. Those selected were mostly chosen from among the most promising of the theological students. Two, Marias Schmid and Dr. Harnisch,\* were sent to Plamann's institution, at Berlin; the remaining ones, Henning, Dreist, Kawerau, Krätz, Rendschmidt, Preuss, Patzig, Braun, Steger, Marsch, Ksionzek, the brothers Bernhard, and four already teachers by profession, Hänel, Titze, Runge, and Baltrusch, were sent to Yverdun at various times during a series of years, their expenses being paid by government. Upon their return, they were employed in various institutions for the training of teachers, most of them with success. Thus a large body of

\* Wilhelm Harnisch, the well-known educator, from whose "*Present Condition of the Prussian Common School System*," (Leipzig, 1844,) much of the information in this article is derived.

competent instructors in the new method was, in a comparatively short time, scattered among the Prussian schools; the spirit of the Pestalozzian method satisfied the needs of the age; and, with the powerful twofold aid of popular favor and the earnest influence of the whole power of the government, it speedily took possession of the entire common school system. Every where, the authorities co-operated zealously with the teachers under the new methods. Queen Louise, and under her influence the King, took so deep an interest in the reform, that they often visited the schools where it was introduced. The Queen, especially, often remained in them for hours; caused reports to be made to her on the progress of the schools generally; and was judicious and liberal in encouraging and rewarding instructors and educators.

While these measures effectually inaugurated the new system, a share of the credit of it is due to those teachers and school officers who, though not themselves trained under Pestalozzi, and not always accepting his methods of instruction, in every particular, yet entered fully into his spirit, and labored in union with his more immediate disciples, with a zeal and efficiency, perhaps, rather increased than decreased by the free development of the individualities of their various views. Indeed, one of the most valuable features of what may be called the Prussian-Pestalozzian system, was its deliberate and careful but free advance toward such improvements upon the system of Pestalozzi himself; a proceeding which has secured the highest excellence of the original system, has added to it much that is valuable, has insured that vivid and interested activity in the teachers which is the first requisite of successful instruction, and has prevented the decay and deadness into which servile followers of exclusive rules must necessarily fall.

The praises thus bestowed upon the Prussian common schools, as thus reformed, reflect no blame upon those teachers and conductors who neglected, or even opposed, the new methods. The principal among these were followers of Basedow and the Philanthropists; institutions of this class were the Schnepfenthal Institution, and the Hartung School, and the Real School, at Berlin; and among the men were Nolte, Zerrenner, and Dinter.\*

The introduction of the Pestalozzian system into the schools of Prussia, may be said to have been in progress from 1812 to 1825; at the end of which time it had, substantially, possession of the whole common school system. Dr. Harnisch enumerates, as among the chief advantages resulting from it, 1. Patriotic feeling, causing more thorough study of the German language, home geography, &c.; 2. Giving a high value and place to vocal music, as a study; 3. The same of drawing, especially under the teachings of Peter Schmid; 4. Introduction of thorough musical instruction; 5. Introduction, or readoption of thorough system of bodily training.

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\* However strongly Dinter may have professed to hold on to the old ways, no avowed Pestalozzian ever labored more devotedly in the spirit, and with the aims and methods of Pestalozzi, as our readers will see in the memoir, p. 231



From Prussia the principles and practice of the school of Pestalozzi were widely diffused in other countries, through travelers, often coming exclusively for the purpose of investigating the Prussian system, and sometimes sent by foreign governments for the purpose. Dr. Harnisch gives a long list of names of visitors to a single seminary only, mostly of persons eminent in education, among which are mentioned those of Hon. Horace Mann, and Profs. Stowe and Bache, from the United States.

The present occasion does not admit of any extended reference to the further spread of Pestalozzianism. We can only say that prominent among those who transferred the system into France, was Victor Cousin, whose able report is well known; and Chevalier Jullien, who, at an earlier date, drew up an extended report upon the school of Yverdun, and the educational principles and methods of Pestalozzi. The labors of Dr. Biber, Mr. Greaves, and at a later date of Dr. Mayo and Miss Mayo, and of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, M. Tilleard, and Mr. Tait, have done much to spread the system in England. And among its advocates and propagators in America were William Russell, editor of the "*American Journal of Education*;" Warren Colburn, whose celebrated arithmetics are strictly Pestalozzian; A. Bronson Alcott; W. C. Woodbridge, the geographer and editor of the "*Annals*;" and Lowell Mason, the veteran and efficient instructor in vocal music.

## FRIEDERICH FRÖBEL UPON PESTALOZZI.

LETTER TO THE PRINCESS-REGENT OF SCHWARZBURG-RUDOLSTADT,  
April 27, 1809.

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### MAN AS THE SUBJECT OF EDUCATION.

PESTALOZZI'S principles of education and instruction and his proceedings, growing out of them, and the means for their application are founded entirely upon the phenomena of his existence as a created being.

Man as he is represented to us is a union of three chief attributes; body, soul, mind; to cultivate these harmoniously and as a whole is his object. Pestalozzi goes from this existence of man into the phenomena, that is, from that which he is by the sum of his powers and according to his destiny (its suitable culture). Hence he takes man into consideration according to this sum of his powers as a bodily, intellectual and emotional being, and works upon him in this sum of his powers and for their harmonious development and culture, from which first arises that whole which is called man.

Pestalozzi, therefore, works not merely upon the bodily powers and their development, not only upon the culture of the mind and its development, nor only upon the soul and its development (although he is accused of doing so), nor merely upon two of these at once, as body and mind, or body and soul, or soul and mind. No! Pestalozzi develops man, works upon man in the totality of his powers.

Man in his manifestations must run through three principal epochs, according to his powers; that of the body, that of the soul, that of the mind; he runs through them not separated, or singly, so that he first runs through that of the body, then that of the soul, and at last that of the mind; no, these epochs are convertible in the man developed in perfectly undisturbed natural relations; their circular course returns ever again, and the more so the more perfect the man becomes—until the limits of his powers as well as of their development fall away and are removed, and the continuous whole—man—stands before us.

It would be highly unjust, therefore, to say of Pestalozzi that he developed men, the powers of men, each power separately at three different epochs, first the body, then the soul, and then the mind, since he really takes them all into view at once in harmonious and brotherly union, and although he seems, perhaps, for the time to be treating merely the physical powers, he is observing and taking into consideration equally the influence of this treatment upon mind and soul.

He has man as a whole in his eye, as an unseparated and inseparable whole, and in all that he does and wishes to do for him and his cultivation, he does it for him as a whole. At no time does he act only for

the development of one power, leaving the others without nourishment; for example, he never is acting for the mind alone and leaving unconsidered, unsatisfied and uncared for and in inaction the body and the soul; all the powers are cared for at all times.

But often one or other of the three great divisions of man's nature stands forth and apparently dominates the others.

Pestalozzi takes into view man according to and in his manifestation, according to the laws of nature and those which are grounded in the mind of man, when he works specially upon the predominant power; it is not done in an isolated and divided way, but in order to work through his treatment upon the other equal but slumbering and resting powers. So, for example, in one and the same epoch upon the senses, through these upon the body, and through these again upon the feelings, and so in a perpetual round.

Pestalozzi takes man according to his manifestation. But man does not manifest himself alone, for and through himself; he manifests himself under conditions determined by nature and by his mother, and both these united—that is, by love.

So the man becomes child, that is, the sum and substance of the love of the father and mother.

Pestalozzi then wishes to develop and cultivate the man in his manifestation as child, through the conditions under which he appears, that is, the love of the father and mother. We think of the father and mother as united by love in order to exalt the child, *i. e.*, the sum of their love, into an independent being by means of education.

Can there be a truer, more careful nurse and developer of this love made visible, this independent essence, this child, than the father and the mother, than the two united by mutual love, to which the child owes his existence—indeed, whose sum and substance the child is?

Pestalozzi thus wishes only what nature and the being of man wishes; he wishes that man in his manifestation as child shall be developed by his father and mother, and in their mutual love be cultivated throughout and educated according to his capacities as a corporeal, feeling and intellectual being.

#### MAN IN HIS MANIFESTATION AS A CHILD.

The existence of mind and soul in the child is expressed merely by simple life.

Mind and soul appear limited by and in the mass, the body—for still all parts in the body are one; the mind and the senses by which the world without works through the body upon the mind and soul are not yet distinguishable.

The body of the child is still a mass; it appears so tender and frail, so much too material and awkward for the mind and the soul of the child, yet slumbering and weak, to work through it.

By degrees the senses, feeling, sight, etc., develop and separate.



The child feels the warmth of the mother's breast and the breath of her loving lips; it smiles (the first appearance of the *soul*, the first sign of the soul's existence).

The child perceives the mother; it feels her nearness, her distance, etc.; the child *looks* (the first appearance of *mind*—the first sign of its existence).

At the moment of the beginning of this separation of the senses, the true mother works upon the unfolding and development of the child according to its various capacities; the love of the mother makes the child feel, see, hear.

Thus are developed, without giving any account of themselves—yielding only to holy feeling, to the demands of their nature—the *senses of the child*, which are the paths to its mind and soul.

Here is the third point, where Pestalozzi takes into account the parents—where he appeals to them with the view of exalting the being of their love to the higher life, to conscious independence—where he gives them means and guidance to develop and cultivate the capacities of their child.

What Pestalozzi wishes as means of development he had pointed out in his *Book for Mothers*, which many have misunderstood and which is yet the highest which can be given to man, the most loving feeling could create, the highest and best gift which he could bestow in the present circumstances upon his brethren and sisters.

What Pestalozzi expresses in that book are only suggestions of what lies in his soul, as a great, glorious, living and unspeakable whole.

His soul felt the joys of heaven in his intuition of the perception of the father and mother following the call of nature by the education of their children. Overpowered by this heavenly joy, he sat down and wrote, not for word-catchers and quibblers—no! he wrote for parents, for fathers, for mothers, who he thought would conceive and feel as he did, to whom he only needed to point out what they should do, what they could do, and how they could do it.

The highest object of recognition, of the intuition of mind and soul to man, is humanity.

Pestalozzi took pleasure, in his *Book for Mothers*, in pointing out to man what he wished; and, in order to point out all that he wished, could he choose anything higher and more perfect than man, whose body is destined for the earth and whose being is destined for heaven? That he chose the highest, the most perfect thing, is now made a reproach to him!

But is there a more glorious, more exalted, more beautiful, more worthy object of observation and recognition than man?—and is not the body the house of our spirit, which is destined for eternity and for communion with God? Can it, as he himself says, be contrary to nature to learn to know it *early*, to respect it *early*, to rejoice in it *early*, that it may be made holy for us? Can it, as they charge Pestalozzi,

be contrary to nature to orient one's self early in the house where one dwells?

As I stand before you, it cannot be my aim to contradict the objections of Pestalozzi's opposers, who for the most part misunderstand him, since I am merely striving to represent literally the essence of Pestalozzi's fundamental efforts according to his own representation; I merely say that a great part of the objections made to these efforts consists in this; that Pestalozzi, for various reasons, errs very much when he enlists the child himself in the first cognition and development of himself and the man, and even starts from the body of the child.

But how can it be a crime; how can it be against nature to respect the body early, to learn early to know the body and its use, the use to which we all owe everything, by which alone we learn to know the world without, which helps us to sustain and battle for our life, as it helps us to recognize God, to do good, and to rescue our brothers and sisters with strong arms from the brink of perdition?

Truly, whoever wishes to teach the child to respect his body must respect himself; if he wishes to learn to know it, he must know himself; whoever wishes to instruct in the use of it, must know it himself, all this must come to his consciousness; whoever works to make the child feel the sacredness of his body, to himself it must be sacred!

Indeed, no man could understand Pestalozzi who had not in his soul, when this elementary book first fell into his hands, that which Pestalozzi felt to be exalted in humanity; to him those principles were dead forms without sense or significance, and afterwards one person, perhaps without examination, repeated the judgment of another who seemed to him well-informed.

But were all these men parents to whom Pestalozzi spoke? Noble Princess, if I were not afraid of wearying you, I could say much upon the excellence and the principles of Pestalozzi, of the man himself; I only permit myself to express one thing of which I am deeply persuaded in my own mind.

Many a young man and boy, powerful by the nature of their collective capacities, would not have lost his powers in the bloom of his youth, if his parents or teachers had followed in his education the principles laid down by Pestalozzi in his *Book for Mothers*.

Many a young man would have known how to be a useful and estimable subject, in the years of his ripeness and understanding, if his body could have fulfilled the requisitions of his mind and heart.

Pestalozzi's *Book for Mothers* is only a suggestion of what he wishes to do; he wrote significantly; "or a guide for mothers in the observation of their children, and to teach them to speak."

But man is not the only thing upon earth; the whole outward world is the object of his recognition, and the means for his development and culture.

Pestalozzi said, therefore, and still says : " As I have shown you that you can bring man by degrees through gradual development of the child to the conscious inspection and recognition of the world without, so bring every other object of the world without to his inspection and recognition, every object which approaches the child, which lies in his circle, in his world, as he himself lies in this world ! "

Scarcely does it seem possible that herein can lie anything contrary to nature, difficult to be recognized, or difficult to be carried out, and yet the opponents of Pestalozzi find more than all this in it. Pestalozzi's opponents reproach him strongly that he merely speaks of this observation and recognition.

But we observe with all our senses, and how could Pestalozzi believe that any one would accuse him, when he used the word observation, of meaning simple observation with the eyes ?

The *Book for Mothers* is to teach the mother, in the first place, to develop and to cultivate the senses of the child both singly and in their harmonious united working. In the second place, it is to show how and in what natural series of steps, one may bring the objects of the world in which he lives to the observation and recognition of the child. In the third place, it is to put the mothers and the teachers in a condition to teach the child the use and destination of his powers and capacities, as well as the use and design of the objects of the world without ; and to bring them to his consciousness.

And in all this they accuse Pestalozzi of expressing one-sided principles and methods of instruction, although it is surely impossible to fulfill the conditions he requires without developing and cultivating man in all the directions of his great powers.

Others came forward and said, Pestalozzi would have dead words and repetitions ; what he gives is dead and therefore killing. Still others came forward and said what Pestalozzi wishes the child to know should be taught him earlier and better ; they point to the number of children's books that have appeared for every age, and for children of all conditions ; to the books that have been written on natural history, on excursions, journeys, stories and picture books of all kinds, etc.

By all these means that has not been done which Pestalozzi wishes to have done. Everything is given to the child prepared and *related*, so that his understanding has no work to do.

The powers of the child's mind are not rendered active and self-working. The understanding of the adult has already prepared everything so that the activity of the child's understanding and recognition are left without employment. The consequence of this is weakness of mind and especially of the self-acting judgment of the child, and his egress out of his own inner world instead of making him at home in it and acquainted with it.

They have also reproached Pestalozzi for the form of his *Book for Mothers*. But when he wrote, it was not his opinion that the father,



mother, teacher, whose hand-book he designed it to be, would necessarily confine himself strictly and anxiously to his representations. He strove only to represent what was essential in general, so far as this was possible for him to do so, and to touch upon all parts of the whole.

Some complained in regard to the book that the sequence was not logical enough ; but Pestalozzi wished neither to establish a strong logical sequence, nor, still less, to confine the use and application of it.

What Pestalozzi had really contemplated was in the opinion of others too precise and stiff.

Although it was hardly possible that Pestalozzi should not begin his list of the parts of the human body with the head, he did not say that if other parts, the hand for example, should attract the attention of the child, it should be withdrawn from that and directed to the head because that happened to stand first in the book. Pestalozzi says expressly, the peculiar *Book for Mothers* is the *nature of the child* in its manifestations.

I know a mother who has treated her child now two and a quarter years old in the spirit of Pestalozzi, and according to his meaning. It is delightful and exalting to the heart to see that mother and child.

And surely the object of that mother's activity, the inner life of her soul, could not permit her through her love for her child, indeed, would make it impossible for her, to follow to the letter the directions in Pestalozzi's book ; yet this mother did not find his writings contrary to nature, nor killing to the mind of her child ; no ! It was what Pestalozzi wished that she comprehended in her inmost soul. It is a joy to see that child with his angelic voice, his childlike innocence, and his love not only for his mother, but for everything that surrounds him.

It is the highest enjoyment to see how at home the child is in his world, how continually active and occupied he is in it. He stands now at a higher point of knowledge and acquaintance with the world around him, but uninjured in his innocent childishness.

This child lives a gentle inner life ; he rejoices inwardly in awakening nature, and seizes everything with attention that strikes his senses which his early awakened powers of body and mind make easily possible to him. The mother followed Pestalozzi ; what she did she did by following his meaning. It is not possible in the working of these principles to see the limits of the culture of body, soul and mind.

Often and willingly has this mother said, who always strove to do her duty before she knew of Pestalozzi, that from Pestalozzi she had learned how to be a mother.

Pestalozzi's *Book for Mothers* would have been much less unjustly judged if the second part had yet appeared. It is still wanting, alas ! Pestalozzi has not expressed his idea fully in its application ; this is an important view which every one should take before forming a judgment.

As much and even more should be taken into consideration in judging of the book, is that what Pestalozzi wishes is not limited to the

time when the faculty of speech appears in the child, or even when it actually begins to speak; no! it begins in the working and application at the moment when the child perceives outward impressions decidedly, that is, discriminates between light and darkness. The mother must already have taught the child to observe everything, to separate everything which comes within the circle of his life, before the peculiar moment of time when the development of language begins.

I know children so treated who were a year and a half old before they began to speak, but who could discriminate between all things that immediately surrounded them, and appeared to have distinct and quite significant conceptions of everything. If the child has been so treated it has the very essential and useful advantage, when it does begin to speak, of knowing well the objects it is about to name, and hence needs not to divide its powers but can apply them unitedly in the naming of them. It can now make important progress in speaking, and this is really the case with such children.

The *Book for Mothers* first gave a guide for teaching the child to observe that language is the medium of sympathy.

The mother must work according to nature, at the same time upon the child's capacity for language and its development. To elevate the social life between mother, father and child, the mother widens the child's power of language. The father, the mother, the members of the family, now teach the child the meaning of the language they speak, that they may mutually understand each other more easily, and sympathize about everything that surrounds them.

But Pestalozzi not only wishes that everything that happens unconsciously shall be brought to the consciousness, that that which has happened shall not be left to chance, but that it shall happen consecutively, all-sidedly and comprehensively, and in conformity with the developing progress of the child.

The meaning of language which Pestalozzi now wishes to have the child learn is the meaning of it in the closest sense, the special meaning; for only from the knowledge of the particular and individual thing can man rise to the knowledge and command of the universal.

The child is taught then the meaning of every single word, every single expression. The manner in which this is done lies darkly in the demands of human nature, but the *Book for Mothers* gives this guidance in the first place.

According to Pestalozzi the child is now to learn by observation, for example, the meaning of contrasted words which it either hears or even speaks already intelligibly; as dark, bright; heavy, light; black, white; transparent, opaque; there, here; furniture, tool; animal, stone; go, sit; run, creep; coarse, fine; more, less; one, many; living, dead; prick, cut, etc. Pestalozzi here shows particularly how contrast, which he always designates as to be found in every conception, is specially cultivating.

Thus far the mother has developed the child's capacity of language according to Pestalozzi's method ; she has taught it to speak. But now before she carries it farther, she and other members of her family must cultivate this capacity.

The speaking of the child rises by degrees to connected language. The child knows and raises itself to a determined knowledge of the meaning of all that it speaks.

By all that the mother has hitherto done for the child, it is now in a condition to know precisely the objects with which it is surrounded, to observe them singly, to separate them from each other. Its power to observe is perfectly awakened, and in full activity. The circle of its knowledge widens as its world widens ; it accompanies its mother wherever her employments call her. It is continually led to know more objects of the surrounding world. The objects themselves stand forth more and more prominently.

It recognizes intelligibly what was hitherto unknown and unseparated, and still lies partly so, and will continue to be more or less so until it consciously surveys a fixed portion of the outward world, and free and independent of that world, can again create and represent it.

To raise the child to this perfectly conscious recognition of the outward world, must hence be the object of its mother's striving. The glorious kingdom of nature now opens by degrees to the child ; led by its mother's hand it enters that glorious kingdom. Nature is now its world ; the child creates nature from its world.

A hundred little stones, a hundred little plants, flowers, leaves, a hundred little animals, innumerable objects of nature accompany its steps ; its heart beats loudly. It finds friends, it carries about and takes care of objects ; but it does not know why it is happy, why it carries about and takes care of these objects, why its heart beats so loudly. Should these impressions be allowed to vanish without having been firmly retained ?

According to Pestalozzi, the mother now teaches the child to perceive these objects on all sides, to recognize all their qualities, that is, with the help of all their senses ; she teaches it to use its observation upon the whole aspect of them, and to give an account of them to others.

The child now holds firm points to which it can fasten its joy,—sound, motion, shape, form, smoothness, etc. It sees the connection of these qualities and a hundred others to qualities partly determinable, or merely supposable ; so that the child is now first conscious of its joy.

How happy is the child now whom its mother has made conscious of all these impressions, so that he possesses a firm point by which the outward world stands in contact with him, so that he does not remain in the dark with his heart oppressed with feeling ; so that he does not wander in a mist like the traveler who journeys through a pleasing country on a spring morning when nature is partly wrapped in vapor, and shows him the light that gleams through it, promising a delightful



view. As man longingly waits for the dispersion of the mist by the rays of the sun, so that the objects of nature may appear in light and clearness, so the child waits for the guidance of the loving mother who will explain to him the rapture of his heart and show him why he rejoices in anticipation.

What a calling for the mother! She teaches the child to become conscious of his joys, of the objects of his delight; she teaches it how to give an account of all it sees and feels, to express it in words and to share it with others.

The mother thus raises the child into a creature of intelligence and feeling; she teaches him the qualities of objects; she listens to every remark, every discovery, every word of her child; she rejoices when he rejoices; she receives his love and sympathy in her own breast, she reciprocates it and guides it with delight.

As the nature of the child receives life and significance thus, so the language which the child, the mother, the father, the family speaks, receives life and significance. Every word becomes an object, an impression, a picture; to every word the child joins a world, a cycle of impressions; he goes in his remarks upon the qualities of things, from the easier to the more difficult, from the simple to the complex; he loves to seek and find it all himself; "Dear mother, let me find it myself," he says. Often have I with joy and light-heartedness heard children make this prayer with shining, sparkling eyes!

Later, the mother leads her child to classifying similar things (which it tends to do of itself) and to discriminating between different things; thus the child learns to compare what it sees.

The child besides observing, also imitates. Imitation betters and perfects his observations. The mother not only allows this imitation, she not only rejoices in it, but she aids it.

The child likes above all things to imitate the sound which it has evoked from some inanimate object perhaps, or which it seems to him to produce. It tries to imitate the sound of everything, falling, jumping, breathing, moving. All the objects of nature, animate and inanimate, seem to emit sounds; they speak audibly to him. The mother rejoices in the child's delight when in the spring it imitates the sounds of nature, and she challenges him to do it; she does it unconsciously when her impulse to do it is not disturbed. Who has not seen a poor mother playing with her child or heard her say, "What does the sheep do? What does the dog say, the ox, the bird?" The child's imitations increase; it imitates the twittering of the bird, and thus its own human tone is awakened.

If the mother sings, and accompanies the song of the birds with her human tones, he will imitate this, and thus will not only his feeling be awakened for the highest human expression, song, but his whole being exalted, from the humming of the bees to the representation of his own feelings by simple, connected and varied human tones.

The outward world is now no longer to the child, guided by Pestalozzi's method, the chaotic, confused, misty mass, which it was earlier. 1. It is now individualized. 2. What is separated it can name. 3. It can seize it at a glance independent of other relations, and according to its relation to himself and to others. 4. It can designate what it observes and all its relations by language; it can speak and knows the meaning of the language of its parents. 5. It knows an object not only on one side but on several sides. 6. It can take an object in at a glance in many relations. 7. It can compare one object with another and recognize the peculiar qualities of each.

### *Ideas of Number.*

The first general quality of objects is their computability. Objects are now individually separated to the child's mind, consequently following each other in time and thus appear computable.

The mother now teaches her child to recognize the computability of objects, and to separate the qualities and relations of computable objects in nature, with real objects before it, and not first by counting in an abstract manner.

By the exercises arranged by Pestalozzi the mother brings to the consciousness of the child something which hitherto was merely an obscure presentiment, scarcely a conscious feeling; she brings the conception of number, the precise knowledge of the qualities and relations of the computable, to his clear, intelligible consciousness.

The mother teaches the child that one stone and again one stone are two stones, etc.

Farther, she teaches him to know the value of numbers by the opposite process, for example, ten nuts less one nut are nine nuts.

Already this little exercise has brought conversation to life between mother and child, when, for example, in the first case, she says to the child, "Lay down two flowers and one flower; how many flowers have you? how many times one flower have you? how many times two flowers have you?" etc.

Or, in the second case, for the solving of numbers, she says to the child, "Put away one of your six beans; now how many have you? how many times one bean have you still?"

The mother goes a step farther; she now lets him add two, three and four; for example: "One stone and two stones are three stones."

The child learns by observation that 5 are 5 times 1, are 4 and 1, and 3 and 2.

Or, 1 and 3 are 4, 4 and 3 are 7, 7 and 3 are 10 objects.

The mother then goes backwards over the same ground. For example: if you take 2 from 15, 13 remain.

Questions enliven and elevate conversation between the mother and child.

The mother may work in the field or in the house; the child sits near

and plays with stones or flowers. The mother asks: "When you put 2 flowers to 1, how many have you?"

All this is play to the child; it handles its favorite objects; it moves them about, and sees a purpose in doing it, for in all its plays the child gives itself a problem. The child is with its mother, so it is happy, and its mind and feelings are awakened.

When the child knows how to count in these different ways, and knows the qualities of numbers thus represented, it will soon find that the pea leaf has 2 times 2 little leaves, and the rose leaf 2 times 3 little leaves. A hint to the mother, and she carries her child still another step in the knowledge of computation. The child has several single objects around it. "Place your little blocks," the mother says, "so that 2 will lie in every heap. Have you done it? Count how many times 2 you have." The child will count: "I have 2 times 2, 3 times 2, or I have 1 time 2;" or it will say perhaps a little later, "I have 1 two heap; 2 two heaps," etc.

The mother goes farther and says: "Place your things so that 3 or 4 or 5 will lie together, and tell me how many times 3 or 4 or 5, etc., you have." [She selects one of these numbers, of course. We omit many similar exercises in numbers now familiar to kindergartners.]

#### FORM.

So Pestalozzi would have the mother teach the child form in its play.

"Here is a lath—it is straight; here is a branch—it is crooked." The child remarks the laths on the fence, the prongs on the rake; they are at equal distances from each other. His mother tells him they are *parallel*. The ribs on the leaf of the large plantain unite in a point; they are radiating. The child goes into the woods with its mother; it sees the fir trees and the pines, it is pleased with the variety; and it knows how to describe it. The needles of the fir tree are *parallel*, those of the pine unite in a point.

The child observes the relations of the branches to the stem. Its mother has taught it to observe angles. The branches and the stems form angles, but these joinings of branch and stem make in one tree quite a different impression upon the child from those in another tree. How delighted it now is to recognize this variety, so that it has a firm point to which it can fasten its impressions. It is the greater or less inclination of the branch to the stem. So in the surroundings in nature, which is its world it recognizes, led by its mother, it sees 3 or 4, or many cornered forms. The intersection of the hemlock twig forms a regular pentagonal (or five corners). The mother leads the child to a regular comparison of this form and to seek its variety.

The child will soon pluck leaves and find other objects in view of their forms, and with childish critical senses will separate them from the objects to which they belong. He will go farther than I venture to describe.

"See, mother, what round leaves I have found," and the child shows



the mother many such leaves, of larger and smaller sizes, which he has picked. "See how little this one is, and how big this one is!" he thus leads himself to the contemplation of size. A hint, a word from the mother, and the child has received a new item of culture.

He selects three leaves, lays them upon each other, and says: "That is the largest leaf, that is smaller, but that is the smallest."

"Mother, look at this long stalk. The stalk of the flax is only half as long," he will perhaps say, if he has learned the meaning of the word half. Or, after the mother has laid the flax upon the corn stalk, he will say, "this is 2 times as long," or perhaps as long again as that one, or he breaks a pear leaf in the middle, lengthwise, and finds both halves equally long; perhaps he cannot describe what he finds and his mother tells him that these two parts of a whole are called halves, and thus widens the circle of his knowledge again.

Pestalozzi wishes to make known intelligibly in small things the attributes of form as well as the recognition of the foundation of its qualities.

The child will lead on the attentive mother and father still farther.

The child will soon come to the consideration of large equal objects in comparison with large unequal objects; he will find that a part is smaller than the whole, the whole is larger than a part.

Objects of nature as well as of art will lead the child to this comparison.

Everything in his circle, in his world, will thus become means of information, material for development.

If the child is in its earliest years where the mother is, and rightly guided, it costs but a suggestion from her and it can busy itself many hours.

It accumulates objects, arranges and investigates them; it is quiet and happy.

One will scarcely realize that the child is occupied, and yet the powers of its soul and mind are coming forward and developing themselves by practice.

In this way all the capacities and powers of the child are now developed according to Pestalozzi's method; his senses cultivated, his inner and outer being exalted to true life; he errs no more unconsciously as one enveloped in mist; the way is open for every kind of knowledge, every shade of feeling. Sympathy, that beautiful attribute of man, is possible to him in its whole scope; his language is formed.

With deepest love he hangs upon the glance of his mother, his father—the parents to whom he owes all this joy.

All which has thus far been done by the mother was the object of the *Book for Mothers*, and suggested by it; at least this is what Pestalozzi wished for as belonging to the calling of the mother.

Pestalozzi wishes that the child shall live in this manner seven happy, delightful years.

The child has now, thus guided, received its culture through the mother, for what is now in the child, what now transports it will always live in it, will give value to its life, dignity to its being. She now surrenders it fully prepared to the father, the parental teacher, or to his representative, the school-master, for definite instruction, definite teaching. \*

The instruction which the father or school-master will now give to the child will join on where the mother ended.

The child should find no other difference between this teaching and that of its mother; now every object stands singly, all instruction has a determined time. The manner of handling the subjects of instruction must be in harmony with that of its mother.

### *Man as a Scholar.*

[The next division of this article upon Pestalozzi is entitled MAN AS A SCHOLAR, and in it Fröbel describes minutely Pestalozzi's mode of teaching everything:]

Language—the mother tongue in reference to its meaning, the formal part of language; descriptions of nature, of the products of art, of the earth's surface. Second course of geographical instruction, the knowledge of numbers, forms, size, singing, drawing (Schmidt's method), reading, writing.

This instruction is not given from books, but from life, observation of nature, walks, examination of works of art and use, etc., etc.

### INTRODUCTION OF THIS METHOD INTO THE SCHOOLS.

The demands which Pestalozzi makes upon the teacher are simple and natural; they are founded in the nature of the teacher as well as in the nature of the scholar. Therefore they will be intelligible and easy of execution and representation to every teacher, even the country school-teacher, who can unite good will with power and understanding, as soon as he has suitably prepared himself in the method. It is the same with the subjects which Pestalozzi wishes to have taught. They go from the simple, their march is connected in a determined sequence lying in the nature of every subject of instruction. If the teacher has been taught only the first point, the nature and essence of his subject, through observation in his own practice, he can not only proceed easily according to the demand of that subject, but even instruct the scholar in it consecutively. \*

The teacher with good will and the impulse to perfect himself (and upon what teacher who wishes to perfect others would not this requisition be made?) will very soon perceive with the utmost joy the glorious effects of the Pestalozzian method upon himself; he will find it grounded in his nature. The Pestalozzian principles will thus become his own; they will flow into his whole life; and thus he will express it with mind, love, warmth, life and freedom in all his acts, and instruct.

and represent it to his scholars according to their needs, as to his own children and brethren.

There would be few difficulties in introducing Pestalozzi's method into the schools, if teachers, and those who feel it their destiny to be such, should make themselves familiar at his institution with his principles, and should acquire the readiness and dexterity in applying them, which they could do on the spot. Supposing that they know and honor the duties and demands of their calling, strive to fulfill them with all their power, and, thinking for themselves, not act mechanically, their efforts would be facilitated by the Pestalozzian method; in the first place because it corresponds to their natures as well as to that of their pupils, and again because its workings will fill them and their pupils with inward joy and exhilarating pleasure; it would enable them to fulfill their calling not only with love and joy, but with power and enthusiasm. They will not be behindhand in their own self-perfecting when they teach their scholars, even the lowly among the people, even the preliminary points of every subject; they will have the opportunity for thought whereby their own minds will be farther developed. Their human hearts, their loving souls, will be filled with nourishment. They will never be machines even when they are teaching the simplest thing; for they will never depend upon arbitrarily given rules, followed every day regularly without farther thought. Indeed, if they wish to teach according to Pestalozzi's principles, it will be necessary to think, so that what they teach will be living and active in itself, and be presented livingly and glowingly so as to awaken life and activity in others.

By their knowledge of this method, the teachers, in order to understand its introduction, will make it not only possible to fulfill their duty far more comprehensively and better than before, but will find their work much facilitated by it, for by its conformity to nature it bears within itself the quality that every advanced scholar will be able to teach and instruct others. Very essential and many-sided advantages will arise out of this to both scholars and schools.

1. All the scholars will be, according to their needs and at all times, employed under a teacher, will be always under inspection, and never left to themselves or to indolence, a thing so common in schools, but will be at all times engaged in their development and culture.

2. For the instructed and assistant pupils will themselves penetrate deeper into the method, and hence be better able to comprehend the teaching they will receive. Their power of thought and judgment will be in continual exercise, their feelings and souls will have the opportunity to practice love and ready service, and thus, while upon one side their understandings will be cultivated, on the other they will rise to practical humanity. The school itself will thus be sustained like a family, the teacher of which is the father, the pupils of which are the children; these will be like brothers and sisters of the same family, in which the weaker will be sustained by the stronger.



Whose heart does not beat quickly to see the schools of his beloved fatherland thus exalted?

★ The assistant teacher will receive thus the most highly essential advantage; he must never weaken his powers by frittering them away, that he may always be able to devote them wholly to the department taught by him.

The school receives this essential advantage—that unity reigns in the whole instruction. So much more important progress will the pupils make. The school can thus naturally answer perfectly to the demands of the parents, the children always be suitably and directly employed, and all things work together for their culture.

The instruction will thus gain in life, interest and variety by every class of the pupils being occupied specially and particularly according to their ages.

If we were to take into consideration the wants of the people in the arrangement and application of subjects of instruction in the people's schools and the country schools, a teacher in a country or village school, supported by some of his most capable pupils, could fulfill the demands of Pestalozzi for eighty or more scholars by seven hours of daily instruction (two afternoons being excepted).

Since the child is first capable at eight years of age of being treated as a scholar, according to Pestalozzi's principles, if hitherto but little has been done for his development by his parents and his mother, a fixed time, to fall between the sixth and seventh year, must be arranged by local conditions to receive him into the school in order to supply what the first education at home has neglected.

Therefore at first all the children who go to the school will be divided into two principal classes or divisions.

The first division will constitute the children's class, and these pupils will be under eight years of age. The manner of their treatment will be determined by their age, for they are children in the narrow sense of the word; they have not emerged from the circle determined by the foregoing representation of the *Book for Mothers*.

The second division will consist of the school classes, and the pupils will be from eight years up to the age in which they usually leave school. The manner of their treatment is determined by Pestalozzi's method of instruction.

This second division must be divided again into two parts; into the lower class in which the pupils are at all events from eight to eleven years old, and the upper class which contains the pupils from eleven years of age to the end of the school time. The whole school would be divided then into three classes; the first or child's class; the second or lower school class; the third or upper school class.

According to this division of the classes the following subjects of instruction are possible:

The second class could receive two hours' instruction in the descrip-

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tion of nature; the third class two hours in natural history. In this way the pupils become acquainted not only with the greater part of the natural products of their fatherland, particularly of the region in which they live, but also of the foreign natural products of essential importance to that region.

\* The second class could devote two hours in the week to the description of products of art; the third class two hours to technology. And here what is essential to the pupils in the circle in which they live is alone necessary.

Then two hours of description of the earth for the second class, and two hours of knowledge of different countries. The second class could give one of these hours in the middle of the week to a walk. Thus they would learn to know Germany (its physical limits) and especially the Thuringian valley accurately, and have a general view of Europe.

In the description of other countries, they are taught the products of nature and art in each country, the manner of life and system of government of the inhabitants, and the relations of every land and of the inhabitants of each to the territories in which they live.

\* The fatherland of the pupils stands first in importance in all these three topics.

\* The second class can have six hours of arithmetic. The third class also six hours of the same. In the second class it will be chiefly mental arithmetic, in the third class chiefly ciphering or written arithmetic (on the slate).

The second class can have four hours upon the theory of forms and drawing; the third class four hours in geometry and drawing. To fix more sharply the relation of the hours for arithmetic, theory of forms, geometry and drawing, a part should be precise local knowledge, a part dependent upon what knowledge the pupils of the child's class in the lower school class already have.

The second class can have six hours of reading and mother tongue; the third class four hours of the formal theory of language.

The exercises in beautiful handwriting can be connected afterwards with grammatical exercises.

The third class needs neither special hours for reading or writing, because the pupils have been firmly grounded in these before they passed into the third class. To practice and cultivate themselves more in both, they find sufficient opportunity in writing upon the other topics.

The second class can have three hours in singing, and the third class the same.

Lastly, the second class can have six hours of religious instruction, and the third class nine hours. In the third class this consists of the reports of the preaching, passages of scripture and songs; in the recitation of Bible texts and songs, not only in the words but in the signification which the pupil has given to both.

The particulars of the instruction in the first or child's class I pass:

over, since the subjects, as well as their treatment, are designated in the way in which they are represented.

In no other than the Pestalozzian method can the child be employed in such a variety of ways, or in so few hours could such a goal be reached on every topic.

According to Pestalozzi's meaning and principles, no topic should stand isolated; only in organic union do they lead to the desired goal, which is the cultivation and education of the child and pupil.

This suggestion for the assignment of hours and subjects is only made for the country schools; for the city schools, there are generally three regular teachers for greater perfection of instruction.

But the organization of a school according to Pestalozzi's principles makes two essential requisitions; first, that the children of the school age can only be received into the school at two fixed seasons; and that all school children, except in the vacations, shall come to school punctually and uninterruptedly. If a single hour is neglected by the pupil, it is never possible to make it wholly up without great disadvantage to his companions in that topic, since this method makes a steady advance and is characterized by a continuous progress.

All the faults which hitherto may be found in country and city schools are prevented by the introduction of this method.

Order, permanent and spontaneous occupation, taking into account both mind and character, gradual progress in culture, living and fundamental knowledge in the pupil, love, true love of it on his part, love for the school and for the teacher, contempt for all superficial knowledge in the schools of all kinds, or among the people. These are the essential consequences of schools directed on Pestalozzi's principles.

To every one who relies upon the school for his circle of knowledge, he has marked out the path for perfecting and ennobling himself.

Love for teachers and companions, parents and family, will in ripener age become a more exalted love of country, deep reverence for the princes who are to be regarded as superior fathers.

The many-sided practical power, the strength of mind and body he has acquired, will make it possible for every one so trained to act not only with power for the welfare of his own family, but to be an actively working subject for the good of the people.

Simplicity, contentment with his condition of firm independence of character, thoughtful action, the promotion of family and public happiness, practical virtue, true religion, will characterize the citizens educated according to Pestalozzi's method.

*Upon the Possibility of introducing Pestalozzi's Method among the Mothers and Parents of the People, for the Natural Education and Treatment of their Children up to the Sixth Year.*

Even the introduction of Pestalozzi's method into the families is not so difficult as it is thought to be, for every mother loves her child, has



him with her most of the time up to a certain age, and willingly converses and occupies herself with him.

It needs little guidance, therefore, even of the uncultivated mother, in order to teach her how to treat her child according to its nature and to lead it farther on than usual; it depends upon how this guidance is given to her.

Mere words will work quite in a contrary way, but every mother likes to have people interested in her child.

Could these dispositions of the mother be used to give her confidence in Pestalozzi's method so that she could converse with her child and occupy herself with it in an intelligent manner, one might so interest the mother herself in it that she would soon perceive the benefit and joy of the child in her occupation with it; while she occupies herself with the child she cultivates herself also.

But what is thus naturally given must not go beyond her power of conception and representation. The more simple, easy and comprehensible what is given her the better. And what country teacher or country clergyman has not often an opportunity so to influence parents and child!

If even but little can be effected, what is really essential might be done by a country teacher or pastor, with the help of a few members of the community, to spread the knowledge of a better nurture of little children, one more conformable to nature. By the direction of the schools according to the principles of Pestalozzi, where the older and more advanced pupils teach the more backward ones, the introduction and generalizing of the above mentioned treatment of the children would surely be possible, and made far easier because the older members of families are so often left in charge of the younger ones by their parents.

By such direction of the schools, these representatives of the parents may receive the material with which they can develop and cultivate their little brothers and sisters by occupying them happily. How many evils which so often are inflicted upon children might be averted in this way!

The child so guided will never give itself by way of pastime to evil habits; it will become accustomed early to a proper way of thinking and feeling and will then never have any pleasure in idleness. The number of children deserving of compassion who run about under the name of "blackguards" and do not know what to do with their time, would vanish out of sight under this influence. All would strive consciously and unconsciously for the high aim of becoming productive and estimable citizens, and of protecting those who are weaker in their endeavors to seek the same goal.

Honored princess, linger a moment over this picture; find in it the happiness which this method will spread abroad over all conditions of men.

And how much more glorious would be the effect of such schools, when the pupil youth so guided shall become a father, and the young woman educated on these principles shall once be a mother. She will be a true mother; unconsciously and without farther guidance she will impart to her child what is in herself; she will naturally treat and educate her child according to Pestalozzi. Capable young people who feel the calling within themselves can thus cultivate themselves for still higher work, and be useful whether as husbands or fathers by their information, counsel and acts.

Let them unite with some others of the community who are most active for its welfare; let them use this spirit to do good with.

On Sundays and feast-days let them come together, if only a few, to gather the youths and maidens around them; let them invite some of the fathers and mothers to make it more agreeable.

Let the knowledge of the world and of nature be the subject of their conversation, not formally or discursively; no, let it proceed from their own observation and examination how they as well as children learn to occupy themselves from the simplest thing to the most complex. At least let the possibility of the introduction of the Pestalozzian method among the people be shown. By its introduction to the schools its influence among the people will be so much the more secure and rich in consequences.

*Upon the Connection of the Elementary Instruction of Pestalozzi with higher Scientific Instruction.*

The series of elementary instruction continues uninterruptedly into the higher and scientific.

To represent this progress in detail would carry me too far. Permit me simply to indicate the connection.

Language retains as higher scientific construction both the directions it had taken as elementary instruction.

In one direction, and indeed formally, it rises to the philosophy of language (form is here taken in a wider sense); in the other direction it rises to scientific and artistic representation.

Classification or system proceeds from the description of nature directly, according to one direction; according to the other, the history of the products of nature.

Both run parallel. As the description of nature rises to individual classification, so from natural history proceeds the individual histories of the species.

The description of the surface of the earth becomes in uninterrupted sequence the history of the earth's surface; afterwards it necessarily blends with ancient geography. Since the old geography proceeds according to its elements from the highest point of the earth's surface, this determines the biblical geography to be the beginning of this topic.

Description of men becomes anthropology, physiology and psychology (which must come out of history and through which, first receives here its true meaning) and at last human history. Here first comes the history of individual men, then their history as fathers of families, then the history of the whole family of the people and the nation.

Only biblical history corresponds to this natural continuous progress, since it ascends from the individual to the whole, therefore the beginning would be made with it; in it lies the starting point for farther progress. Here comes in the study and learning of the ancient languages. History and ancient geography now run parallel.

The introduction of the Pestalozzian method of instruction in geography is highly essential to the study of ancient geography.

Arithmetic develops without a break into the mathematics of abstract computable quantities in all its branches.

Geometry develops in a similar uninterrupted succession into the mathematics of fixed magnitudes in its whole extent and all its subdivisions. Knowledge of the elementary powers of nature develops into natural history in the wider sense and in all its compass.

The description of the products of art becomes the history of the products of art in its greatest range.

Elementary drawing rises to drawing as an art and proceeds to plastic representation of different kinds.

The theory of form according to its essence must stand in a higher contact with the æsthetic; their connection is not yet found.

Song rises to art and founds instrumental music in its various forms.

Thus, according to Pestalozzi, the whole is carried out till all these sciences and arts meet again in one point from which they all issued—  
MAN.

The first of this encounter is Philosophy; to recognize it makes the scholar a learned man. When he finds himself at this point, he may determine by himself the direction and aim of his life with clearness and true consciousness.

And thus the Pestalozzian method sets man forth on his endless path of development and culture on the way to knowledge, bound to no time and no space, a development to which there is no limit, no hindrance, no bounds!

A. FROEBEL.



*Fröbel's Law of Opposites and their Reconciliation.*

What, then, is the process of the human mind in reflection? The *systematic* process, as it is the same for all minds.

Every thought must relate to something that we know, and first of all to visible objects; we must have an *object* of thought. This object of thought must not only be taken in by the senses as a whole, so that a general idea of it is gained, as of a foreign plant that has been seen superficially in a picture, without the details of leaves, blossoms, stamens, etc. It must be observed and studied in all its parts and details. If we want to acquire a thorough knowledge of a foreign plant we must compare all its properties with those of plants known to us. When the properties or qualities of different objects are all exactly the same we cannot compare them; if there is to be comparison, there must be a certain amount of difference—but difference, side-by-side with similarity. The qualities which are similar will be the universal ones, which everything possesses, as form, size, color, material, etc., for there is nothing that does not possess these qualities. The different, or contrasting qualities, will consist in variations of the universal ones of form, size, etc., as for instance, round and square, great and little, hard and soft, etc. Such differences in properties that have a general resemblance are called opposites.

All such opposites, however, are at the same time connected and bound together. The greatest size that we can imagine to ourselves is connected with the smallest by all the different sizes that lie between; the darkest color with all the lightest by all the intermediate shades; from an angular shape one can gradually go over to a round one through a series of modifications of form; and from hard to soft through all the different gradations. Not that one and the same object can ever be both hard or soft, dark or light, great or little, but the collective qualities of all existing objects go over from their superlative on the one side to their superlative on the other, hardest to softest, darkest to lightest, and so on.

The gradations of great and little, hard and soft, etc., which lie between the opposites, are the connecting links, or, as Fröbel puts it, "the means of reconciliation of opposites" (and Fröbel's system cannot be rightly understood unless this principle, which forms the basis of it, be acknowledged). This "reconciliation" is effected through affinity of qualities. Black and white are not alike, but opposite; the darkest red, however, is in affinity with black, as the lightest red is with white, and all the different gradations of red connect together the opposites, black and white.

Now any one who has compared an unknown plant with known ones, in all the details of its different parts—leaf, flower, fruit, etc., is in a position to pass judgment on it, and to draw a conclusion as to whether it belongs to this or that known genus of plants, and what is its species. Thus the natural process of thought is as follows: perception, observation, comparison, judgment and conclusion.

Without this series of preliminary steps no thought can be worked out, and the ruling principle is the law of the reconciliation of opposites, or the finding out the like and unlike qualities of things.

It matters not how far the thinker be conscious or unconscious of the process going on in his mind. The child is entirely unconscious of it, and therefore takes longer to reach from one stage to another. At first it receives only general impressions; then perception comes in; gradually ideas begin to shape themselves in its mind, and it then learns to compare and distinguish; but judging and concluding do not begin till the third or fourth year, and then only vaguely and dimly. Nevertheless, the same systematic process is at work as in the conscious thought of the adult.

*Pestalozzi's Fundamental Law.*

Any system of instruction which is to be effectual must therefore take into account this law of thought (or logic); it must apply the fundamental principle of *connecting the known with the unknown by means of comparison*. This principle is, however, everlastingly sinned against, and people talk to children about things and communicate to them opinions and thoughts concerning them, of which children have no conception and can form none. And this is done even after Pestalozzi by his "*method of observation and its practical application*" has placed instruction on a true basis.

Of the manner in which Fröbel has built upon this foundation we shall speak later. We have here to deal first with *education*, to show how far it differs from *instruction*, and, whether a systematic or methodical process is applicable to it, as Fröbel considers it to be.

When Pestalozzi was endeavoring to construct his "Fundamental Method of Instruction" ("*Urform des Lehrens*") according to some definite principle, he recognized the truth that the problem of education cannot be fully solved by any merely instructional system however much in accordance with the laws of nature. He saw that the moral forces of the human soul, feeling and will, require to be dealt with in a manner analogous to the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, that any merely instructional method is inadequate to the task, and that a training-school of another sort is needed for the moral side of cultivation—one in which the power of moral action may be acquired. While searching for some such "psychological basis" to his method he exclaimed, "I am still as the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

As a means to this end he requires an A B C of the science and a system of moral exercises, and he says: "The culture of the moral faculties rests on the same organic laws which are the foundation of our intellectual culture."

Fichte (in his "Discourses") insists on an "A B C of perception," which is to precede Pestalozzi's "A B C of observation," and speaks as follows: "The new method must be able to shape and determine its pupil's course of life according to fixed and infallible rules."

“There must be a definite system of rules by which always, without exception, a firm will may be produced.”

The development of children into men and women must be brought under the laws of a well-considered system, which shall never fail to accomplish its end, viz., the cultivation in them of a firm and invariably right will.

This moral activity, which has to be developed in the pupil, is without doubt based on laws, which laws the agent finds out for himself by direct personal experience, and the same holds good of the voluntary development carried on later, which cannot be fruitful of good results unless based on the fundamental laws of nature.

Thus Pestalozzi and Fichte—like all thinkers on the question of education—searched for the laws of human nature, in order to apply these laws in the cultivation of human nature.

Fröbel strove to refer back all these manifold laws to one fundamental law which he called the “reconciliation of opposites” (of relative opposites).

In order to arrive at a clear and comprehensive conception, where there is plurality and variety, we seek a point of unity, in which all the different parts or laws may center, and to which they may be referred. For the undeveloped mind of the child this is an absolute necessity. The method, which is to be the rule of his activity, must be as simple and as single as possible. This necessity will be made plain when we come to the application of Fröbel’s theory in practice.

Fröbel’s observations of the human soul are in accord with the general results of modern psychology, in spite of small deviations which cannot be considered important. Science has not by a long way arrived at final conclusions on this subject, and must, therefore, give its due weight to every reasonable assumption; it would be most unprofitable to drag Fröbel’s system into the judgment hall of scientific schools, in order to decide how far it agreed with these schools or not. Its importance lies for the moment chiefly in its practical side. In order to preserve this part of it from becoming mechanical, and to maintain its vitality, its connection with the theoretical side must be understood and expounded more and more thoroughly. With the advance of science Fröbel’s philosophy of the universe must in course of time have its proper place assigned to it, and his educational system, which is grounded on his philosophy, will be brought into the necessary connection with other scientific discoveries.

The great endeavor of modern educationalists is to replace the artificiality and restraint in which the purely conventional educational systems of earlier times have resulted by something more corresponding to human nature. To this end it was necessary to go back to the ground motives of all education whatsoever: the laws of development of the human being. It was necessary at the same time to determine the reason of educational measures in order to elevate them into con-



scious, purposeful action. Former conventional systems of education worked only unconsciously, according to established custom, without any deep knowledge of human nature or fundamental relation to it.

The science of humanity was then in its infancy, and, although it has since made great progress, the knowledge of child nature is still very meager.

The services rendered by Rousseau, as the first pioneer of modern educational theories, and the many errors and eccentricities mixed up with his great truths, must here be assumed to be known.\*

*Insufficiency of Pestalozzi's Doctrine of Form.*

Pestalozzi, who carried on the work in the same track, fixed the elements of his "*Urform des Lehrens*" in form, number, and words, as the fundamental conditions of human mental activity, and which can only be acquired and gained by observation.

For instance, every visible and every thinkable thing has a *form* which makes it what it is. There are things of like and things of different form, and there is a plurality of things which stands in opposition to every single thing. Through the division of things arises *number*, and the proportions and relations of things to one another. In order to express these different proportions of form and number, we have need of *words*.

Thus in these three elements we have the most primitive facts on which thought is based. In every form, every number, and every word there exist two connected or united opposites. In every form, for instance, we find the two opposites, beginning and end, right and left, upper and under, inner and outer, and so forth.

With regard to number, unity and plurality, as well as odd and even numbers, constitute opposites. Then form and number are in themselves opposites, for form has to do with the whole, number with the separate parts. But the word by which they are described reconciles these opposites by comprehending them both in one expression.

Pestalozzi has begun the work of basing instruction systematically on the most primitive facts and workings of the human mind. To carry on this work, and also to find the equally necessary basis for moral and practical culture, with which must be combined exercises for the intellectual powers before the period allotted to *instruction*, is the task that remains to be accomplished. Pestalozzi's plan and practical methods are not altogether sufficient for the first years of life.

It is a false use of language which separates education from instruction. The word education, in its full meaning of human culture, as a whole, includes instruction as a part, and comprises in itself mental, moral, and physical development; but in its narrower use it signifies, more especially, moral culture.

\*An elaborate exposition of Rousseau's system, principles and methods will be found in Barnard's *Journal of Education*, v. pp. 459-486; also in Barnard's *French Pedagogy*.

One of the reasons why instruction has been so much more considered and systematized than the moral side of education is, undoubtedly, that the former is in the hands of educational and school authorities who possess the mental training and capacity necessary for their vocation. No one is allowed to be a professional teacher who has not proved himself to possess a certain degree of proficiency for the task. Moral education, on the other hand, falls to the supervision of the family, as the first and natural guardians of its children, and here neither the father nor the mother, nor any of the other sharers in the work, are really fitted for it; not one of them has received a special preparation, and it depends entirely upon the higher or lower degree of general culture of the parents, and their natural capacity or non-capacity for their educational calling, how far the moral culture of the children will extend.

But over and above the preparatory training of parents and other natural guardians—which was already insisted on and striven after by Pestalozzi—moral education will only then be placed on a par with intellectual instruction when a real foundation has been given to it by the application of a fixed system of rules, such a foundation as the laws of thought afford for instruction.

The human soul is *one*, all its powers and functions have a like aim, and, therefore, feeling and willing—as factors of moral life—cannot be developed in any other way than thought. The parts which make up the whole of education must be subject to the same laws as the whole, and conversely the whole must be developed in like manner as the parts.

The moral world is concerned with two aspects of things—the good and the beautiful—while the understanding has the discovery of truth for its object.

Both the good and the beautiful have their roots in the heart or the feelings, and belong thus to the inner part of man—to his spiritual world. The power and habit of feeling rightly and beautifully constitute moral inclination, which influences the will, but does not yet necessarily lead it to action.

In its connection with the outer world morality appears in the form of action. Through action, or the carrying out of the good that is willed, the character is formed. The practice of the beautiful, on the other hand, leads to art and artistic creation.

Thus education, in its essentially moral aspect, has to do with the cultivation of the feelings and the will. It need hardly be said that the element of instruction cannot be altogether dispensed with, even in this department, any more than the cultivation of the intellect can be carried on without a certain amount of moral development. In earliest childhood the three different natures of the human being are fused in one and must be dealt with accordingly.

The good and the beautiful, like all other qualities, are known through their opposites. Only by contrast with the *not* good, or bad,

the *not* beautiful, or ugly, are the good and the beautiful apprehended by our consciousness.

As mental *conceptions*, the good and the bad, the beautiful and the ugly, the true and the untrue, are irreconcilable (absolute) opposites. Pure thought, however, has to deal with the absolute. In all the manifestations of the actual world everything that exists is only relatively good and bad, ugly and beautiful, true and untrue; all opposites exist here only relatively. No human being is perfectly good or perfectly bad, just as nobody is completely developed or completely undeveloped. So, too, no work of art is in an absolute sense perfectly beautiful, or perfectly ugly — whether as a whole or in its parts.

As, therefore, in all and everything belonging to the human world opposites are found existing together, so, also, do they pass over into one another and are “reconciled.” Thus everything is connected together, and constitutes an immense chain of different members.

We do not mean to say that already in the actual world all opposites are reconciled, all discords solved, and the great world-harmony complete; but it is going on to completion. This is the aim and end of all movements, all life, and all endeavor, and an end which is only fully attainable to human beings by the cessation of all self-seeking (as in Christ), the absorption of all individuals into humanity; and this by means of the highest individual development and self-existence; not by transforming the individual into the universal.

In the most fundamental bases of good and evil we find again two new opposites.

In whatever form evil manifests itself, it is always at bottom self-seeking of some sort; or else it is error or madness. Ambition, pride, avarice, envy, dishonesty, murder, hatred, etc., may always be traced back to self-seeking, even though it be disguised in the form of extravagant affection for others, or for one other. So, too, what we call diabolical is, in reality, self-seeking.

And whatever shape good may take it must be essentially the expression of love to others. A solitary individual in no way connected with fellow-creatures would have as little opportunity for good as for evil.

All the impulses and passions of a human being have for their object the procuring of personal happiness and well-being and the avoidance of personal annoyance. And as long as the happiness and well-being of others is not disturbed, nor the individual himself injured, there is nothing to be said. The conflict between good and evil begins when the happiness of an individual is procured at the cost of others or of the community.

True goodness consists, with rare exceptions, in preferring the welfare of the many or of the whole of human society, to personal, egoistical advantage; in striving after an ideal which, without self-sacrificing love, would be unthinkable. Love towards God, moreover, compels love towards mankind.



The moral battle-field is always between the two extremities of personal and universal interest, and the reconciliation of the two is the result aimed at. There also where the battle goes on in the inner world of the human soul it is a question of personal against general interest, or of the opposition between the sensual and the spiritual natures of the individual. The object of man's earthly existence is to reconcile the rights of personality, self-preservation and independence with the duties of necessary devotion and self-sacrifice to society. The personal services rendered to the *whole*, in any circle of life, determine the worth of the individual to society, and moral greatness consists in the love which, going out beyond the personal, seeks to embrace the whole of God's world—and therewith God himself. For God has herein placed the destiny of man, viz., to expand from the circle of individual existence, through all intermediate circles, to the great circle of humanity.

In the world of the beautiful we meet with the same law, viz., "the reconciliation of opposites."

What do we mean by the beautiful? That which is harmonious or rhythmical. Harmony is the co-operation of all the parts of a whole towards the object of the whole. If the innermost nature of beauty baffles our attempts at full definition, harmony is, nevertheless, its fundamental condition.

But a necessary condition of harmony is the balance of parts tending in opposite directions.

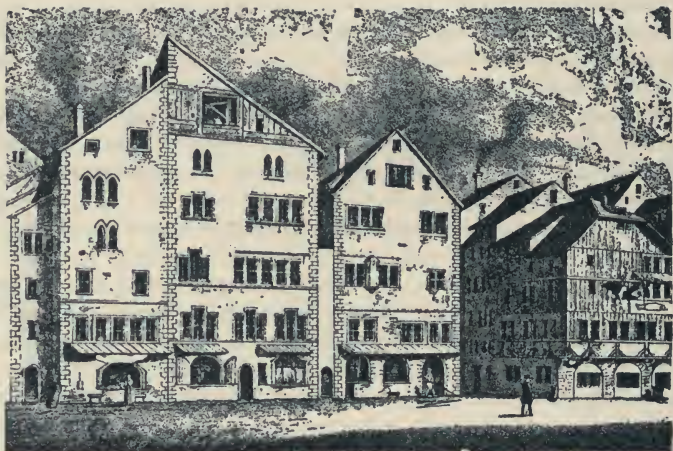
Beauty of form (plastic art) depends on the opposites, height and breadth, for instance, being rightly proportioned or balanced; on the contrasting horizontal and perpendicular lines being kept in balance by their connecting lines. In the circle we have the perfect balance of all opposite parts, and the circular line is, therefore, the line of beauty. In architecture the triangle is the fundamental shape—that is to say, two lines starting from one point and running in opposite directions are connected together by a third line. And so forth.

Beauty in the world of color is the harmonious blending together of the opposites, light and shade, by means of the scale of color—this at least is the primary condition. The mixing of colors, too, consists in the right fusion of the elementary colors—red, blue, yellow, which in themselves form opposites.

In the world of sound beauty is in like manner conditioned by the harmony of single tones amongst each other. The basis of musical harmony is the simple chord, *i. e.*, the opposites, which the key-note and the fifth constitute, are reconciled by the third.

In poetry rhythm is obtained by the regular connection of long and short syllables. And so forth.

The ugly, the imperfect, in all arts, is on the other hand the inharmonious—or the result of want of proportion and correspondence in opposites—or the absence of transitions to connect them together.



RÜDENPLATZ, ZURICH. THE MIDDLE HOUSE WAS PESTALOZZI'S  
BIRTHPLACE

## PESTALOZZI, DE FELLEMBERG AND WEHRLI,

AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

BY WILLIAM DE FELLEMBERG.\*

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EARLY in the year 1798, Switzerland, whilst at peace with the French republic, was invaded by a numerous French army on the most frivolous pretexts. Amongst the Swiss Cantons which offered the most energetic resistance to the encroachments of the French Directory, Unterwalden stood in the first rank. Fearful was the vengeance of the enraged French soldiery, who devastated that unhappy country with fire and sword. The inhabitants who did not fall in battle (women as well as men having shared in the fight) fled, some into the mountains, some into the churches; but the churches did not protect them from the flames or bayonets, to which all the native sufferers became a prey; the children were however spared; and crowds of these homeless orphans were to be seen, after the departure of the French, wandering about amidst the ruins of the villages. A wail resounded through Switzerland when this was known.

The first philanthropist who devoted himself to the succor of these helpless objects, was Henry Pestalozzi, then Theological candidate. He had just before broken down utterly in preaching his probationary sermon—a circumstance which was a bar to his prospects in the church, especially at such a seat of learning as Zurich. He did not know where to direct his steps; the career of professional theology was closed to him, but not that of Christianity. He converted his little property into money, tied up his bundle, and set off to the Canton of Unterwalden, there to become the guardian of the poor deserted children. The season was inclement, but he succeeded, with the help of some kind-hearted friends, in forming a shelter for his new family, amongst the ruins of the little village of Hanz. Here Pestalozzi fed, clothed, and housed the gathering flock, increasing in numbers till he was obliged to consider how he could bring them under some kind of discipline; but for this purpose he had no help except from the children themselves. He therefore chose from amongst them the most intelligent, taking care to select those who had most influence with their companions. These he appointed his assistants ("lieutenants") in the lessons, as well as in the necessary household work, such as keeping the place in order, mending clothes, collecting wood, &c. He soon added to these occupations the cultivation of a small

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\* Communicated to the "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science," by Lady Noel Byron, and published in the "*Transactions*" for 1858.



piece of land; and the little colony assumed the aspect of an orderly community.

In the meantime patriots from various parts of Switzerland had arrived in Hanz, bringing provisions and stores of all kinds. The fugitive inhabitants gradually returned from the mountains, and all fell into their former way of life. Pestalozzi's school was welcome to all as long as the children were fed and provided for in it; but his funds being exhausted, and the aid of the benevolent being required for the returning fugitives on their own account, there were no means of maintaining the establishment. Thus, to the great sorrow of every one, Pestalozzi felt the necessity of separating from his beloved children. Still the recollection of his Unterwalden family, and of the kind of training which he had been driven to employ from the failure of other resources, remained a living picture in his mind. It gave a distinct and tangible aim to his deep inward longing to serve his fellow creatures; it became the vision of his dreams, the object of all his plans; and he caught at whatever promised to bring him nearer to the desired end. In consequence, all his intercourse with friends—for he found many after the events of Unterwalden—was directed to the same end. To most of them, however, he spoke in riddles, since they could not have understood him unless they had like him learned, by experience, how powerful an instrument for training the young is to be found in labor for bread, when under skillful management. By all true philanthropists, indeed, the full value of Pestalozzi's work in Unterwalden was recognized; and in its merits his unsuccessful sermon was forgotten. Great hopes were formed of the results of such rare self-devotion, and many anticipated that a new light on education would be kindled by it. When he made known his project of an educational institute, the government of the canton of Berne offered him the use of the Château of Burgdorf for that purpose. He accepted the offer, and opened a school in that place.

Pestalozzi's reputation, founded upon some striking works for the people, "*Leonard and Gertrude*," with others, brought him immediately a great number of pupils; some of them out of the most influential families, with whom he had an opportunity of putting in practice one part of his educational system, called by himself the "*Anschaungs Lehre*," teaching by sight and other senses. But his industrial training could not be carried into effect, because his pupils were chiefly of aristocratic families, and not obliged to support themselves by manual labor. He consoled himself, however, with the hope of saving enough out of the income derived from the school payments of the rich, to establish a small agricultural school for the poor, on his own plan, in connection with the institute.

His new system already began to excite public attention. Young men of the teachers' class thronged around him, and endeavored, with more or less success, to acquire his method, hoping thereby to make their fortunes in the novelty-loving world; but amongst all those who were thus brought into contact with him, there was not one who could comprehend

his great idea, that of making LABOR, more especially *Agricultural Labor*, a principal means of training the young; indeed, had he found such a one it could not have helped him; for in his fortress there was not a foot of ground in which any thing could be planted.

An opportunity was soon afforded of carrying out the aim of his heart by these circumstances. Amongst the acquaintances Pestalozzi had made in earlier times, during a journey before he went to Unterwalden, was the family of Tcharner, of Wilden Stein. Tcharner, who was the Bernese Landvogt, appeared to Pestalozzi to realize his idea of what a governor ought to be, such as he had drawn in his most celebrated work, "*Leonard and Gertrude*," in the character of Arner. Through this family he became acquainted with that of De Fellenberg, who succeeded Tcharner in the government of Wilden Stein; and a young De Fellenberg became one of Pestalozzi's most attentive listeners. This young man accompanied him on several journeys, and was one of the few who afterwards entered into, and adopted, his idea of industrial education. But it was a circuitous route by which De Fellenberg came to the resolution of acting out Pestalozzi's idea. He was educated for a political career, but his mother's character had implanted in him the germ which enabled him to receive and comprehend the ideas of Pestalozzi. His mother used to say to him: "*The Rich have always helpers enough, help thou the Poor.*"

It was during the early days of the French Revolution that he studied law at the University of Tübingen, in Germany. Returning just as the difficulties of Switzerland with the French were beginning, he then heard of Pestalozzi's school in Unterwalden, and was vividly reminded of his former acquaintance with him. Other circumstances also concurred to give the bent to his mind, which changed his path in life from that of a politician to that of a philanthropist.

The tremendous war taxes which the French Directory exacted from the Swiss, and the pressure of the military occupation on the country, brought Switzerland to the brink of despair, and it was resolved to send an embassy consisting of the leading men to Paris, in order to entreat the directory to lighten these burthens. De Fellenberg accompanied one of these ambassadors as secretary; and what he then saw of French freedom, and the political tendencies of that time, convinced him that he must seek another path. He returned to Switzerland, more than ever determined to serve his country in the spirit which had been awakened in his early youth by that saying of his mother. He soon afterwards married the grand-daughter of Tcharner, the before-mentioned friend of Pestalozzi, and was henceforward brought more into contact with him. About this time De Fellenberg's father, who was professor of law in Bern, purchased the estate of Hofwyl, near to that city, in order to give his son a field of action. Hofwyl is only nine English miles distant from Burgdorf. Thus De Fellenberg and Pestalozzi became neighbors, and this led to frequent interchange of thought between them, in which Pestalozzi endeavored to induce De Fellenberg to employ his estate in real-

izing his favorite idea of industrial education. Pestalozzi had at that time competent teachers for the promulgation of his method of teaching. Each of these teachers imagined himself at least a younger Pestalozzi, who owed the father Pestalozzi just as much subordination as seemed good to themselves, and no more. Thus, in a few years after its foundation, the institute presented a picture of anarchy; and Pestalozzi felt himself incapable, through diminished practical powers, of reorganizing it as was required, and placing it on a firm basis, which he thought De Fellenberg could best accomplish.

The Bernese government possessed a building, once a convent, near Hofwyl, called München Buchsee, and Pestalozzi proposed to the authorities to give it him instead of Burgdorf. He offered the entire management of his institute to De Fellenberg, and the government consented. De Fellenberg made a stipulation that he should have the power of dismissing any of the teachers who should not conform to his regulations. Pestalozzi agreed to this, and transplanted his establishment to München Buchsee, which is only ten minutes' walk from Hofwyl. Here De Fellenberg had an opportunity of judging of Pestalozzi's method, and of seeing both its strong and weak points. He was also able to enter into Pestalozzi's further schemes. It is scarcely to be doubted that the dominant idea of Pestalozzi would have been then carried out at Hofwyl under his own eyes, if the characters of the two men had been such that they could labor together in the same work with success. But in their daily intercourse it soon appeared, that Pestalozzi's excessive kindness of heart led him to regard as tyranny a consistent prosecution of that plan; while De Fellenberg, from his characteristic energy, bore Pestalozzi's want of decision impatiently, and treated it as loss of time. It was, therefore, not difficult for Pestalozzi's assistants to persuade him that he had fallen into the hands of a tyrant, from who he should release himself at any cost. He therefore accepted at once the offer from the government of the Canton Waadt (Pays de Vaud) to give up to him the Schloss Yverdun, on the lake of Neuchâtel, for the reception of his institute; and thus ended the connection between Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg, without, however, any personal disagreement. Pestalozzi rejoiced extremely when, in 1806, De Fellenberg sent one of his sons to him to be educated, accompanied by a young man, as tutor, who should acquire a knowledge of Pestalozzi's system.

De Fellenberg meanwhile, at Hofwyl, had come to the determination to begin the work of industrial education, and the only question with him now was, to find an able assistant who could fill the position of "*Father*" to his pupils, and as such embody his idea. After having sought among a considerable number of young men of the educating class in Switzerland, he found the right one in the following manner. Pestalozzi's method of teaching had excited great attention among all engaged in education throughout Switzerland. It seemed so simple to lead the pupil by enlisting his own will, and rousing his own reason to assist in his own instruction, that every reflecting teacher could only



wonder why the idea had not occurred to him long before, as the number of children in a school rendered some such method almost necessary. Many, therefore, endeavored to apply what they had heard of his system, apparently so simple, to the subjects then taught in their schools, reading, writing, the catechism, &c.; but they soon found the task to be much more difficult than they had imagined. Many, therefore, were anxious to study the Pestalozzian method from Pestalozzi himself; but this was too expensive for most of them. The pecuniary affairs of the institute were so involved from mismanagement, that Pestalozzi could not admit any such supernumeraries except for a considerable sum. This led De Fellenberg to think of opening a course of instruction in the Pestalozzian method; on the one hand, to offer to earnest teachers this opportunity of improvement; on the other, with the hope, among the numbers who might assemble at Hofwyl, to find an assistant for his own particular object. He communicated his scheme to Pestalozzi, who was delighted with it, and sent him a young man from Prussia named Zeller, no less thoroughly imbued with his method than enthusiastic in promoting it. De Fellenberg was thus able to open his course of instruction, 1st May, 1806. For this purpose he had a cottage built in a little wood, beneath great linden trees, on twelve posts, and with a single roof. The upper part served as a sleeping-room, the ground-floor as a school-room. In the morning, the hours from five to seven, and from eight till twelve, were devoted to lessons. In the afternoon the teachers worked in the fields and in the garden of Hofwyl. In the evening they prepared the vegetables for the next day's meals. During the harvest they assisted in the fields during the whole day. De Fellenberg, in this way, showed them how an industrial school ought to be organized. He gave them also every morning, a lesson in agriculture, in which he explained the various field operations and their connection. He conversed with them on the subject of making agricultural labor a valuable aid in education, and a subject of instruction for boys. Each evening he talked over with them the labors of the following day. Thus he led the teachers to do their work with intelligence; to take pleasure in it, and to see how advantageous would be to themselves the knowledge thus obtained of agriculture, as the means of making the soil more productive during the rest of their life; for most teachers in Switzerland depend for the principal part of their subsistence on a few acres of public ground.

All this instruction was in accordance with Pestalozzi's ideas—De Fellenberg even carried them further than their originator—for Pestalozzi based his system on the perception of the senses (*Anschauung*), making this the ground work of memory. Former systems had only concerned themselves with the memory, and with matters which could be made objects of perception; De Fellenberg then went beyond Pestalozzi, inasmuch as he added the *action* to the *perception*; “for,” said he, “what has been done, and done with thought, will be retained more firmly by the memory, and will bring a surer experience than that which has been only seen or heard.” Earlier schools made the *ear* and *words* the subject-

matter of memory—Pestalozzi, the *eye* and *picture*—De Fellenberg, the *action*. Zeller, though versed in Pestalozzi's method, followed De Fellenberg's step in advance of it, with the readiness of one desirous of improvement; and brought his objective teaching, as far as possible, into relation with the daily lessons of the teachers—the effect of which was to render them more interesting and animated.

The teachers who took part in these courses of instruction have been heard, even years after, to describe the scene so vividly that it seemed as if they had just come from it; and it has been often proved that whilst other teachers, from want of knowledge of farming, have been ruined in times of distress, such as 1816, 1817, the Hofwylsers, as they were called, struggled out of their difficulties by their own exertions.

About thirty joined in the first season's lessons. These, on their return home, mentioned them to their acquaintances. The following spring, no less than eighty teachers made their appearance at Hofwyl. This influx created difficulties for De Fellenberg, as an individual, and caused him some pecuniary embarrassment.

In order to carry out his plans he was obliged to find different kinds of labor, which he would not, perhaps, otherwise have thought of. Among these was drainage, then effected only by means of stones, or with wooden pipes; and as the Hofwyl land was extremely stony, this answered two purposes at once. The drainage water also was turned to account, in watering the low-lying meadows. All these occupations again gave Zeller the opportunity of extending his object-lessons. Instruction in drawing was joined with them; this art being regarded by De Fellenberg and Zeller as a connecting link between perception and action.

The second course was attended by a little schoolmaster, named Wehrli, from the canton of Thurgovie. Although an elderly man, he had set off, on hearing of the new method of teaching, and traveled on foot about one hundred and fifty miles, in order to improve himself in his profession. He was one of the most zealous and attentive students, and endeavored to inform himself as thoroughly as possibly on all points that were new to him. When De Fellenberg, at times, explained to the teachers how agricultural labor might be made a means of education, declaring his own wish to establish an example of such industrial training, if he could only find a capable assistant, it was always old Wehrli who, after the lesson, had most questions to ask; and at the end of the course he said that he had a son whom he could recommend to carry the plan into effect. Induced by his description of his son, De Fellenberg invited him to Hofwyl: and shortly afterwards there appeared before him a youth of eighteen, with a pleasing expression of countenance, modest bearing, but fearless glance, commissioned by his father to enter the service of De Fellenberg. Young Jacob Wehrli was not long in comprehending what De Fellenberg required of him. He only wished, as soon as possible, to be put in command of boys with whom he could set to work. De Fellenberg was so convinced of the certainty of success in

his undertaking, that he did not hesitate to give the first beggar-boy whom he found, as a pupil to young Wehrli. Wehrli was no less confident in its being an easy task to change the most unmanageable of vagabonds into an industrious member of society; and, in fact, the first few weeks of kind treatment, not omitting better food, seemed to make the desired impression which De Fellenberg and Wehrli ascribed to their system. This result was, however, not a little attributable to Wehrli's having shared all the occupations of his pupil, so that when the boy felt weary or idle, he was ashamed to let his master, as he called Wehrli, work alone. When, however, after a few weeks, the better food and kindly treatment were no longer new, the beggar-boy began to long after his former "free life," and tried, instead of working, to go after birds' nests, the eggs of which had formed the luxuries of his former diet; or else he sought out a snug corner to sleep in. When Wehrli said to him, "Those who will not work shall not eat," he took up his tools again, it is true, but as his thoughts were not in his work, his labor was worth nothing, and Wehrli saw that he should not attain his purpose in that way. So it was necessary that the boy should experience the consequence of his idleness, and go to bed one evening without his food. "What," thought he, "I am deprived of my liberty, and must hunger into the bargain?" and the next morning, very early, he took his departure. Thus Wehrli had now no pupil. De Fellenberg himself was astonished that the beggar-boy had not known better how to appreciate his kindness, and he then made a fresh experiment with the son of an industrious laborer, who, burthened with a large family, was glad of the opportunity of providing for one of his children. He was a weakly boy, but willing and anxious to learn, and gave Wehrli more satisfaction. It was not so wonderful that a child out of a laborer's family, should be trained to industry. Still it was attended with much trouble to accustom the boy, somewhat enfeebled by his mother's care, to field-labor. De Fellenberg had said that they would not take a second boy till the first was in good order, that the example of the one might influence the other. The prospect of such a result with this weakly boy was unfavorable, and Wehrli found that he should have to go through the whole winter with but one pupil. At the beginning of the cold days, however, our young friend, the beggar-boy, made his appearance, and promised, if he were received back, to work hard for his bread. It really seemed as if the young vagabond had instituted some comparisons between his "free life" and Hofwyl training, to the advantage of the latter. The two new comrades soon strove which should do his work best—a contest in which the beggar-boy soon gained the upper hand, and took the position of teacher, as he displayed much more skill and aptitude than the other. This satisfied his ambition, and Wehrli took care not to weaken this first germ of civilization in him, but rather endeavored to convince De Fellenberg that they might now receive a third boy; as he had a strong and intelligent assistant in the beggar-boy, and could, at least, depend on the good will of the other lad. Soon there followed a third and



a fourth; but care was taken not to increase the vagrant element, till the inner strength of the little family might make it safe to do so.

This was the commencement of the agricultural school for the poor at Hofwyl, in which the OBJECTIVE TEACHING of Pestalozzi was brought into action in concurrence with labor. When the pupils reached ten in number Wehrli was able to promote some of them to be his assistants; not so much in school-teaching, as in the direction of work, arranging that each older pupil should take charge of a younger one, as an apprentice. Such was the type of the ultimate development of the school; just as in a well-ordered family the elder children lead on the younger ones by their example.

Agricultural labors offer a richer field for this purpose than any other employment. Every sort of capacity is brought into action. Each member of the family performs his part of the common labor, and enjoys the elevating consciousness of being useful to the community. In striving to fill his position well, he learns to act from a sense of duty, and strengthens this virtue by practice. De Fellenberg's pupils, however, were not confined to agricultural labor; the requirements of his farm, and afterwards of his educational establishment for the upper classes, gave employment to various artizans, as cart makers, carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths, locksmiths, workers in wood, iron, leather, mechanics, shoemakers, tailors. Therefore, the pupils of the lower school, if they wished to learn a handicraft, had a wide choice open to them, without being obliged, during their apprenticeship, to neglect the instruction from books in which they had become interested.

Wehrli's school, gradually increasing from a small family circle to a youthful community, reached the number of 150 pupils, without diminishing in moral strength or intellectual energy. Amongst these a considerable number were trained to become teachers in national schools, and superintendents of similar establishments; such as are now to be found in most of the cantons of Switzerland, in many German states, in France, in the Netherlands, in Italy, and elsewhere. The greatest service rendered by the system of industrial training, in schools modeled after Wehrli's, has been in those devoted to rescuing juvenile offenders from the path of ruin, and restoring them to society. Up to the present time, the Rettungs Haus, at Bächtele, near Berne, in Switzerland is one of the best institutions of this nature, and Dr. Wichern, the founder of the Rauhen Haus, near Hamburg, and De Metz, founder of the Colonie Penitentielle, at Mettrai, in France, have employed this system, as the only effectual mode of reclaiming the most abandoned juvenile delinquents.

We must not omit to mention here an observation, confirmed by facts, that wherever such schools have been established with success, they have always, as in the case of Wehrli's, at Hofwyl, arisen out of the small family principle gradually extended. There have not been wanting attempts to organize such schools on a gigantic scale, but few of these have proved themselves strong enough to live. It has always been de-

monstrated that it is not the *system* that can give life, but the *spirit*; the strength, love, and faith of the founder; and all these will naturally increase from the smallest germ, and become strong by exercise. This was proved, too, in Hofwyl itself, for when after forty years' exertions, Wehrli was recalled to his native canton of Thurgovie, to conduct there an institution for the education of teachers, after the model of Hofwyl, De Fellenberg sought his successor from amongst the numerous teachers of the lower school; but not one of the chosen "step-fathers" could take Wehrli's place. The school lost with him its peculiar vitality, and it would have been better to have begun it afresh. De Fellenberg had felt from the first the true position of the wealthy in relation to the poorer classes, and that it would be only half doing his work in the world, if he merely showed what treasures existed in the working classes to be drawn forth. The rich must be taught, at the same time, by what means they could succeed in extracting those treasures. Witnesses were wanted out of the upper classes to the educational elevation of the laboring classes—witnesses who might afterwards carry forward his work. About the time at which he made his first experiment in industrial training, he began an agricultural course for landowners. The success of his plan of deep-soil ploughing, draining, and irrigation, upon the formerly somewhat neglected ground of his estate, was much approved, and brought him a large number of pupils, many of whom also took an interest in his education of the poor. But these young men remained so short a time under his direction, that he could not anticipate the extension of his views in a wider circle through them. He therefore opened, in 1809, his educational institute for the upper classes, of the same kind as that which Pestalozzi conducted at Iverdun—afterwards extensively known—and he here made use of the experience which Pestalozzi had gained during many years with his objective lessons.

In working out his method, Pestalozzi had arrived at a somewhat one-sided system of instruction, founding all on his pupil's own perceptions. He excluded traditions far too much, so that it was said of him that the whole past of human cultivation was lost to his pupils—as, for instance, history. De Fellenberg endeavored to avoid this one-sidedness in his school, by giving the study of history its place, adapting it with care to the young. On the other hand, he strove by every means to afford to the pupils of his higher school a field for the development of their powers of action. He introduced extensive gymnastics, including military exercises, swimming, riding, pedestrian exercises, turning, and similar mechanical occupations, gardening, and skating. At the same time, under the guidance of a special master, the boys formed a kind of independent community amongst themselves, for the management of their own affairs out of school-hours; arranging their various occupations, as well as games of all kinds, their walking tours, gardening, &c. They chose their own officers, punished casual offenders, and thus practiced obedience to self-imposed law. In this manner De Fellenberg strove, with these pupils also, to promote action and the discipline of life, as the

actual means of education; and to lay the foundation of self-reliance in the man by the cultivation of self-government, and various capabilities in the boy and youth, so that in the upper school also, the prominent feature was *education by action*, which coincided with the industrial training of the lower or poor school.

The two institutions were brought into contact in many ways. Pupils of the upper school who required physical strengthening, or muscular exhaustion, so to speak, as was the case with many, were sent for a time to field-labor in the lower school. In both cases, labor acted as a wholesome medicine, whilst the boys themselves regarded getting up at three in the morning to earn a breakfast with a thrashing flail as one of their greatest pleasures. Many amusements were shared by both schools—for instance, skating and sledging in winter, and gymnastic games in summer. The sons of the wealthy learnt from pupils of the lower school to respect labor, whilst the poor viewed their richer companions not as enemies but as sympathizing friends. The pupils of the upper school kept a poor-box, into which were paid all the small fines, and the voluntary contributions of the boys also, on Sundays, after the religious services. These funds afforded them the means of helping the sick and infirm people whom they met with in their visits to the poor families round Hofwyl. Such visits were usually made on Sunday afternoons. Thus also was Sunday sanctified, not by words only, but by deeds.

In order to awaken yet more sympathy in the sons of the rich for the education of the poor, a little colony from the lower school was at one time established in a wood, about six miles from Hofwyl, on an inclosure of about twelve acres. The walls of the dwellings were of clay, and were the work of the pupils of the upper school. The doors, windows, floor, ceilings, partitions, beds, tables, chairs, and cupboards, were made by the young carpenters of both schools; and it was a common festival for all when the first four pupils, with their teacher, were established in the new colony, on which occasion the chief enjoyment consisted in this, that both schools joined in digging and in preparing for planting the piece of ground destined for a garden. For several years, one of the most favorite Sunday walks was to visit the new colony and observe its progress.

Thus it was that the practical working, as well as the theory, of agricultural poor schools was carried by Hofwyl pupils into distant countries; and thus, too, the boys of the upper school took away with them more correct notions of active beneficence, as well as of the duties which property imposes upon its possessor.

This education earned much approbation from the public, and the number of pupils increased in a short time. Their payments enabled De Fellenberg to extend the Poor School, which we before mentioned. It also made it possible for him to give several "courses" for the benefit of earnest teachers; and amongst them he discovered young men who attached themselves, willingly and efficiently, to his work of training the poor, assisting him to spread it abroad.

Among the many strangers who visited Hofwyl, some, who were not



satisfied with seeing what was done there, inquired into the possibility of founding similar institutions in their own homes. Then it always appeared necessary, as a first condition, to have a Wehrli; and De Fellenberg perceived that, if all these good intentions should be carried into effect, he must consider how he could procure more than Wehrli. He was now able to make use of those young men whom he had found qualified, in the course of his classes, for teachers, and without whom it would have been impossible for him to extend his system thus widely in so short a time. For however simple at first sight the idea might appear, that the same means which renders the individual capable of self-support—namely, his development as a worker, should be made the chief agent in his education—nevertheless, such simple ideas are only suggested by that common sense which Diogenes sought with a lantern in broad daylight. To carry them out into practice requires a self-denial and devotion, which is the fruit of a long exercise of Christian virtues.

Pestalozzi's original ideal was thus realized in Hofwyl. He had practiced his method of instruction at Iverdun, at first with great success; but here, again, his want of capacity for management stood in his way.

We are far, however, from wishing to depreciate, in the smallest degree, the great service which he rendered in the furtherance of true popular education. If his *objective* system did not entirely develop industrial training, it may at least be considered as having given the first impulse in that direction. What must above all be regarded in all he did is his inexhaustible love for the young, to express which, he could scarcely find words. It inspired every one with whom he came in contact, and became the distinguishing characteristic of his true disciples. If his system embraced but few subjects of teaching, its deficiencies were compensated for by the intensity with which it acted upon such as could be brought within its sphere.

Pestalozzi's simple motto was, "Nothing can be learned except through comparison of the unknown with the known;" and, again, "Every thing is contained in the child; the teacher must know how to draw it out by love and patience: love can always find means." To teachers he often said, "Go, and learn of the mother."

The young, according to his view, could only know by the physical perception which requires repeated exercise to advance to mental perception. What the eye sees must be thoroughly comprehended by means of feeling, hearing, smelling, tasting, in order that the verbal description of the object and its properties may be perfectly understood. Then the teacher proceeded to numbers and measures, and lastly drawing came in to complete the external image.

From this short sketch of the course pursued by Pestalozzi's method of objective teaching, it will be seen that it was especially calculated to qualify and prepare its scholars for the study of natural science; and it is evident that in agriculture lay the richest mine for the practice of objective teaching. As a farther development of his system, Pestalozzi

could not fail to look with satisfaction on De Fellenberg's agricultural school at Hofwyl. If we cast a glance at the studies of the naturalist—as widely comprehensive as they are deep and searching—and upon their manifold uses in common life, we can scarcely fail to acknowledge, with gratitude, in Pestalozzi's system one of the influences which have helped to promote and facilitate scientific pursuits.

De Fellenberg pursued his work at Hofwyl, in the manner before described, till the year 1844. We have mentioned how offshoots of his work for educating the poor were formed with success in most of the cantons of Switzerland, and the adjoining countries; and he could look upon his life with the consciousness of having begun a work that would advance and develop itself through the inherent truth of the principle which it represented.

It is very significant of the effect produced by the efforts of Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg, that when, in 1844, the erection of a national monument to Pestalozzi was talked of, and men of all ranks met to consider the subject, it was agreed, without opposition from any quarter, to abandon the idea of a stone or bronze statue, and raise instead of it, a living memorial to the father of Swiss education, consisting of an institution for the training of poor children of both sexes, in accordance with his ideas, and after the model of Wehrli's school at Hofwyl. This monument is still flourishing, and will be a blessing to coming generations.

De Fellenberg's institutions at Hofwyl did not escape the fate of all human affairs. He died in 1844. The political events of 1845-48 caused a dissolution of his schools at the moment; but his system was too firmly established in Switzerland, by means of numerous training and other schools, to be effected by the continuance or discontinuance of Hofwyl. That which he sought to accomplish by means of his schools was achieved:—1. Switzerland had obtained a system of popular education, having its foundation in the wants of the nation, and which it could henceforth develop independently, as there was scarcely a place of any importance in the country where there was not a pupil, either of Pestalozzi or De Fellenberg, to take an active interest in the schools. 2. The idea of training by action, by productive and civilizing labor, had advanced from theory into practice. The same means which are pointed out to man for his material support were now brought to serve as an effective instrument in his education; and, as the great mass of mankind are destined to maintain themselves by labor, the most effective means of civilizing and educating this large majority was thus discovered in labor. The chief point which remained to be considered was, how the leading classes of society, the employers, could be trained to recognize their duty, to educate and elevate morally the working classes, with the same interest with which they make use of hired labor to increase their own property. De Fellenberg indicated the way to this end also, and made the first step by the establishment of his educational institution, described above, for the higher classes.

## JOHANNES NIEDERER.

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JOHANNES NIEDERER, whose reputation as a teacher is nearly connected with that of Pestalozzi, and stands high amongst those of his fellow-laborers, was born in 1778, in Appenzell. Having completed his studies, he was already settled as pastor when the fame of Pestalozzi's plans and labors reached him, and set his whole soul in motion. Unlike those who can not soon enough shake the dust of the school from their feet to seat themselves in the pulpit, Niederer resigned his pastorate in 1800, and hastened to connect himself with Pestalozzi. In the institution of the latter, he had special charge of the religious instruction. His manner in giving this, and in his whole labors as a teacher, is so well described by his efficient fellow-laborer, Krüsi, in his recent "*Recollections of my pedagogical life and work,*" (*Erinnerungen aus meinem pädagogischen Leben und Wirken,*) p. 39, that we shall make an extract: Krüsi says, "To be present at the religious instruction of Niederer, and at his confirmations, was sure to have a good influence upon the heart. Good preparatory instruction in intellect and language was necessary, in order to appreciate it, it is true; but this was to be enjoyed in the institution. Although he soon passed over the history of creation, the gospel of John, and the sermon on the mount, yet the instruction he derived from these sources as to the faith, had a complete character, and afforded deep views of the essence of religion and of the scope of human duty. I several times attended the whole course; and how highly I valued the privilege may be inferred from the fact that I forthwith sent three of my children to attend, that they might learn from him the happiness of religion. Niederer filled an important part in Pestalozzi's institution and history. He earnestly devoted his time and strength to the subjects of religion, language, literature, and philosophy. He first studied Pestalozzi's works, in their various applications to pedagogy, politics, legislation, &c., not resting until he had ascertained the central point from which they all radiate; for to consider them only in their separate character, was insufficient for him as a thinker and investigator. But he did not limit his labors to writings and thinking only, nor even to the numerous studies successfully pursued in the institution, and the labors to be pursued in various directions, and amongst various materials, with reference to those



studies ; but embraced, in the scope of his inquiries, the nature, existence, powers, and weaknesses of man ; his course of development, his future fate and destiny, in the individual, the nation, and the race.

Niederer possessed the fullest confidence of Pestalozzi, who consulted him on all occasions, and saved himself by his means from many mistakes. Niederer opposed himself to any views or efforts within the institution which threatened to break up or hamper its usefulness, and was variously active in contending against them.

In literature, Niederer has been less active than was to be wished from a man so rich in endowments and experience. Besides a series of small treatises, we have only one larger work : "*Pestalozzi's educational enterprise in its relations to cotemporary civilization,*" (*Pestalozzi's Erziehungsunternehmung im Verhältniss zur Zeitcultur,*) Stuttgart, 1812, 2 vols. The wish was often, and with good reason, expressed, that he would publish a scientific exposition of pedagogy on Pestalozzi's principles. A biography of the great teacher himself, from his pen, would have been gratefully received. Still more welcome, had it pleased him to write it, would have been an account of his method of religious instruction ; especially now, when so many are endeavoring to fix that most important of all departments of instruction upon a half-ascertained psychological basis, and to entangle it with religious parties. He however died, in 1843, without having performed this work.

Niederer's wife, previously Rosette Kasthofer, of Berlin, where she was born, 3rd November, 1779, conducted for a long time the girls' school established by Pestalozzi at Yverdon, along with his boys' school. The institution was, however, transferred to Geneva, where it is now established. Madame Niederer has also established, in connection with it, a seminary for young women intending to become teachers ; and in both she is yet laboring, with youthful freshness and enthusiasm. In 1828, was published a valuable work by her : "*Glimpses at the system of female education. For educated mothers and daughters,*" (*Blicke in das Wesen der weiblichen Erziehung. Für gebildete Mütter und Töchter.*) Berlin : Rücker. She has also published "*Dramatic Games for the Young,*" (*Dramatische Jugendspiele.*) Aarau, 1838, 2 vols.

We find the following estimate of Niederer, by Pestalozzi, expressed at different times.

"The mode in which Niederer looks at my work can not be separated from that in which I myself see it. His views are almost all the results of his reflections. I scarcely know what it is to reflect. My opinions and views are almost all the results of immediate intuition and of excited feelings. Moreover, I did not understand his

language; but his Vindication taught me to understand it. I could not satisfy myself with reading that production. I found myself, in it, almost in every line, more clearly and distinctly stated, and more profoundly comprehended, than I had comprehended and expressed myself, on systems of education, on maternal instinct, on the nature and organization of schools, on my institution, in short, on all the principles and views which were in point at the time."—*Fortunes of My Life*.

"He has, at the same time, peculiarities which I often endure only with difficulty, since they are diametrically opposed to mine. But his friendship surpasses all the friendship that I have enjoyed or even dreamed of in my life. What more can a man do for a friend, than for his sake to give up a certain, quiet, and agreeable mode of living, and to put himself into a condition uncertain, unpleasant, oppressive, and in many respects dangerous? This Niederer has done. For my sake he gave up the pastorate where he was living, efficient, respected, and happy, joined himself to me and my poverty, threw himself into all my embarrassments, at a period when my work was not yet ripe in itself, and when I was almost wholly deprived of all external aid and co-operation in it. At that time he was the only man of any degree of literary cultivation who took a place at my side, and took part in all the perils to which my undertaking could and did expose him. And his friendship extended beyond me personally, and to the purpose of my life, in regard to which I so often saw myself deserted. He is drawn toward me personally as little as I toward him. I might say that, in this respect, we were not as near each other as is to be expected from men living so near; but his life is a friendship: his endurance and perseverance for my objects—even the contest which he continually keeps up with himself and with me, for the promotion of the purpose of my life—even his opposition to and arguments against me individually, when he finds himself in conflict with my designs—show the noble, remarkable, and pure character of his friendship. If he withstood me less, he would love me less."—*Declaration Against Canon Bremi's Questions*, p. 28.

"As early as at the beginning of our association in Burgdorf, there came amongst us a young clergyman, of thorough education, full of fire, power, and quiet though strong efficiency, and observed in silence the course of our labors. In this first stage of his design, he resembled nothing less than one seeking a predominant influence upon the general and practical course of our undertaking. On the contrary, his whole conduct indicated, at the beginning, very clearly, that he was investigating the psychological basis of the principles and essence of our idea of elementary training, more seriously, broadly, and

deeply than any one before him, by means of a free, individualized, and independent reflection upon them. By this course he very soon elaborated a system of his own, as to our idea of elementary training, which, it is true, was not made inwardly complete and outwardly applicable by any basis whatever of practical experience, but which inspired him with such a visionary enthusiasm for its infallibility and applicableness, that all at once he suddenly began to take an active and powerful part in the whole extent of our operations; so as gradually to acquire a universal and predominating influence over them, and to gain my own confidence to a high degree. His singular character inspired him with the definite design of opposing the weaknesses, faults, and defects of my establishment, by means of scientific expositions of the idea which lay at the base of our undertakings. He believed confidently that, by the magic touch of his lucid ideas, or frequently even by significant words, he could prevent the increase of that fatal influence whose greatness he deeply felt; and that, by verbal elucidations, he could control what he could not lead intellectually by the weight of his influence, nor practically manage, and could least of all carry forward by his creative energy by actual executive measures. Niederer's requirement of absolute acquiescence in his views, arose from ideas which he had not made clear and definite to himself in their whole extent and connection; for he was prone to lose himself in metaphysical expositions of his ideas, which he was neither fitted to do by possessing a solid substratum of intuitional knowledge, nor competent to express in any manner by simple, clear, and intelligible language, and thus to make properly comprehensible. Most of the objects he sought and urged were, to us, mere atmospheric phenomena, without any connection whatever with the basis of our actual life. He was, throughout, unfitted and almost incapable of giving the slightest practical demonstration of his high-sounding ideas. This he knew himself; and often required with earnestness that others should not only receive, as he did, what he had constructed in his ideal manner, but also that they should work them out in actual practice to his satisfaction, and that without requiring much co-operation from him."

—*Fortunes of My Life*, p. 29.



## JOHANNES BUSS.

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JOHANNES BUSS, an assistant teacher of Pestalozzi, especially in teaching drawing, was born at Tübingen, in Wurtemberg, in 1776. His father held a subordinate place about the theological school, and thus secured for the son better opportunities of early instruction than are usually enjoyed by persons in his condition. In the grammar school he acquired, before he was twelve years old, considerable knowledge in Greek and Hebrew, logic and rhetoric. His father applied for his gratuitous reception in an institution recently established by the reigning Duke Charles, at Stuttgart, but this was refused; and about the same time an edict was promulgated, prohibiting children of the middle and lower class from embracing a literary career. The youth, although disappointed, did not despair, but applied himself to the study of drawing. This he was obliged to give up from the want of means, and at the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to a bookbinder—an art by which he hoped yet to get the means for a literary career.

We continue the narrative, in Buss's own language, down to his connection with Pestalozzi.

Having served my apprenticeship, I began to travel; but growing melancholy and sickly, I was obliged to return home; and here I made a new attempt to get rid of my trade, hoping that the little knowledge of music I had retained would enable me to earn my bread in Switzerland.

With this hope I went to Basel; but my circumstances, and the events of my past life, had given me a degree of shyness, which foiled me in all my attempts at money-getting. I had not the courage to tell the people all that a man must say to obtain from them what I wanted. A friend of mine, who met me by accident at that moment of embarrassment, reconciled me for a short time to the bookbinding business: I entered once more into a workshop; but the very first day I sat down in it, I began again to indulge myself in my dreams, thinking it still possible that a better chance might turn up for me in time, although I was quite aware that I had lost too much of my skill in music and drawing to rely upon those two attainments for an independent subsistence. I consequently changed my place, in order to gain time for practice in both, and I was lucky enough to get two spare hours a day, and to form acquaintances, which assisted me in my progress.

Among others I was introduced to Tobler, who soon perceived the gloom by which I was oppressed; and having ascertained the cause, was desirous of assisting me in gaining a more favorable position. When, therefore, Krüsi informed him that Pestalozzi stood in need of a drawing and music-master for the full organization of his new method, his thoughts immediately turned toward me.

I was, as I have before stated, fully aware of my deficiencies; and the hope that I should meet with an opportunity of improving myself, had no small share in my determination to go to Burgdorf, in spite of the warnings which I

received from several quarters against forming any connection with Pestalozzi, who, they told me, was half mad, and knew not himself what he was about. In proof of this assertion they related various stories; as, for instance, that he once came to Basel, having his shoes tied with straw, because he had given his silver buckles to a beggar on the road. I had read "*Leonard and Gertrude*," and had, therefore, little doubt about the buckles; but that he was mad, that I questioned. In short, I was determined to try. I went to Burgdorf. I can not describe the feelings I had at our first interview. He came down from an upper room with Ziemssen, who was just then on a visit with him, his stockings hanging down about his heels, and his coat covered with dust. His whole appearance was so miserable that I was inclined to pity him, and yet there was in his expression something so great, that I viewed him with astonishment and veneration. This, then, was Pestalozzi? His benevolence, the cordial reception he gave to me, a perfect stranger, his unpretending simplicity, and the dilapidated condition in which he stood before me; the whole man, taken together, impressed me most powerfully. I was his in one instant. No man had ever so sought my heart; but none, likewise, has ever so fully won my confidence.

The following morning I entered his school: and, at first, I confess I saw in it nothing but apparent disorder, and an uncomfortable bustle. But I had heard Ziemssen express himself, the day before, with great warmth concerning Pestalozzi's plan; my attention was excited, and, conquering in myself the first impression, I endeavored to watch the thing more closely. It was not long before I discovered some of the advantages of the new method. At first I thought the children were detained too long at one point; but I was soon reconciled to this, when I saw the perfection which they attained in their first exercises, and the advantages which it inspired to them in their further progress. I now perceived, for the first time, the disadvantages under which I myself had labored, in consequence of the incoherent and desultory manner in which I had been taught in my boyhood; and I began to think that, if I had been kept to the first elements with similar perseverance, I should have been able afterward to help myself, and thus to escape all the sufferings and melancholy which I had endured.

This notion of mine perfectly agrees with Pestalozzi's principle, that by his method men are to be enabled to help themselves, since there is no one, as he says, in God's wide world, that is willing or able to help them. I shuddered when I read this passage for the first time in "*Leonard and Gertrude*." But, alas, the experience of my life has taught me that, unless a man be able to help himself, there is actually no one, in God's wide world, able or willing to help him. I now saw quite clearly that my inability to pursue the plan of my younger years in an independent manner, arose from the superficiality with which I had been taught, and which had prevented me from attaining that degree of intrinsic power of which I stood in need. I had learned an art, but I was ignorant of the basis on which it rested; and now that I was called on to apply it, in a manner consistent with its nature, I found myself utterly at a loss to know what that nature was. With all the attention and zeal I brought to the subject, I could not understand the peculiar view which Pestalozzi took of drawing, and I could not at all make out his meaning, when he told me that lines, angles, and curves were the basis of drawing. By way of explanation, he added, that in this, as in all other matters, the human mind must be led from indistinct intuitions to clear ideas. But I had no idea, whatever, how this was to be done by drawing. He said it must be done by dividing the square and the curve, by distinguishing their simple elements, and comparing them with each other. I now tried to find out what these simple elements were, but I knew not how to get at simple elements; and, in endeavoring to reach them, I drew an endless variety of figures, which, it is true, might be called simple, in a certain sense, but which were utterly unfit, nevertheless, to illustrate the elementary laws which Pestalozzi was in search of. Unfortunately he was himself no proficient either in writing or drawing; though, in a manner to me inconceivable, he had carried his children pretty far in both these attainments. In short, months passed away before I understood what was to be done with the elementary lines which he put down for me. At last I began to suspect that I ought to know less than I did know; or that, at least, I must throw my knowledge, as it were, overboard, in order to descend to those simple elements by which I saw him produce such powerful, and, to me, unattainable

effects. My difficulties were immense. But the constant observation of the progress which his children made in dwelling perseveringly on his "elements," brought my mind, at last, to maturity on that point; I did violence to myself, and, abandoning my preconceived notions of the subject, I endeavored to view all things in the light of those same elements; till, at last, having reached the point of simplicity, I found it easy, in the course of a few days, to draw up my sketch of an alphabet of forms.

Whatever my eyes glanced upon from that moment, I saw between lines which determined its outline. Hitherto I had never separated the outline from the object, in my imagination; now I perceived the outline invariably as distinct from the object, as a measurable form, the slightest deviation from which I could easily ascertain. But I now fell into another extreme. Before I had seen nothing but objects; now I saw nothing but lines; and I imagined that children must be exercised on these lines exclusively, in every branch of drawing, before real objects were to be placed before them for imitation, or even for comparison. But Pestalozzi viewed his drawing-lessons in connection with the whole of his method, and with nature, who will not allow any branch of art to remain isolated in the human mind. His intention was, from the first beginning, to lay before the child two distinct series of figures, of which one should be contained in his book for the earliest infancy, and the other should furnish practical illustrations for a course of lessons on abstract forms. The first were intended to form, as it were, a supplement to nature, in giving children an intuitive knowledge of things and their names. The second was calculated to combine the practical application of art with the theoretical knowledge of its laws, by connecting the perception of abstract forms with an intuitive examination of the objects that fitted into those forms. In this manner, he meant to bring nature and art to bear upon each other; so that, as soon as the children were able to draw a line, or a figure, real objects should be presented to them, so exactly corresponding as to render their imitation a mere repetition of the same exercise which they had before performed in the abstract.

I was afraid lest, by giving the child real objects, his perception of the outline should be disturbed; but Pestalozzi did not wish to cultivate any power against nature, and he said, concerning this subject: "Nature gives no lines, but only objects to the child; the lines must be given to the child, that he may view the objects correctly; but to take the objects from him, in order to make him see lines only, would be exceedingly wrong."

But there was another difficulty in which I had entangled myself. Pestalozzi told me that children must learn to read those outlines like so many words, by denominating the different parts, the lines, angles, and curves, with different letters, so that their combinations may be as easily expressed in language, and put down in writing, as any other word by the composition of its letters. In this manner an alphabet of forms was to be established and a technical language created, by means of which the nicest distinctions of the different forms might be clearly brought before the mind, and appropriately expressed in words calculated to illustrate them by the difference of the formation.

Pestalozzi persevered until I understood him. I saw that I gave him a great deal of trouble, and I was sorry for it. It was, however, unavoidable; and but for his patience we should never have made an alphabet of forms.

At last I succeeded. I began by the letter A. I showed him what I had done; he approved of it, and now one thing followed from the other without any difficulty. In fact, the figures being once completed, the whole was done; but I was unable to see all that I had done; I had neither the power of expressing myself clearly on the subject, nor the capability of understanding the expression of others.

To remedy the defect under which I labored is, however, one of the most essential objects of Pestalozzi's method, which connects language throughout with the knowledge gained from nature by the assistance of art, and supplies the pupil at every stage of instruction with appropriate expressions for what he has learned.

It was an observation which we all of us made upon ourselves, that we were unable to give a distinct and accurate account, even of those things of which we had a clear and comprehensive idea. Pestalozzi himself, when explaining his views on education, had great difficulties in finding always the precise term which would convey his meaning.



It was this want of precise language, in fact, which caused me to remain so long in the dark concerning the nature of my task, and prevented me from perceiving what Pestalozzi's views were on that subject.

After I had overcome all these difficulties, my progress was rapid, and I felt every day more the advantages of his method. I saw how much may be done by precision and clearness of language on the subject of instruction, whether it be one of nature or of art, to assist the mind in forming a correct notion of forms and their proportions, and in distinguishing them clearly from each other: and I could not, therefore, but be aware of the paramount importance of enlightened and careful instruction in the signs which language supplies for the designation of things, their properties, relations, and distinctions. Experience confirmed the conjecture which I had formed, that children taught upon this method would make more accurate distinctions, than even men accustomed, from early life, to measuring and drawing; and the progress which many of our children made was beyond comparison, greater than that which is commonly obtained in schools.

It is very true, I saw the whole of Pestalozzi's method only through the medium, as it were, of my peculiar branch of instruction, and judged of its value by the effects which it produced in particular application to my art. But my anxiety to enter fully into the spirit of it, led me, in spite of that limitation, by degrees to investigate the bearing which it had upon other branches; and, at last, assisted by the practical illustrations which drawing afforded me, I succeeded in comprehending Pestalozzi's views on language and arithmetic. I saw that, as it was possible to proceed from lines to angles, from angles to figures, and from figures to real objects, in the art of drawing, so it must likewise be possible, in language, to proceed by degrees from sounds to words, and from words to sentences, and thereby lead the child to equal clearness on that subject. As regards arithmetic, I was laboring under the same error as before, with reference to the intuition of objects. As I looked at these without reference to their outline, so did I view numbers without a clear notion of the real value or contents of each. Now, on the contrary, I acquired a distinct and intuitive idea of the extent of each number, and I perceived, at the same time, the progress which the children made in this branch of instruction. At length, it seemed to me a point of essential importance, that the knowledge and practice of the elements of every art should be founded upon number, form, and language. This led me to understand the difficulties with which I had so long been struggling in my own department. I saw how I had stuck fast from want of clearness of language, and how I was impeded by a confused idea of number. It seemed very obvious that the child can not imagine, with any degree of precision, the division of any figure into its component parts, unless he have a clear idea of the number of those parts; that, for instance, if he is in the dark as to the extent of the number four, he must be equally in the dark on the division of any figure into four parts.

I felt my own mind daily clearing up; I saw that what I had attained had in itself a power, as it were, to carry me further and further; and applying this experience to the child, I came to the conviction, that the effect of Pestalozzi's method is, to render every individual intellectually independent, by awakening and strengthening in him the power of advancing by himself in every branch of knowledge. It seemed like a great wheel, which, if once set going, would continue to turn round of itself. Nor did it appear so to me only. Hundreds came, and saw, and said: "It can not fail." Poor ignorant men and women said: "Why, that's what I can do myself at home with my child!" And they were right. The whole of the method is mere play for any one who has laid hold of the first elements, and has followed its progress sufficiently to be secured against the danger of straying into those circuitous paths which lead man away from the foundation of nature, on which alone all his knowledge and art can securely rest, and from which he can not depart without entangling himself in endless and inextricable difficulties. Nature herself demands nothing of us but what is easy, provided we seek it in the right way, and under her guidance.

One word more, and I have done. My acquaintance with Pestalozzi's method has in a great measure restored to me the cheerfulness and energy of my younger days, and has rekindled in my bosom those hopes of improvement for myself and my species, which I had for a long time esteemed as vain dreams, and cast away in opposition to the voice of my own heart.

## JOSEPH SCHMID.

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JOSEPH SCHMID, one of the best known of Pestalozzi's assistants, was a native of Tyrol, and, when he entered the institution as a scholar, was a Catholic, and excessively ignorant. He possessed great native talent for mathematics, and this, together with his habits of industry, order, and thoroughness, raised him in time to the rank of the most influential of Pestalozzi's teachers. Although his talents as a mathematician, and still more his great business capacity, rendered him quite indispensable as a member of the institution, yet his conduct, and his demeanor in his intercourse with his fellow-instructors, became so unsatisfactory to them, that in 1810 he was dismissed from the institution. He soon after established himself as teacher of a school at Bregenz, and vindicated himself by publishing a work entitled "*My Experience and Ideas on Education, Institutions, and Schools.*"

But the absence of his financial guidance brought the institution to such a point of confusion, that, notwithstanding the deep ill-feeling against him on the part of the teachers, he was recalled five years afterward, in 1815. From this time onward, he was in opposition to all the remaining teachers, except Pestalozzi himself, who unflinchingly stood his friend to the day of his death. But the dislike of the other teachers against him, although unable to eject him from the institution, resulted, with other causes, in its ruin. Twelve of the teachers, including Blochmann, Krüsi, Stern, Ramsauer, Ackermann, &c., left at one time; having drawn up and signed a document attributing their departure to the faults and misconduct of Schmid. Others were appointed in their places, but the day of the institution was over, and it gradually sank into entire decay.

Schmid now conceived the idea of an edition of the complete works of Pestalozzi, and himself made the arrangements with the publisher, Cotta, and applied for subscriptions in all quarters, with so much vigor and success that the net profits of the undertaking to Pestalozzi were 50,000 francs. He also appears to have assisted in revising and rewriting portions of the works; which, however, do not contain a number of important compositions by Pestalozzi, while some of Schmid's own, embodying them, are published among them.

Schmid's personal appearance was somewhat striking. He was

muscular and strong, of dark complexion, and keen black eyes, with a harsh voice, and a sharp look. Of his life, subsequent to the year 1817, we have no precise information. We give below Pestalozzi's own estimate of Schmid, as published in 1825 :—

"I must trace from its source the powers which seemed the only ones capable of holding us together in these sad circumstances. While we were at Burgdorf, in the beginning of the evil consequences of our unnatural union there, there came to us, from the mountains of Tyrol, a lad showing not a single trace of the exaggerated refinement of our time, but endowed with inward gifts whose depth and subsequent use were anticipated by none—not even by myself. But some unexplained feeling drew me toward him on the first instant of his appearance in our midst, as I had never been drawn to any other pupil. His characteristics were, from the first, quiet, efficient activity, circumscribed within himself; great religious fervency, after the Catholic persuasion, and of a simple but powerful kind; and eager efforts after every attainment in learning or wisdom which he judged necessary. In the exercises in elementary means of education, mental and practical, he soon surpassed all his teachers, and soon even became the instructor of those who a little before had looked upon him as the most uncultivated child they had ever seen in our institution. This son of nature—who even at this day owes nothing to the culture of the time, and, in all that he has accomplished, is as ignorant of the usual outward forms of every intellectual science as he was the day he came from the mountains into our midst, with his *Ave Maria* in his mouth and his beads in his pocket, but with a powerful intellect, a peaceful heart, and courage ready for every struggle—soon excited, by his whole conduct amongst us, extraordinary expectations; and, on my part, that close friendship which I felt for him almost as strongly in the first hour of our meeting.

✓ Schmid passed the years of his youth in these quiet but active labors; and, recognized at his first appearance as an extraordinary child of nature, his mind, developed in the power of thinking and managing by many experiences of practical life, could not fail soon to recognize the unnaturalness and weakness of our organization, and of all our doings and efforts. As soon as the influence of his preponderating powers had insured him a recognized right to do it, he did not delay to declare himself, with Tyrolian open-heartedness, against the presumption of the one-sided and narrow views of the tablet-phantasts, and of the equally narrow and one-sided as well as superficial praises of our methods of intellectual instruction; and, most of all, against the continually-increasing inefficiency, love of mere amusement, disorder, insubordination, and neglect of positive duties there-



with connected. He required, without any exception, of each and all of the members of our association, from morning to evening, the thorough performance of all the duties properly pertaining to the members of a well-ordered household. He was equally clear and distinct in rejecting every boast of the elevation and importance of our principles and efforts, which was not proved amongst us by actual facts, as idle babble; and was accustomed to ask, when any thing of this kind was said, 'How is this put into practice? What use is made of it?' And, if the answer did not please him, he would hear no more of the subject. This conduct, however, very soon and very generally gave very great offense."—*Fortunes of My Life*, pp. 22 to 24, 34, 35.

## HANS GEORG NÄGELI.

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HANS GEORG NÄGELI, by whose compositions and teaching the Pestalozzian method of instruction was applied to the study of music, was born, May 17, 1773, at Wetzikon, a village in the canton of Zurich, of which his father was pastor. After receiving his rudimentary education at home, he went to Zurich in 1786, to continue his studies; but homesickness soon drew him back to his father's home, where he devoted himself carefully to the study of music, and in 1790 he again resorted to Zurich, when in a few years we find him in a music store and musical circulating library of his own, and at the same time giving lessons in singing. He became a composer and publisher of music, and in 1800 he established a periodical principally, devoted to his favorite art. His song, "Life let us cherish," accompaniments of harp and harpsichord, published in 1794, passed the parlor, and the fireside, and the social gathering of rich and poor, all over Europe; and the same popularity has marked other productions of his.

Nägeli was one of the earliest founders, even if he did not originate, the Swiss musical league or union, which set the example of great musical festivals, attended by concourses of people, practically engaged in or lovers of the art. He went out frequently to give instruction to musical societies in the different cantons, to lecture on the subject to conventions of teachers, and, in 1810, published, in connection with M. T. Pfeiffer, "*The Theory of Instruction in Singing, on Pestalozzian Principles*," (*Die Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen*,) by which a new epoch in this department of education was introduced. The treatise was the best realization of the method of Pestalozzi, and soon made singing a regular study in the popular schools of Europe, particularly those of Switzerland and Germany. By the efforts of William C. Woodbridge and Lowell Mason, the method of Nägeli was introduced into the United States; and, in consequence, the study of music became much more philosophical and general, and is fast passing into the course of instruction in our common schools.

Nägeli died at Zurich, on the 26th of December, 1836, from a cold he contracted in discharge of his duties as a member of the council of education.

## JOHANN RAMSAUER.

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JOHANN RAMSAUER was born in May, 1790, in Herisau, in the Swiss canton of Appenzell, where his father carried on a small manufactory, and a trade in the machines and tools used in spinning and weaving-factories. In his fourth year he lost his father, whose business was continued by his mother. He was the youngest of her seven remaining children; and was occupied in the labors of the establishment, and in accompanying his older brothers and sisters to market. At home he learned to work, and to be orderly, industrious, and obedient. At eight he was sent to a wretched school, where, in two years, he learned, with great difficulty, to write and read ill. During this period of his life he learned much more from the good examples set him at home than from the incompetent schoolmaster. In the "*Brief Sketch of My Pedagogical Life*," furnished originally for Diesterweg's "*Pedagogical Germany*," we are told:—

"When the French Revolution, during the years 1796 to 1799, caused stagnation of trade, general loss of employment, and even famine and all sorts of misery throughout Switzerland, especially the eastern part, there gradually wandered away, out of the cantons of Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, and Appenzell, five thousand three hundred boys and girls of from seven to fourteen; partly to Basle and Neuenburg, but chiefly to the great cantons of Zurich and Bern, where they were received humanely, and in most cases treated even with parental kindness and fidelity. Although I did not belong to such a troop of utterly destitute children, my mother yielded to my often-repeated request to be also allowed to emigrate; and thus, in February, 1800, I left my home and wandered off with forty-four boys of from ten to fourteen years old." He entered, while a boy, a school at Burgdorf, which Krüsi was teaching; and soon after that of Pestalozzi. "In the public school, where Pestalozzi taught six hours daily, I learned, school-fashion, no more than the rest. But his holy zeal, his deep and entirely self-forgetting love, and his earnest manner, impressive even to the children, made the deepest impression upon me, and knit my childish, grateful heart to his forever." He continued for several years at Burgdorf, as scholar, table-waiter, and under-under-teacher. Ramsauer became a favorite scholar of Pestalozzi, and accompanied him, often acting as his private secretary



during his stay at Burgdorf, München-Buchsee, and Yverdun. At the latter place he acquired a knowledge of mechanics, with the view of assisting in a school planned by Pestalozzi for the education of the poor. He left Yverdun in April, 1816, to become a teacher in a school newly established at Würzburg; departing from Pestalozzi with great reluctance, but feeling that the influence and character of Schmid rendered him of little further use there, and in part induced by the privilege of free attendance upon lectures at the University of Würzburg.

Here Ramsauer lived happily, making short journeys from time to time, giving private instruction, acquiring new knowledge from the university lectures, of a kind which afforded a useful complement to his previous practical studies, and growing so rapidly in reputation that, in October, 1816, of four invitations to other situations as teacher, two were from Stuttgart, one inviting him to become instructor of the princes Alexander and Peter of Oldenburg, and another to become head of an important school for the elementary instruction of children of the educated classes. Both these invitations he accepted, and went to Stuttgart in March, 1817.

While here, he undertook a third employment as teacher in a new real school; his own institute being discontinued, and the male pupils entering the real school, while the female ones, whom he continued to teach, attended the *Katharinenstift*, a female school established by the Queen of Wirtemberg, and opened with an address by the queen herself.

The young princes of Oldenburg leaving Stuttgart in 1820, for the court of their grandfather, the Duke of Oldenburg, Ramsauer attended them thither, to continue their education in mathematics, drawing, and gymnastics. Some months afterward he opened a school for girls of the educated classes, which he was still conducting with success in 1838.

In 1826 he was appointed teacher of the duchesses Amalia and Frederica of Oldenburg, whom he instructed for ten years. Afterward he established in Oldenburg a school for the daughters of persons of the educated classes. Here he published his "*Instruction in Form, Size, and Substance*; being the elements of Geometry methodized. With fifteen lithographic plates. 1826." He had before published his work on "*Drawing*," in two volumes, thirty-one lithographic plates.

Ramsauer sums up his pedagogical experience as follows:—

1. I learned, in my father's house, up to my tenth year, to pray and to obey.
2. In Schleumen, to run, climb, and jump.
3. With Pestalozzi, from my eleventh to my twenty-sixth year, to work, to think, and to observe.

4. During my various journeys, to be independent, and to help myself.

5. In Würzburg and Stuttgart, to be more modest, and to some extent a knowledge of the world and of family life.

6. In Oldenburg, the word of God; to endure good and evil with equanimity, well-knowing whence and why they come; and in many ways the knowledge that we live upon a beautiful and wonderful earth, but that to care and strive for things connected with it, is a troubled life; that it is well worth while to pay regard to the spirit of the age; and that it is possible to live very happily here below, and, at the same time, to prepare one's self, well for the better future life.

We give some further extracts from the "*Sketches*," which may be interesting to readers connected with the work of education.

I have already said that the finer social graces must either be inborn or developed by culture. Even of the simple politeness of a boy's manners this is true. I have found this always to be the case. Those to whom this gift is natural are usually of rather weak or superficial intellects; but, as the saying is, they get well through the world—that is, easily attain eminence in society. This opinion has led me to another and a more important one, namely, that in practical life it is of little moment whether one has "a good head," (*ein guter Kopf*.) It is of much greater importance, however, what is one's character for truthfulness and perseverance; and much more, that he keep his faith. Through this last, if it be of the right kind, comes the blessing. As to the point of practical efficiency, every one of even moderate experience in the world will agree with me that those men who have filled important places in the world, are indebted to their truthfulness, perseverance, and uprightness, much more than to their "good head," or their "genius." This is especially true of those of the burgher class. Even in the elementary school, this truthfulness and perseverance can be cultivated, proved, and established; but it is home education which must do most of it.

It has often troubled me to hear of a "smart boy" (*guten Kopfe*), in a family or school, and to see those undervalued who lacked such a qualification. Such conduct discourages those reckoned inferior, (who subsequently very probably may excel them,) and only makes those possessed of this apparent talent conceited and heartless. Faith and good feeling forbid such doing; unless we are born merely for the span of present existence! Young teachers, just commencing, are especially prone to fix upon such smart boys; but commonly deceive themselves, by setting a high value upon a mere partial quickness of apprehension. There are even teachers, whether from the fear of men or from some other discreditable weakness, who praise every thing they see in their scholars; or who, after they have complained to their colleagues about scholars all the year, will, at the end of the term, make out for them certificates of unqualified excellence.

I have known not only hundreds but thousands of proofs that, however unpleasant a strict teacher may be to a bad scholar, such a scholar will, in the end, feel toward him more respect, and gratitude, and love; provided only that the strictness was just—that is, without respect of persons, partiality, or passionateness. Even the most spoiled of children will endure ten times more from such a teacher than from another, provided only that the parents acquiesce in it.

There are also teachers who lay great stress upon learning quickly; forgetting that the most superficial scholars are often the quickest. Such will find, by experiments enough, that these forget just as quickly; while things acquired with more pains remain longer in the memory, and are better understood. The principal thing is thoroughness; it is this only which truly educates—which tells upon character. Merely to know more or less is of little significance; whoever imagines that he knows very much, does, in fact, know pitifully little. This thoroughness should be a characteristic even of the lowest elementary school; and is a constituent of what I have already referred to as perseverance. A condition preparatory to this thoroughness is, that the scholar be constrained (without any apparent force, however,) into thinking and laboring independently. Thus I have often said to an indolent or compliant scholar, who imitated others rather too easily, "Your own eating must make you fat; that you

know very well. Just so, your own thinking must make you wise; and your own practice must make you dexterous."

A condition of thoroughness is repetition; constant repetition. This means is, to many teachers, too wearisome, or too slow: the latter, to those who instruct mechanically only; the former, to those who have never perceived and learned for themselves, but only out of books. But a teacher whose heart is really in his work will be drilling often and earnestly, and always in new ways; so that both the scholar and he himself will always be getting at a new and interesting side of the subject. But a teacher who labors in two or three departments of study with vivacity and pleasure, and gives really thorough instruction—such as really educates—will naturally have neither time nor wish to expend several hours daily in a club or in other mere amusements. His greatest happiness will be in his calling; and in daily progress in whatever is truly useful for time and eternity. Such a teacher will live as much as possible amongst his own children, if he has them; and the more he does so, the better will he comprehend other children, and, therefore, the better will he manage them.

Among my own children, as well as among those of others, I have repeatedly experienced that there is a school understanding, a conversation understanding, and a life or practical understanding; all three very clearly distinct, especially the first and the third. If the teacher only understands the first of these, he only half-understands even that; and is in great danger of exacting too much or too little from his scholars. In like manner, parents are liable to do the teacher injustice, if they judge of their children only by their words and actions at home. Girls especially, who in school hardly dare open their mouths, often appear astonishingly quick and intelligent outside; so that those will be much deceived who overlook the multitude of cases in which children imitate the words and actions of adults, and pass off their sayings for their own coin. The school understanding is the most suitable for scholars; as their passions are less liable to come into play in connection with it, and all matters which are regularly arranged and under rules assist its onward progress. From this difference it often follows that the same scholar who is industrious, efficient, and intelligent in school, and seems there to be far forward for his age, is wholly a child when outside of it, childish and simple (as he should be,) and apparently quite backward in understanding, and this especially where he needs to govern himself and to exhibit character.

Such experiences of a hundred others will lead every observing teacher—I do not state this as any thing new, but merely as something of psychological importance, and therefore not susceptible of too frequent repetition—to require from his scholars neither too much nor too little, and to hope from them neither too much nor too little. And I believe that the frequent enforcement of such experiences would materially ease the difficult calling of the teacher, especially at its commencement, and would save beginners our trouble at Pestalozzi's Institute; that is, from spending all the first years of their work in proving and experimenting, without the advantage of being able to learn of their predecessors.



## KARL AUGUST ZELLER

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KARL AUGUST ZELLER, High School Councillor and Royal Councillor of the Kingdom of Prussia, was born August 15th, 1774, in Ludwigsburg, Wirtemberg. He was educated in a theological seminary, and in 1798 received an appointment as teacher and assistant preacher in the evangelical congregation at Brunn. In 1803, he proceeded to Pestalozzi's establishment at Burgdorf, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with his new system of instruction. An offer, which he accepted, to accompany a young man of the Von Palm family upon his travels, gave him occasion, while at Tubingen in the winter of 1804, to establish a charity school for the purpose of trying Pestalozzi's plans, and afterwards, at the request of some of his scholars at Brunn, a Sunday-school. Both are described in a work dedicated to that friend of education, the late Pauline, Princess of Detmold, who gave him the appointment of Councillor, and retained a decided interest in his prosperity until her death.

Zeller became pastor at St. Gall, and teacher in the gymnasium there, in 1805. In 1806, he became acquainted, in Zurich, with the Senator Rusterholz, who had a scheme for educating all the teachers of the cantons in normal schools, which he was prevented from carrying out by sickness. Becoming much interested for the sick man and his designs, he agreed to remain in Zurich and endeavor to assist him; to which coöperation the authorities of the cantons agreed.

The first course of instruction was opened in 1806, with thirty pupils, by a commission of school councillors, under the presidency of Superintendent Gessner. The lectures, here devoted to the principles of correct school discipline, gave Zeller an opportunity of composing his "*School for Teachers*." After the decisive experiment of this course, seven thousand florins were appropriated to defray the expense of a Normal School, Pestalozzi's arithmetic was introduced, and a plan of teaching drawn up by Zeller was printed and introduced into the parochial schools of the canton. A second and a third part to this treatise soon followed. Being appointed Director of the Normal Institute, he trained, in 1807, among others, a Catholic clergyman, sent to him by the government of Lucerne, and who was followed by three canons from the same canton, who had been studying at Kreutzlingen in the

Thurgau, under the patronage of Von Wessenberg. Meanwhile, a favorable report was made by a commission of clergymen upon the result of the first three courses of the normal school; and, whereupon, Zeller published a work on the subject, in the form of letters addressed to the Princess Pauline. Three courses of lectures now followed, one of which was delivered before the Swiss Diet, and the attention of the Confederation was thus drawn to the subject of them.

The year 1808 found Zeller with Pestalozzi, teaching and learning, and enjoying himself amongst the children. In returning, he passed through Hofwyl, where a young Bernese gave him fifty *carolines*, with the request that he would undertake a school for teachers among his country people in that neighborhood. Upon the invitation of the consistory, who added thirty carolines, forty teachers assembled, and remained under his instruction ten months. A French teacher, under an assumed name, also attended this course, and afterwards pursued his vocation in his own country. By reason of the open recognition by the Bernese government of his efforts, in spite of malicious opposition, and having a little before received a call from Zofingen, Zeller had meditated spending the remainder of his life as a Swiss burgher; but the visit of the King of Wirtemberg to Hofwyl gave another direction to his life.

The king had attended five of his lectures, and was so much pleased with what he saw and heard, that he declared that he could not permit Zeller to remain in that place. In fact, he shortly after received the appointment of school-inspector at Heilbronn, and, two months later, an appointment at Königsberg from the Prussian minister of state, Von Schrötter, whom War-councillor Schiffner had made acquainted with the "*Letters to the Princess Pauline*." Not yet actually employed in Heilbronn, Zeller requested permission to accept the latter; but an order to the teachers of the vicinity to assemble there, and to himself as the proper schoolmaster to instruct them, was the answer. Forty-two teachers assembled, including one minister, and remained, at their own expense, six weeks. The assembly was characterized by the same pleasant activity, good nature and success, which had appeared in Switzerland.

In April, 1809, with the office of Councillor in the government of East Prussia, he was authorized to organize the Orphan House at Königsberg as a model school, in which young clergymen and teachers might be instructed, with courses of lectures on the administration and instruction of schools, and traverse all the provinces of the kingdom for similar purposes. On condition that he should deliver one more course of lectures to clergymen of all three confessions, the King of Wirtemberg at length

allowed him to accept the appointment. Fifty-two eminent clergymen and six teachers assembled, and remained under his instruction during four weeks. A commission from the High Consistory of the kingdom and from the Council of Catholic Clergy held an examination upon the result, and Zeller, accompanied by one of Pestalozzi's pupils, now for the first time proceeded to the Baltic.

The new organization of the orphan home at Königsberg in a short time excited so much interest, that a considerable number of official persons were desirous of some report upon Zeller's methods and organization. Further; the noble and intellectual men who were laboring with Scharnhorst to reëstablish the warlike fame of Prussia, learned hence to consider the relation between a correct school discipline and military discipline. October 7, the king, queen and ministry, made a personal inspection of the school, and the dignity of High School Councillor, conferred upon the director, showed their gratification with the visit. In May, 1810, the institution had so grown that the first course of lectures was attended by a hundred and four deans, superintendents and pastors, and the second by seventy clergymen and teachers.

In 1811, he organized a second institution at Braunsberg for the province of Ermeland, and a third at Karalene, for Lithuania. He would gladly have remained in the latter pleasant place, but his official duties would not permit. He was intending to go to Stettin also, but the approach of Napoleon's expedition to Russia prevented. An "extraordinary compensation" was now decreed him, in consequence of this disappointment, and as a testimony of the satisfaction of the king and the ministry with the results of his exertions in East and West Prussia and Lithuania. This was the gift of the domain of Munsterwalde, near Marienwerder, on the condition that he should continue to perform the functions of his appointment. He accordingly published a manual for the Prussian army-schools, and a work upon his experiments in organizing the school of correction at Graudenz, containing a statement of the methods upon which all his labors hitherto had been conducted.

For several years Zeller resided at Kreutznach, Wetzlar and Bonn, busily engaged in writing and in the support of his numerous family. His only son devoted himself to the study of theology at Bonn, and at the same place, his wife, the mother of his seven children, died. He became desirous of revisiting his native country; and, having been raised by the King of Prussia to the third class of the "red order of nobility," he removed to Stuttgart in 1834. His last labors were devoted to his own country; the institution at



Lichtenstein owes to him its foundation and progress, a building worth eleven hundred florins, and continued care and advocacy. The requirements of his situation obliged him to remove to Stuttgart again in the autumn of 1837.

His very busy and varied life came to an end in the beginning of the year 1847, while he was absent from home on a short journey; a life that knew no rest, and whose quiet pulses often seemed like restless wandering; a life which, without despising an open recognition of its deserts, yet often forgot itself in true sacrifices for the sake of doing good; that willingly bestowed its strength wherever any beneficial purpose was to be served, and especially if any alleviations in the condition of the children of the poor common people were in prospect. His mission was, not to maintain and carry on an enterprise already commenced, with long-suffering and victorious patience and constancy, but rather to erect edifices upon waste and desert ground for others to furnish. Especially valuable for young theologians are the many stirring thoughts contained in his "Thomas, or John and Paul?" published in 1833. The desire and labor of his life was to improve the common schools. The study of singing in that class of Prussian schools began with him. He was energetic, not only in introducing new discoveries in pedagogical science, but also in independently sifting and ingeniously improving its principles already accepted.

Zeller's best known educational works, as given in Hergang's '*Manual of Pedagogical Literature*,' are:

*The Schoolmaster School*; or, instructions in school education on the plan of the institutions for saving children (Kinder-Rettungsanstalt). Leipzig, 1839.

*Elementary Schools*; their personal, local and administrative organization. Königsberg, 1815.

*The Evangel of Jesus Christ*; or his character as such; not developed chronologically, but in its various elements and relations; as exhibited in a harmony of the four gospels. Stuttgart, 1839.

*Methods of Learning*, for use of common schools on the mutual system.

*Elementary Geometry for Common Schools*. Three parts. Stuttgart, 1839.

*Elementary Singing-Book for Common Schools*. Three parts. Stuttgart, 1839.

## JOHN ERNST PLAMANN.

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JOHN ERNST PLAMANN, an earnest and influential teacher and apostle of the Pestalozzian system, in Prussia, was born on the 22d of June, 1771, at Repzin, of poor but respectable parents of the burgher class, and received his elementary education at the Royal Real School in Berlin, from which he was removed to the Joachims-thal Gymnasium, then under the charge of the celebrated Meierotto. In 1796 he resorted to Halle to study theology, and at the same time acquire the principles of pedagogy under Niemeyer. After spending a few years as a private tutor in the family of his brother-in-law, and passing his examination for a license to teach, he returned to Berlin, to continue his classical studies, and, at the same time, to give instruction in the Messow Institute and other industrial schools, preparatory to founding one of the same class for himself.

At this time the fame of Pestalozzi had spread into Germany, and Plamann resolved to see for himself the great schoolmaster who was so extravagantly praised and beloved. Having read "*How Gertrude teaches her Children*," he could not rest; but, borrowing some money to pay his expenses, he set out in May, 1803, for Switzerland; having announced his intention to Pestalozzi in a letter, from which the following is an extract:

Thanks is a powerless word to express the enthusiasm which your letters upon instruction have kindled in me. But you will not despise my utterance; indeed you will not hear it, amid the loud praises which nations are giving you. Of that your heart assures me, noble man, who have so acutely and truly displayed the inmost laws of the development of the human soul, and with a wise and strong hand laid out the path and the art of training it. You have so radiated upon me the light of truth, and so inspired my breast, that I also feel the sacred call to labor in my fatherland to the same end, according to my powers. The saying of our great teacher, "Many are called, but few chosen," shall not discourage me if I can enjoy your instructions and wise direction. With that I can escape from the old, lifeless, beaten track, which I have been obliged to follow in my labor as a teacher, and will be able to do something in the necessary work of teaching the neglected to elevate themselves. O, if you will give me power; if you will make me an example of your methods; if you will instruct me thoroughly in your system; then I hope, with confidence and success, to sow the seed which your benevolence shall have entrusted to me, &c.

Pestalozzi was then at Burgdorf. There soon sprung up between him and Plamann a friendship based upon mutual appreciation; for Plamann, with his thorough knowledge of the labor of former schools.

in pedagogy, his scientific attainments, his philosophical intellect and psychological insight, was a valuable supplementary person to the Swiss reformer, who had only his own experience of the results of his always original mental action. The latter candidly explained to him what he was seeking, both by means of written and oral communication, until he understood him and his system thoroughly. Plamann writes:

Pestalozzi received me like a father. No man ever looked so quickly and deeply into my soul as he. At once he comprehended my whole being, and pressed me to his breast with the warmth of a brother. At his side I learned to feel how many were my faults as a man. I was modest, and told him of my discovery with tearful eyes. "You are a child of nature," he answered; "an adept in the rules of science and art, which I am not; and which, nevertheless, a man must be in this world." Thus he used to encourage me to have more confidence in myself. A poem which I gave him moved him to tears. He smothered me with kisses, and said, "No one has understood me so well."

Plamann remained several months in Burgdorf, laboring zealously at the new method; and became so dear to Pestalozzi, that he could not endure to have him depart, and even offered him money sufficient to enable him to bring his betrothed to Switzerland. But he was impatient to introduce the new method into his fatherland. Immediately after his return to Berlin, Plamann proceeded to put his newly-gotten knowledge into practice in the institution where he was teaching, and to apply the method also to other subjects. He maintained a regular correspondence with Pestalozzi and his assistants, especially with Niederer. The Swiss took the utmost interest in his labors, kept him acquainted with their researches, and awaited with solicitude the result of his undertakings.

In 1805 Plamann published his work, "*Some Principles of the art of Instruction according to Pestalozzi's Method, applied to Natural History, Geography, and Language.*" (*Einzigste Grundregel der Unterrichtskunst nach Pestalozzi's Methode, angewandt in der Naturgeschichte, Geographie und Sprache.*) In this publication, he showed upon what a deep psychological basis Pestalozzi's system rested, and how it is necessarily derived from the laws of human thought. While, however, they commence with the same principles, follow them out with like results, and in like manner connect them with others, their related ones, Plamann differs from Pestalozzi on the view laid down in the "*Book for Mothers*," that education should begin with instruction on the human body, on the ground that the similarity of it with the bodies of animals does not much concern the child, and that instruction by a teacher should not be given so early. He thought it more proper for the mother to teach the child about such objects as are within the sphere of the child's knowledge; — the



house, furniture, clothes, &c. He then proceeds to apply the method to the three departments of natural history, to geography, and to the German language. He promised in the second part to continue the course of instructions on language and geography, as well as on technology and history; but this has never been published.

On account of his high standing with Pestalozzi, his zeal in studying the method, and in extending it by his writings, he became a centre for the operations of those who were following the new views in Prussia, and were endeavoring to spread them there. All applied to him for directions, school-books, plans for schools, and information as to the spread and results of the new method; and he was also in communication with persons in foreign countries.

Soon after his return to Prussia from Switzerland, Plamann undertook himself to found an institution for the practice of Pestalozzi's methods. For this he obtained the royal permission, Nov. 29, 1803, and opened the institution at Michaelmas, 1805, with his friend Schmidt; obtaining also, soon after, an assistant from Switzerland, Breissig by name. His undertaking drew much attention, and proved quite successful. In the following year he published two instructive works:

"*Course of Instruction for a Pestalozzian School for Boys.*" (*Anordnung des Unterrichts für ein Pestalozzische Knaben Schule.*)

"*Elementary Methods of Instruction in Language and Science.*" (*Elementarformen, Sprach-u. wissenschaftlichen Unterrichtskunst.*)

At Easter, 1812, Plamann gave up his school, and visited once more his beloved Pestalozzi, to make himself acquainted with the progress of the method, and to observe what was going on in the schools of Switzerland. Upon his return he at once commenced again to "Pestalozzianize," as he expressed himself, and bought a house in Berlin, in which to erect an institution. In the same year he commenced a publication, which he finished in 1815, entitled, "*Contributions to Pedagogical Criticism; in Defence of the Pestalozzian Method.*" (*Beiträge zur Pädagogischen Kritik; zur Vertheidigung der Pestalozzischen Methode*)

A full description of his new Pestalozzian institution will be found in the "*Biography of Plamann, by Doctor Franz Bredow.*" Plamann adhered closely to the Pestalozzian principles throughout; proceeding strictly according to the forms of the Swiss at first, but using more and more independent methods as he went on. His school was resorted to by young men from all quarters, who were ambitious to understand and disseminate the improved methods of teaching, and he was never more popular than when he gave up his school from the pressure of bodily infirmities, against which he had long struggled. He died on the 3d of September, 1834.

## FRIEDRICH ADOLF WILHELM DIESTERWEG.

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FRIEDRICH ADOLF WILHELM DIESTERWEG, an eminent educator, and efficient promoter of the general principles of Pestalozzi, was born in the then Rhine provinces of Prussia, at Seigen, in Nassau, October 29th, 1790. His first education was received at the Latin school of his native place. Thence he went to the university of Herborn, intending to devote himself to the study of theology; but his academic course was finished at Tübingen. At first a private tutor in Mannheim, he was afterward second teacher in the secondary school at Worms; and in 1811 entered the model school at Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, where his holy zeal accomplished much good. Having become known as a scientifically-trained and well-practiced educator, he was chosen second rector of the Latin school at Elberfeld. From this place he was called, in 1820, to be director of the teachers' seminary at Meurs. In this place he labored with intelligence, energy, and singleness of purpose, during a series of years, for the cause of elementary instruction, which, under the French domination, had been entirely neglected on the Rhine. He was, moreover, very useful as a writer—discussing more particularly mathematics and the German language. In 1827, he commenced publishing (by Schwerz, in Schwelin,) the "*Rhenish Gazette of Education and Instruction*" (*Rheinische Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*), with especial reference to the common schools. The first volume contained much valuable matter, much condensed; and the succeeding volumes (to 1859,) have not fallen beneath it in excellence. Through this periodical, the educationists of the Rhine provinces were afforded a good opportunity for discussing pedagogical subjects; upon which much interest was then beginning to appear.

In 1833, Diesterweg was appointed director of the royal seminary for city teachers, at Berlin. Here he labored for eighteen years; his eyes fixed fast and unvarying upon his object—exposing all sorts of pedagogical faults and weaknesses, seeking in every way to raise the position of teachers, and pursuing his work without any fear of men. The meetings of the Pedagogical Society of Berlin were set on foot by him. In 1849, his connection with the seminary was terminated by the government, in consequence of his popular sympathies in

1848. During this period, Diesterweg published "*Autobiographies of Distinguished Educators*," "*Education of the Lower Classes*," "*Degeneracy of our Universities*," "*Education for Patriotism, &c.*," "*Controversial Inquiries on Educational Subjects*." In these writings, Diesterweg appears as a man of progress; as one who seeks to reconcile the existing discrepancy between actual life and learning; between living practice and dead scholastic knowledge; between civilization and learning. The works contain true and striking thoughts. In his zeal for good objects, the author sometimes overpassed the bounds of moderation, and assailed the objects of his opposition with too much severity.

His "*Pedagogical Travels through the Danish Territories*," (*Pädagogische Reise Nachden Dänischen Staaten*.) 1836, involved him in an active controversy with several Danish literati, and especially with Zerrenner, of Magdeburg. Diesterweg's objections to the monitorial system of instruction, which prevails in the schools of Denmark, are:—That it modifies, decreases, or destroys the teacher's influence upon his scholars; that it is disadvantageous to their outward and inward intercourse; reduces to a minimum the precious period of close intercourse between the ripe man and the future men; and sinks the school, in by far the majority of cases, into a mere mindless mechanism, by which the children, it is true, acquire facility in reading and writing, and in a manner outwardly vivid and active, but in reality altogether unintelligent; but become intellectually active not at all. That Diesterweg is in the right in this matter, is daily more extensively believed.

In 1846, Dr. Diesterweg took an early and influential part in the celebration by German teachers of the centennial birthday of Pestalozzi, and in founding an institution for orphans, as a living and appropriate monument to the great regenerator of modern popular education.

His "*Year Book*," or "*Almanac*," (*Jahrbach*.) which commenced in 1851, is a valuable contribution to the current discussion of educational topics, and to the history of the literature and biography of education.

Diesterweg's "*Guide for German Teachers*," (*Wegweiser für Deutscher Schrer*.) of which a third enlarged and improved edition appeared in 1854, in two large volumes, is one of the best existing manuals for teachers, of both elementary and high schools, and has been made a text-book in several teachers' seminaries. We give the contents of this valuable "*Guide*."



DIESTERWEG, F. A. W., "Guide for German Teachers," *Wegweiser für Deutscher Schrer.* 2 vols. pp. 675 and 700.

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## BERNHARD GOTTLIEB DENZEL.

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BERNHARD GOTTLIEB DENZEL, an influential promoter of Pestalozzianism in the Kingdom of Wirtemberg and the Duchy of Nassau, was born at Stuttgart, on the 29th of December, 1773. His father was a merchant and associate-judge, and secured for his son the best education which the gymnasia and university of the kingdom could give. After studying theology at Tübingen, under the profound Dr. Storr, he commenced his pedagogical career as private tutor in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. After two years' experience in that capacity, he served five years as curate and preacher in Pleidelsheim, where he exhibited an enthusiastic interest in the schools, and took the lead in introducing the new Pestalozzian system into Wirtemberg. His decided and influential labors in this work involved him, for a time, in bitter controversy with many old-fashioned schoolmasters, and municipalities; but he was sustained by the higher authorities. He made himself perfectly familiar with the publications of Pestalozzi, and visited both Burgdorf and Yverdon, to observe the practical operations of the system. Deeply in earnest himself, with a thorough practical knowledge of existing wants, and desirable remedies, with a conciliatory manner, and the confidence of all religious men, Denzel made more rapid progress than is usual with school reformers; but, as has been already remarked, he did not entirely escape the opposition of parties whose craft was interfered with.

In 1811, Denzel was appointed director of the Seminary for Teachers in Esslingen, and of the public schools in that circle. Under his oversight, the seminary and the schools made great progress, and were resorted to by teachers and educators as good working-models of the new system of instruction. In 1817, having obtained leave of absence for this purpose, he assisted in reorganizing the school system of the Duchy of Nassau, and establishing the Teachers' Seminary at Idstein, and received, for his service, the appointment of Ducal high school councilor, and the title and rank of prelate.

After performing good service to the cause of popular education throughout Germany, not only through the improvements introduced into the schools of Nassau and Wirtemberg, but by his writings on the science and art of teaching, he died, in the autumn of 1838, universally respected and beloved.

As a teacher, Director Denzel was distinguished by great quickness and clearness of understanding and expression, and by mildness, firmness, and justness in discipline. One who was for nineteen years associated with him in the Seminary at Esslingen says :—"Universally learned and completely master of every subject of instruction in the schools with which he was connected as teacher or inspector, his rare knowledge of the best method of communicating what he knew, enabled him to carry forward the best as well as the weakest minds in his classes, with great satisfaction to all, and at the same time to inspire a love of study, and impart to others the secret of his own success as a teacher." His principal pedagogical works are "*Experiences and Opinions on the Professional Training of Common School Teachers* ;" "*The Common School—a course of lectures on Methodology at Idstein, in 1816* ;" "*Introduction to the Science and Art of Education and Instruction of Masters of Primary Schools.*" The last named is a great work, and holds a high place in the pedagogical literature of Germany.



## WILHELM HARNISCH

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WILHELM HARNISCH was born, August 28th, 1787, at Wilsnach, in the Prussian government of Potsdam—the only son of a prosperous master-tailor, who intended him for the study of theology, and accordingly placed him at the gymnasium in Salzwedel in 1800, and caused him to study from 1806 to 1808 at Halle and Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Here he already began to devote himself particularly to the study of pedagogy, and very soon commenced the practice of it, taking a situation as private tutor in a distinguished family in Mecklenburg, where a well-selected library was at his command, and Rousseau's "*Emile*" was the favorite study of the accomplished mistress of the family. In 1810 he had the good fortune to be summoned to Berlin, in order to be made acquainted with the Pestalozzian system in Plamann's institution, at the expense of the State. Here, in the society of Fichte, Schleiermacher, Köpfe, Zeune, Jahn, Klöden, and other eminent literati, statesmen, and educators, he completed his higher scientific education, and also took an active part in the first establishment of the fencing school, and the gymnastic and swimming institutions. In 1812 he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, married the daughter of a landed proprietor in Russian Lithuania, and became favorably known by his first work, "*The German Common Schools*." Being appointed teacher in the new Teachers' Seminary at Breslau, established upon Pestalozzi's principles, he introduced, with excellent results, a system of instruction in reading and writing, which he also made known in various publications. While here he also wholly originated or took part in various academical labors; established a Society of Teachers, took partial charge of the education of Princess Charlotte, afterward Empress of Russia, and lived in friendly intercourse with Professors Schneider, Wachler, Steffens, Passow, Kaysler, &c. In 1822 he was appointed director of the Teachers' Seminary at Weissenfels, to which he gave a reputation second to no other in Germany, and which is well known in this country, through the Reports of Stowe, Bache, and Mann.

In 1834 he received from the King of Prussia the red order of nobility, fourth class; has received honorary gifts from the Emperor and Empress of Russia, and other royal personages; besides pecuniary means for various pedagogical journeys. In 1837 he was complimented by his colleagues and scholars with the celebration of a

jubilee on occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his labors as a teacher. He has rendered distinguished services toward the perfection of the common school system of Prussia, by his manifold practical and literary labors.

The principal of his numerous writings are the following:—

THE GERMAN COMMON SCHOOLS (*Die Deutscher Volksschulen*,) Berlin, 1812.

COMPLETE INSTRUCTION IN GERMAN (*Vollständiger Unterricht in der Deutschen Sprache*,) Breslau, 1814.

COMPLETE EXPOSITION OF THE BELL-LANCASTERIAN SYSTEM (*Ausführliche Darstellung des Bell-Lancasterschen Schulwesens*,) Breslau, 1819.

LIFE OF THE TUTOR FELIX KASKORBI (a pedagogical romance,) (*Das Leben des Hauslehrers Felix Kaskorbi, ein pädagogischer Roman*,) Breslau, 1820.

HAND-BOOK FOR THE GERMAN SCHOOL SYSTEM (*Handbuch für das Deutsche Volksschulwesen*,) Breslau, 1820.

THE EDUCATION AND SCHOOL COUNCILOR (*Die Erziehungs-und Schulrath*,) 24 parts. Breslau, 1815 to 1820.

THE COMMON SCHOOL TEACHER, (five years,) (*Die Volksschullehrer*,) (5 jahrgänge,) Halle, 1824 to 1828.

THE GERMAN BURGHER SCHOOLS (*Die Deutsche Bürgerschule*,) Halle, 1830.

THE WEISSENFELS SEMINARY (*Das Weissenfelser Seminar*,) Berlin, 1838. (Containing an autobiograph sketch.)

## HERMANN KRUSI.

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HERMANN KRUSI was born March 12th, 1775, at Gais, in the canton of Appenzell. Of his parents he writes in his "Recollections," "they are entitled to the praise of having passed through life in quiet goodness and fear of God, and were careful to give their children a good education." After the good old fashion, they often read in the family Bible, and entered in its blank leaves the birth of each of their children, together with some pious prayer or saying. They also amused themselves, especially on Sundays, by singing from the then popular "Bachofen." Of learning they could of course give their poor children but very little, and what they afterward acquired in school was but little more. His earliest recollections was of a fire which laid the village of Gais in ashes; of which he thus speaks:—

It is natural that the first recollections of the mind should be of uncommon and striking events, such as make a profound impression upon one's whole being, and leave an indelible mark upon the character. This was the case with myself.

On the 7th of September, 1780, a violent south wind blew; bad weather for the weavers, but good for drying turf. "I will go to the turf-ground and turn and dry the turf," said my father; "there is nothing to do in the weaving-room." He took me with him that day for the first time to the turf-pits, which were a good four miles from the village. At half past eleven he heard the sound of a bell. "It can not be striking noon yet," he thought, looking at his work—"Ah God," he cried, "it is the alarm bell;" and we heard the cry of fire! fire! from all sides.

With this fragment, unfortunately, ends the account. The fact of the fire is well known. Notwithstanding his youth, our subject remembered many occurrences of that occasion; especially the next Sunday's service under the open sky. There was very general emotion, which, at the rather remarkable choice of the hymn, "As by the streams of Babylon we sat," &c., broke out into such loud lamentations that the singing could not proceed. These recollections may well have been terrible to the boy, although his father's house was spared by the flames. But a severer stroke came upon him, when his father, in the prime of his manhood, was suddenly snatched away by death from his numerous family. He had always supported his own household, and had taught them according to his ability; and it is difficult to tell what would have become of them, had not Krusi, then in his fourteenth year, undertaken to perform his father's



laborious duties of village errand-man and weaver; a service for which the consciousness that he was the trust and stay of an orphaned family gave him strength. Upon his solitary errands to St. Gall, and elsewhere, he used to recite to himself the instruction and counsel which his father had given.

Krüsi might have passed his whole life in his father's monotonous calling, had not a benign Providence given him an indication which had the most important consequences for his entire future. We shall permit Krüsi himself to tell the story, in the words of his own "Recollections," pp. 2-4, which give other and deeper views into his mind at that time:—

At the highest point of the pass, where the road turns away from toward Trogen, my life also took another direction. While earning my living as day laborer and errand-man, I was carrying, one cold day in 1793, to the establishment of Zellweger, with which I afterward came into very different relations, a great bundle of yarn from the mountain. As I stopped to rest, all dripping with sweat, at the very summit, a relative met me, who was then treasurer of the town, one Herr Gruber. After the usual greetings, the following conversation ensued, which I yet remember as the turning point of my life.

*Gruber.*—"It is warm."

*Myself.*—"Very warm."

*Gruber.*—"Now that schoolmaster Hörler is going away from Gais, you have a chance to earn your bread a little more easily. Have you no desire to offer yourself for his place!"

*Myself.*—"Wishing will not help me much. A schoolmaster must have knowledge; and I have none."

*Gruber.*—"What a schoolmaster among us needs to know, you at your age can very soon learn."

*Myself.*—"But how, and where? I see no possibility of it."

*Gruber.*—"If you wish it, the means will be easily found. Consider the matter and decide upon it."

He left me. I now had abundance of matter for reflection. But no ray of light came into my mind, although the natural sunlight surrounded my body with brightness and warmth. I scarcely felt my load as I proceeded along the ascents and steepes of the road. Whatever has fallen to my lot since that moment, I look upon as the fruit of this conversation.

Since my leaving the day school, where I had learned and practiced only reading, learning by rote, and mechanical copying, and while I was growing up to adult age, I had so far forgotten to write, that I no longer knew how to make all the capital letters; my friend Sonderegger therefore procured me a copy from a teacher in Altstätten, well known as a writing-master. This single copy I wrote over as often as a hundred times, for the sake of improving my handwriting. I had no other special preparation for the profession; but, notwithstanding, I ventured, when the notice was given from the pulpit, to offer myself as a candidate for the place, with but small hopes of obtaining it, but consoling myself with the thought that at least I should come off without shame.

The day of examination came. An elder fellow-candidate was first called before the committee. To read a chapter in the New Testament and to write a few lines, occupied him a full quarter of an hour. My turn now came. The genealogical register, from Adam to Abraham, from the first book of Chronicles, was given me to read. After this, chairman Schläpfer gave me an uncut quill, with the direction to write a few lines. "What shall I write?" I said. "Write the Lord's Prayer, or whatever you like," was the answer. As I had no knowledge of composition or spelling, it may be imagined how my writing looked. However I was told to retire. After a short consultation, I was, to my wonder and pride, recalled into the room. Here chairman Schläpfer informed me that the whole

committee were of opinion that both candidates knew little; that the other was best in reading, and I in writing.

The other, however, being over forty years old, and I only eighteen, they had come to the conclusion that I should learn what was necessary sooner than he, and as moreover my dwelling-house (the commune had then no school-house of their own) was better adapted for a school-house than his, I should receive the appointment. I was dismissed with friendly advice, and encouraging hopes of increased pay, if my exertions should be satisfactory.

Much attention was excited by the fact that my fellow-candidate, eight days afterward, took a situation as policeman, in which he received three *gulden* a week, while the schoolmaster, who was obliged to furnish his own school-room, had to satisfy himself with two and a half.

Krüsi, becoming schoolmaster at the age of scarcely eighteen, was destined to bear a responsibility almost greater than that which he had so lately laid down. This will easily be understood when it is known that, with his small knowledge of school matters, he had to manage and teach more than one hundred scholars, of various ages and both sexes, in the small school-room. In this situation many would have labored only for their money, as is unfortunately the case at this day even with better instructed teachers; but Krüsi's conduct in this respect may serve as a model. As soon as he had adopted this profession, it was his most earnest effort to live worthily of it, and to fit himself for it in the best possible way; a work in which pastor Schiess, his parish minister, materially assisted him, both with advice and help. Within a few years his school had the reputation of being the best in the canton; and he had the pleasure on Easter Monday of seeing his scholars take the six highest numbers in writing—a study on which the utmost value is placed. Krüsi had been laboring in his vocation now for six years, with zeal and faithfulness, when Providence destined him for another field of labor which he could not have foreseen, and which places the modest man in a situation to exert a wide influence upon the whole school system of our native land. The storm of the French Revolution broke out. In the year 1799, foreign armies swept across the plains of our fatherland, and encountered each other in murderous conflict; even the mountains and high alpine valleys did not escape from the bloody game. Poverty, hunger, and lack of occupation were especially severe in the eastern part of Switzerland; many parents could not maintain their children. Sympathy awoke in the hearts of the nobler men in the less severely pressed portions of the country; and from many sides there flowed in liberal gifts, often accompanied with the offer to receive and bring up needy children. Such an invitation came to pastor Steinmüller from his friend Fischer, in Burgdorf, who was then intrusted with the reorganization of the Swiss schools. The wish was at the same time expressed that he would also send a teacher of

the requisite capacity and character for receiving a training as teacher and educator, and for undertaking the care of the children then in Burgdorf with certain benevolent families. Upon the communication of this invitation to Krüsi, he made no delay; an inner voice urged him not to let pass this opportunity for obtaining a further education. Twenty-six children of both sexes assembled for the expedition. Krüsi, as leader of the troop, was provided with twenty-four thalers for the journey, thirty leagues. Pastor Steinmuller, and bailiff Heim, of the district gave him a testimonial, which we may insert here as a noteworthy trait of the condition of the times:—

**FREEDOM! EQUALITY!** To all municipal authorities to whom these presents shall come. Citizen schoolmaster Hermann Krüsi is traveling hence from the canton Sântis to the canton Bern, with twenty-six poor children, whom he is taking to Burgdorf, where sympathizing benefactors will support and care for them for a time. It is my earnest and hopeful request to all municipalities, and especially to their citizen presidents, that they will kindly afford all needful help to the above named children and to their leader, sent forward by my means as above; that they will, as far as possible, kindly provide for them rest and refreshment at noon, and lodging at night, without pay. For such benevolent assistance, may the Lord bless you.

Thus asks and wishes

Gais, January 20, 1800. .

JOH. RUD. STEINMULLER, *Pastor*.

I join in the above request to all citizen presidents and citizen members of municipalities of all communes and districts, to which these needy children shall come, on their way hence to Burgdorf; and am fully convinced that all benevolent persons will, without further recommendation, assist the poor caravan to reach its destination as easily and successfully as possible.

The provincial under-bailiff of the circle of Teufen,

SAMUEL HEIM.

Of the journey itself we need only remark briefly that Krüsi, with his troop, was everywhere received in a friendly manner; and in many places they were entertained gratis, and even received gifts of money. His "Recollections" give an account of this. It deserves to be mentioned, as remarkable enough to remind us of the widow's cruse of oil, that, at Krüsi's arrival at Burgdorf, he was in possession not only of the twenty-four thalers with which he had set out, but of fifteen *gulden* besides; of which he retained the latter, but sent the former back to the authorities of Gais.

From Fischer, at Burgdorf, Krüsi received a most friendly welcome, and commenced his school. The former, however, soon after died, and Krüsi would have been left quite alone again, had not Providence pointed out to him a new path, by means of the appearance of a man whom he followed with entire confidence.

This was Pestalozzi, whose labors at his estate of Neuhof, and in Sânz, are among the noblest facts of history. It was when already of adult age that Pestalozzi, with warm enthusiasm and profound



love, had conceived the idea of becoming an educator and teacher of the poorer classes, then deeply degraded both in intellect and morals; and giving to education in general a more natural direction. After Fischer's death, he therefore invited Krüsi to form a connection with himself, and with him to conduct the school which he had established in the castle of the place. This school, which Pestalozzi had at first commenced only with little children, was soon changed into an educational institution of a higher grade, which, by means of the entirely new direction of its operations, met with great success. Joy and pride must have filled Pestalozzi's breast, as he soon saw, one after another, young and talented men—Tobler from Wolfhalden, previously a tutor in Basle, Buss from Tübingen, Niederer from Lutzenberg, previously a pastor in Sennwald—full of enthusiasm, leaving each his sphere of labor and resorting to him as trustful disciples to a master who yet could reward them with no earthly treasure except a treasure of rich experience and of deep knowledge of the human heart.

The assemblage of these three Appenzellers will remain remarkable for all time. Each of them developed his own side of the Pestalozzian idea; and they were for a long time the ornament and strength of the institution; and, after subsequent successful labors in independent spheres of occupation, they all died within the same year. Krüsi's letters during this period to his early friend Kern, who is yet alive, and who lived in close personal relations with him for nearly forty years, are also of value to the student of human nature. What he wrote of Tobler, "he possesses my entire respect and love, for I recognize in him uncommon talent as a teacher, and goodness of heart," proved entirely true. Tobler had with enthusiasm taken up particularly the idea of Pestalozzi's "Lienhard and Gertrude;" that of replacing mothers in the position originally designed for them, of educators and instructors for early childhood. Seldom has any man labored with as benevolent and unostentatious a desire for the good of his fellow-men as he, although he was often rewarded by misunderstanding and ingratitude.

Niederer, also, besides immovable integrity and warm feelings, possessed a far-seeing keenness of understanding, which had already appeared in his correspondence with Tobler, and which at a later period was displayed in the development of the method with so much power and breadth that even Pestalozzi himself had sometimes to yield to the clearness and thoroughness of his views.

It is astonishing to see with what uniformity these men, assembled from different directions, followed their new path. This was truly a power from on high. What else could have enabled the former

errand-boy and village schoolmaster, Krüsi, to say in his letters to his friend, even before Tobler and Niederer came to Burgdorf,—

“In short, the enterprise advances. The seed of a better education, one more adapted to human nature, is already sown. It will bear fruit which as yet no man, not even its discoverer, the noble Pestalozzi himself, is expecting.”

The self-denying spirit and lofty views with which Pestalozzi's assistants at this early period were imbued, is powerfully shown by the fact that Krüsi and Buss, being allowed a salary of about \$125 a year each from the Helvetic government, appropriated the whole to the support of the institution, receiving from it only board and lodging.

We will here introduce Pestalozzi's own account of Krüsi's previous labors. It affords a valuable view of his character and gifts as a teacher, as well as hints of the general methods of teaching in those days, and of the power with which Pestalozzi's ideas, even in their then undigested and obscure condition, seized upon the minds of ignorant but earnest and unprejudiced men:—

Krüsi, the first of the three, whose acquaintance I made, had past his youth in a different kind of employment, whence he had acquired that variety of practical abilities, which, in the lower stations of life, so frequently gives the first impulse to a higher degree of development, and by which men, who have been in this school from their earliest childhood, are enabled to become more generally and extensively useful.

In his twelfth and thirteenth years, his father, who carried on a petty traffic, used to send him, with a small capital, amounting to about six or eight pounds sterling, for the purchase of different kinds of merchandise, to a distance of ten to twelve miles; to this employment he joined the trade of a sort of public messenger, carrying letters and executing various orders for the people of his village. When he grew older, he filled up his leisure days by weaving, or other daily labor. At the age of eighteen, he undertook the office of village schoolmaster at Gais,\* his native place, without any kind of preparation. He says himself that he did not know the signs of punctuation, even by name; ulterior knowledge was out of the question, because he never had any other instruction than that of a common village school, which was entirely confined to reading, writing copies, and learning by rote the catechism, &c.; but he was fond of children, and he entertained the hope that, by means of this post, he should be enabled to gain for himself that knowledge and education, the want of which he had felt very oppressively, even in his expeditions as village messenger; for, being commissioned to buy a variety of articles, of artificial preparation, and of strange names which he had never heard in his life before, such as ammoniac, borax, and so on; and being at the same time placed in a responsible situation, in which he had to remember every, even the most trifling order, and to account for every farthing; he could not but be struck with the idea, what an advantage it would be, if every child could, by school instruction, be brought to that degree of ability in reading, writing, ciphering, in all sorts of mental exercises, and in the art of speaking itself, which he felt he ought to be possessed of, even for the discharge of his miserable post as village messenger.

Even so soon as the first week. the number of his scholars exceeded one hundred. But he was by no means competent to the task he had undertaken,

\* A village, or, rather, a cluster of hamlets on the highest and most airy part of the canton Appenzel, celebrated as a place of resort for persons of consumptive habits, on account of its excellent milk, of which, however, the patients take only the whey.

for he knew not how to give proper employment to all these children, what to teach them, or by what means to keep them in order. All the notions he had hitherto acquired about keeping school were confined to the "setting" of spelling and reading lessons, to be "got by heart;" to the "saying" of the same lessons by turns, followed by the chastisement of the rod if the task was not properly got. From the experience of his own boyhood, however, he knew likewise that, with this mode of "keeping school," the greater part of the children are idling away most of the school-hours, and by idleness are led to a variety of follies and immoralities; that in this manner the time which is most available for education is allowed to pass by without any benefit to them, and that the few advantages which they may derive from their instruction are not even sufficient to counterbalance the ill effects which must necessarily result from such "school-keeping."

Pastor Schiess, the minister of the place, who was very actively combating the old routine, assisted him in his school, during the first eight weeks. From the very beginning they divided the scholars into three classes. With this division, and the use of some spelling and reading-books on an improved plan, which had recently been introduced in the school, they succeeded in making a number of children spell and read together, and thus keeping them generally occupied to a far greater extent than had been possible before.

The new reading-book, that had been introduced by the minister, contained religious truths in short paragraphs, and in biblical sentences; various facts of physical science, natural history, and geography, were concisely stated, and information was given on interesting points of the political constitution of the country. Krüsi observed his pastor, when he read it with the children, putting some questions at the end of each paragraph, in order to see whether they actually understood what they had read. Krüsi tried to do the same thing, and succeeded in making most of the scholars perfectly familiar with the contents of the reading-book. But this was only because, like good old Huebner,\* he adapted his questions to the answers which were to be found, ready made, in the book, and because he neither demanded nor expected any other answer, except literally those which the book had put into the children's mouths, long before any question was devised to elicit them. The true reason of his success was, that there was a complete absence of all mental exercise in this his system of catechisation. It is, however, to be observed, that that mode of instruction which originally was termed catechisation, is, no more than Krüsi's system of questioning, an exercise of the mind; it is a mere analysis of words, relieving the child, as far as words are concerned, from the confusion of a whole sentence, the different parts of which are presented to the mind separately and distinctly; it can, therefore, only have merit when used as a preparatory step to the further exercise of clearing up the ideas represented by those words. This latter exercise, commonly termed Socratic instruction, has only of late been mixed up with the business of catechising, which was originally confined to religious subjects exclusively.

The children thus catechised by Krüsi were held up by the minister as examples to his elder catechumens. Afterward it was required of Krüsi, that he should, after the fashion of those times, combine this narrow analysis of words, called catechising, with the Socratic manner, which takes up the subject in a higher sense. But an uncultivated and superficial mind does not dive into those depths from which Socrates derived spirit and truth; and it was, therefore, quite natural that, in his new system of questioning, Krüsi should not succeed. He had no internal basis for his questions, nor had the children any for their answers. They had no language for things which they knew not, and no books which furnished them with a well-framed answer to every question, whether they understood it or not.

Krüsi, however, had not then that clear insight into the nature of those two methods which might have enabled him to apprehend their difference. He had not yet learned that mere catechising, especially if it runs upon abstract terms, leads to no more than the art of separating words and handling analytical forms; but that, in itself, it is nothing but a parrot-like repetition of sounds without understanding; nor was he aware that Socratic questions are not to be addressed

\* "Good old Huebner" is the author of a Scripture history in German, to which are attached sets of "useful questions and answers," such as our readers may find in many a "good new" manual of our "enlightened and improved systems."



to children, such as his pupils at Gais, who were equally destitute of the internal fund, that is, of real knowledge,—and of the external means, that is, of language wherein to convey that knowledge. The failure of his attempt rendered him unjust to himself; he thought the fault lay entirely with himself, imagining that every good schoolmaster must be able, by his questions, to elicit from the children correct and precise answers on all manner of moral and religious subjects.

We have already noticed the circumstances which brought Krüsi to Burgdorf.

The more he labored with Fischer the higher seemed to him the mountain which lay in his way, and the less did he feel in himself of that power which he saw would be necessary to reach its summit. However, during the very first days after his arrival, Krüsi was present at some of the conversations I had with Fischer on the subject of popular education, when I expressed my decided disapprobation of the Socratic manner of our young candidates, adding, that it was not my wish to bring children to a premature judgment, on any subject, but that my endeavor was rather to check their judgment, until the children should have an opportunity of viewing the subject from all sides, and under a variety of circumstances, and until they should be perfectly familiar with the words expressive of its nature and its qualities. Krüsi was struck with these remarks; he felt it was there that his own deficiency lay; he found that he himself stood in need of that same elementary instruction which I designed for my children.

Fischer exerted himself with all his power to introduce Krüsi to different departments of science, that he might be able afterward to teach them. But Krüsi felt every day more that the way of books was not the one for him to make progress in, because on every subject he was destitute of that preliminary knowledge of things and their names, which, to a greater or lesser extent, books presuppose. On the other hand, he witnessed the effect which I produced upon my children, by leading them back to the first elements of human knowledge, and by dwelling on these elements with unwearied patience; and the result of his observation tended to confirm him in the notions he had formed concerning the causes of his own inability. Thus by degrees his whole view of instruction underwent a great change, and he began in his own mind to place it on a different foundation. He now perceived clearly the tendency of my experiments, which was to develop the internal power of the child rather than to produce those results which, nevertheless, were produced as the necessary consequences of my proceedings; and seeing the application of this principle to the development of different faculties by different branches of instruction, he came to the conviction that the effect of my method was to lay in the child a foundation of knowledge and further progress, such as it would be impossible to obtain by any other.

Fischer's death accelerated the union between Pestalozzi and Krüsi, which had been contemplated by the latter almost from the first moment of his acquaintance with his paternal friend. The following account of the view which he took of Pestalozzi's plan, after he had for some time enjoyed the advantage of practical co-operation with him, is, notwithstanding its great deficiencies, an interesting testimony in favor of the experiment, in the course of which these ideas urged themselves upon an evidently unprejudiced mind.

1. A well-arranged nomenclature, indelibly impressed upon the mind, is to serve as a general foundation, on the ground of which both teacher and children may, subsequently, develop clear and distinct ideas on every branch of knowledge, by a gradual but well-secured progress from the first elements.

2. Exercises concerning lines, angles, curves, &c., (such as I began to introduce at that time,) are calculated to give children such a distinctness and precision in the perception of objects, as will enable them to form a clear notion of whatever falls within the sphere of their observation.

3. The mode of beginning arithmetical instruction by means of real objects, or at least strokes and dots, representing the different numbers, gives great precision

and certainty in the elements, and secures the further progress of the child against error and confusion.

4. The sentences, descriptive of the acts of walking, standing, lying, sitting, &c., which I gave the children to learn, led Krüsi to perceive the connection between the beginnings of my instruction and the purpose at which I was aiming, viz., to produce a general clearness in the mind on all subjects. He soon felt, that if children are made to describe in this manner things which are so clear to them that experience can not render them any clearer, they must thereby be checked in the presumption of describing things of which they have no knowledge; and, at the same time, they must acquire the power of describing whatever they do know, to a degree which will enable them to give consistent, definite, concise, and comprehensive descriptions of whatever falls within reach of their observation.

5. A few words which I dropped on one occasion, on the tendency of my method to abate prejudice, struck him very forcibly. Speaking of the manifold exertions, and the tedious arguments, by which prejudices are generally combated, I observed that these means had about as much power to counteract them as the ringing of the bells had to disperse thunder-storms,\* but that the only true safeguard against the influences of prejudice was a conviction of the truth, founded upon self-observation. For truth, so acquired, is in its very nature an impediment to the reception of prejudice and error in the mind; so much so, that if men thus taught are made acquainted with the existence of prevailing false notions by the never-ceasing rant of society, there is not in their minds any ground for that ignoble seed to rest on, or to grow up in, and the effect must therefore be very different from what it proves to be in the common-place men of our age, who have both truth and error thrust into their imagination, not by intuition and observation, but by the mere charm of words, as it were by a magic lantern.

When reflecting upon these remarks, he came to the conviction, that the silence with which, in my plan of instruction, errors and prejudice were passed over, was likely to prove more effectual in counteracting them than all the endless verbiage which he had hitherto seen employed for that purpose.

6. In consequence of our gathering plants during the summer, and of the conversations to which this gave rise, he was brought to the conviction that the whole round of knowledge, to the acquisition of which our senses are instrumental, depended on an attentive observation of nature, and on a careful collection and preservation of whatever she presents to our thirst of knowledge.

These were the views on the ground of which he conceived the possibility of establishing such a method of instruction as he felt was most needed; viz., one which would cause all the branches of knowledge to bear upon one another, with such coherence and consistency as would require, on the part of the master, nothing but a knowledge of the mode of applying it, and, with that knowledge, would enable him to obtain, not only for his children but even for himself, all that is considered to be the object of instruction. That is to say, he saw that, with this method, positive learning might be dispensed with, and that nothing was wanted but sound common sense, and practicable ability in teaching, in order not only to lead the minds of children to the acquirement of solid information, but likewise to bring parents and teachers to a satisfactory degree of independence and unfettered mental activity concerning those branches of knowledge, in which they would submit themselves to the course prescribed by the method.

During his six years' experience as village schoolmaster, a considerable number of children, of all ages, had passed through his hands; but with all the pains he took, he had never seen the faculties of the children developed to the degree to which they were carried by my plan; nor had he ever witnessed in them such an extent and solidity of knowledge, precision of thought, and independence of feeling.

He inquired into the causes of the difference between his school and mine.

He found, in the first instance, that, even at the earliest period of instruction, a certain feeling of energy was not so much produced,—for it exists in every mind not enervated by artificial treatment, as an evidence of innate power,—as kept alive in consequence of my beginning at the very easiest task, and exercising

\* It is a superstitious practice, kept up to this day in many parts of Switzerland and Germany, to ring the church-bells at the approach of a thunder-storm, under the impression that the sacred toll will effectually remove the danger.



it to a point of practical perfection before I proceeded; which, again, was not done in an incoherent manner, but by a gradual and almost insensible addition to what the child had already acquired.

With this method, he used to say, you need not push on children, you have only to lead them. Formerly, whatever he wanted to teach, he was obliged to introduce by some such phrase as this: "Pray, do think, if you please!" "Can't you remember, now?"

It could not be otherwise. If, for instance, in arithmetic, he asked, "How many times seven are there in sixty-three?" the child had no palpable basis on which to rest his inquiry for the answer, and was, therefore, unable to solve the question, otherwise than by a wearisome process of recollection; but, according to my method, he has nine times seven objects before him, which he has learned to count as nine sevens; the answer to the above question is, therefore, with him, not a matter of memory; for although the question, perhaps, may be put to him for the first time, yet he knew long ago, by intuition and practice, that in sixty-three there are nine sevens; and the same is the case in all the other branches of my method.

To adduce another instance: he had in vain endeavored to accustom his children to write the initials of substantives with capital letters;\* the rule by which they were to go was constantly forgotten. Now, on the contrary, the same children, having read through some pages of a vocabulary constructed on my plan, conceived of themselves the idea of continuing that vocabulary out of their own resources, and, by writing long lists of substantives, proved that they had a clear notion of the distinctive character of that sort of words. The remark which Krüsi made, that with this method children do not want to be pushed on, is so correct, that it may be considered as a proof of something imperfect in the mode of instruction, if the child still requires any kind of stimulus to thought; and the method can be considered as perfect only where every exercise proposed to the child is so immediately the result of what he has learned before, that it requires no other exertion on his part than the application of what he already knows.

Krüsi further observed that the detached words and pictures, which I used to lay before the children in teaching them to read, produced upon their minds a very different effect from that of the compound phrases commonly used in schools. He, therefore, now began to examine these phrases themselves somewhat more closely, and he found that it was utterly impossible for children to form any distinct notions of the different words of which they are composed; because they do not consist of simple elements before known to the children, and put together in an obvious connection, but that they are unintelligible combinations of objects mostly or entirely unknown. To employ children's minds in the unraveling of such phrases is contrary to nature; it exceeds their powers, and leads to delusion, inasmuch as it introduces them to trains of ideas which are perfectly foreign to them, as regards not only the nature of the objects to which they refer, but likewise the artificial language in which they are clothed, and of which the children have not even acquired the bare elements. Krüsi saw that I was no advocate for this hodge-podge of pedantry; but that I did with my children as nature does with savages, first bringing an image before their eyes, and then seeking a word to express the perception to which it gives rise. He saw that, from so simple an acquaintance with the object, no conclusions, no inferences followed; that there was no doctrine, no point of opinion inculcated, nothing that would prematurely excite them to decide between truth and error; it was a mere matter of intuition, a real basis for conclusions and inferences to be drawn hereafter; a guide to future discoveries, which, as well as their past experience, they might associate with the substantial knowledge thus acquired.

He entered more and more into the spirit of my method; he perceived that every thing depended on reducing the different branches of knowledge to their very simplest elements, and proceeding from them in an uninterrupted progress, by small and gradual additions. He became every day better fitted to second me in the experiments which I myself made on the ground of the above principles; and, with his assistance, I completed, in a short time, a spelling-book, and a course of arithmetic, upon my own plan.

\* In the German language, every substantive, and every word used as a substantive is written at the beginning with a capital letter.



Krüsi himself considered the time he spent in Burgdorf the happiest and most fruitful of all his life. The conviction that they were laboring for a cause which was to exert an influence for good upon thousands of their fellow-men filled all the laborers there with enthusiasm, and made every effort and every new creation a delight which they would not have exchanged for all the treasures of earth.

The important year 1805, in which Napoleon decreed the reseparation of Switzerland, brought the institution at Burgdorf to an end; the castle reverted to the canton and was occupied by the high bailiff. Pestalozzi, after contemplating for some time the transfer of his institution to Münchenbuchsee, determined to continue it at Yverdon, on the lake of Neuchâtel. For this purpose he received permission to use the old castle there; and all his teachers joyfully gathered around him again. In Yverdon, the institution acquired a European reputation; from all directions there resorted to it not only pupils, (of whom it contained in its most prosperous condition above two hundred,) but also youths and men of riper age and experience, who sought to become acquainted with the discoveries of Pestalozzi, in order to fit themselves for learning and teaching in the great field of human education. An active and significant life grew up within the walls of the modest little institution, to which there gathered pilgrims both great and small from all parts of Europe. The seed there sown bore fruit a thousand-fold throughout all parts of Germany, and especially in Prussia, where the benevolent king highly valued the efforts and the method of Pestalozzi, and sent several young men of talents to make themselves acquainted with the latter.

Besides this undertaking, whose good influence was intended to reach boys, youths, and men of all classes and of all beliefs, Pestalozzi's scheme contemplated also the extension of the advantages of an improved education to girls, in order that they might be trained in their great vocation as mothers. To this end he connected with his institution, in 1806, a girls' institute, under the management of Krüsi and Hopf, the latter of whom was married. This institution succeeded. Pestalozzi's best teachers helped to instruct in it. Among those who patronized it Krüsi always remembered with affection a wealthy landowner, (Stamm,) of Schleithelm, who sent to Yverdon not only four daughters, but a niece as a sort of guardian, two nephews, and a young man who he was assisting to train himself for the work of teaching. Truly we might almost say, in the words of Jesus, "I have not found such faith, no, not in Israel!" Of the operations of the institution Krüsi says: "It gives us heartfelt pleasure; but we had not foreseen the continually greater demands to be made upon our

strength and time in order to comply with its requirements. We had, therefore, only the choice remaining to devote ourselves wholly to one institution or the other. Pestalozzi undertook the management of the new institution, with which I remained in friendly communication. The domestic management and moral instruction were all under the charge of several female teachers, until Rosette Kasthofer, afterward Niederer's wife, resolved to make it the object of her life to conduct the institution, in order to the accomplishment of Pestalozzi's views. To this purpose she yet remains true. Although the shortness of my experience will not allow me to claim the ability to educate skillful female teachers and good mothers of families, it will always give me pleasure to remember that the united efforts of my celebrated friend and myself called the institution into life."

Krüsi's wife also received her education in this institution; but after he had resigned the management of it. We, and all who knew him, must agree that the simplicity and goodness of his disposition peculiarly fitted him for teaching girls, although he first undertook it at the age of thirty.

Krüsi's recollections of this period were numerous; but we must confine ourselves to a very few of them. His acquaintance with Katherine Egger, afterward his wife, had already commenced in 1810-12. She subsequently removed to Muhlhausen, to assist her sister in her school there; and we shall derive part of our information from the correspondence between them.

In this correspondence he speaks most frequently of Father Pestalozzi, and of Niederer, who was always intellectually active, but at that time often depressed in spirits. The reverence and love with which all the friends and fellow-laborers there, to the ends of their lives, spoke of Father Pestalozzi, sufficiently refute the incorrect things now frequently heard on this subject.

Thus Krüsi says in one place:—

"Father Pestalozzi is always cheerful, and works with youthful energy. We often wonder at his enthusiasm, which will yield neither to labor nor to age. I seek to avoid unpleasant collisions between dissimilar views; and sincerely desire that my labor may always satisfy him."

And again, about Niederer.

"Niederer is working like a giant. A defence of the institution against wrong impressions and a true exposition of Pestalozzi's designs will soon appear to print. Few men are able to work like him."

Even from these few lines we obtain a deep view of the character

of these three fellow-workmen. Of Krüsi's own labors in the institution we shall let Pestalozzi himself speak, further on. A letter from Krüsi, January 15th, 1812, on occasion of Pestalozzi's birth-day, gives us a view of the feelings and relations of the pupils toward the father of the institution :

"The day," (writes Krüsi to his betrothed,) "was a glorious one, and rich in seeds and fruits for the growth and strengthening of the soul and the heart. I can give you only points of recollections of it: from these points you may complete the lines and the whole picture from your own fancy." He proceeds to give a circumstantial account of the festivities in the schoolroom of each class. The decorations in those of the third and fourth classes were especially ingenious. In the third were to be seen :

a. A transparency of Neuhof, the village of Birr, and the high land of Brunegg. (It was here that Pestalozzi first attempted to realize his benevolent plans for the education of poor factory children.)

b. Opposite to this Pestalozzi's bust, of wood, crowned with a wreath of laurels and immortals.

c. On each side of this, a transparency with an inscription: on the right, in German, "May God who gave thee to us, bless thy work and us long through thee!" on the left, in French, "Homage to our father! the pure joy of our hearts proclaims our happiness."

The room of the fourth class was arranged to represent a landscape, in which were to be seen :

a. Cultivated land and meadows.

b. A rock.

c. A spring rising at the foot of the rock, and a brook flowing from it and fertilizing the land.

d. Near this a poor dwelling; a hut roofed with straw.

e. Over its door the words, "May his age be peaceful."

f. In another place an altar.

g. Over it the words, in a transparency, "May poverty remember him!"

h. On one side of it, "May we live like him!"

i. Upon it, a poor's-box, with a letter from all the members of the class.

As soon as Father Pestalozzi entered the chamber, a little genius came forward from the hut to meet him, and handed him the poor's-box and the letter. He was so surprised and affected that he could scarcely read it. Its contents were as follows :

"Dear Herr Pestalozzi :

"It is very little, it is true; which we, both the present and former members of the class, save in the course of the year; which amount we now offer you as a feeble testimony of the depth of our love; but we are glad to be able to say that at least it comes from sincere hearts; and shall this please you, our end will have been gained. It may express to you our purpose hereafter doing still more for the poor, and like yourself, of finding our own happiness in that of others. May we use well the time of our stay here, and by our efforts evermore deserve your love. May you be nappy among us! Full of gratitude to God, we embrace you affectionately, with the wish that you may live to see us fulfill this promise."

The money given amounted to fifty-two Swiss francs. Besides the displays of the children, the printers had a transparency with the words, "May the press send forth hereafter no longer your life, but only the ripe and beautiful fruit of that life."

Krüsi also describes some festivities which Pestalozzi arranged for his pupils in order on his part to give them pleasure. From this production it is evident with what love and reverence he was regarded by the members of his household, and how they all endeavored to make his days pass in happiness and comfort.

In 1812 Pestalozzi contracted by carelessness a severe illness,



during which he would have Krüsi almost incessantly with his nurse. The latter performed that office with his usual tenderness and self-sacrifice; bearing patiently with his weaknesses, and taking pleasure in every remarkable expression of his friend. Thus he writes from the side of the sick bed to his betrothed:

Our father is remarkable even in his sickness. He is wishing and longing to be well again, and to be able to apply himself to his labors once more with renewed strength; but yet he looks peacefully upon death, close before him. One day while his doctors were consulting about sending to Lausanne for a surgeon, he asked them cheerfully if he must set his house in order. When they were gone, he said to Elizabeth, his faithful housekeeper, (Krüsi's sister-in-law,) that he was willing to die; that the world cost him no regrets. To be able thus to look upon life and the eternity is a beautiful and soul-elevating thing. I am confident that God will spare him to us; but I can not tell you how much I am benefitted by seeing his peacefulness under such circumstances.

When the disease began to yield to the efforts of the physicians, Krüsi's joy expressed itself in the following language: "Had the inscrutable providence of God taken him from us, I would not resign for the whole world the recollections of having cared for him and of having been continually near him. He takes every occasion of expressing his pleasure at your return and of blessing our union. May God make you happy with me. You know my faith in the wise saying, 'The father's blessing builds the children's house, &c.' He will build our house for us; not of wood or stone, but even if it be the most lowly hut, a dwelling of peace, love, truth, and pious labor."

Pestalozzi repaid this love with paternal tenderness. With such feelings he addressed to Krüsi's intended the following characteristic words: "Good day, Trineli! as long as things go well let us see each other and enjoy each others' society. When things no longer go well, and you see me no more, then do you and Krüsi continue to do right, and I shall take pleasure in you on the other side of the grave."

Still deeper in feeling are the words which Pestalozzi, in a Christmas address before all the members of the institution, addressed to Krüsi personally.\*

To Niederer he says:—

Niederer, thou first of my sons, what shall I say to thee? what shall I wish thee? how shall I thank thee? thou piercest to the depths of truth, and with steady footsteps goest through its labyrinth. The love of high mysteries conducts thee. Courageously, with iron breast, thou throwest down the gauntlet to every one who, wandering in by-paths, strays from the ways of truth, regards appearances only, and would deceive his God. Friend thou art my support; my house rests upon thy heart; and thine eye beams a light which is its health, though my weakness often fears it. Niederer! preside over my house like a protecting star. May peace dwell in thy soul, and may thine outward body be no impediment to thy spirit. Thus will a greater blessing arise to the help of my weakness from thy mind and thy heart.

Krüsi, be ever stronger in thy goodness. Among lovely children, thyself lovely and childlike, thou dost establish the spirit of the house in its goodness; in the spirit of holy love.

\* Tobler had already left Yverdon.

At thy side and within thy guiding influence, the child in our house no longer feels that he is without father or mother. Thou decidest the doubt whether a teacher can be in the place of a father and mother. Go and fill thy place still more efficiently and completely.

Krüsi, upon thee also I build great hopes. It is not enough to know the method of human education; the teacher must know the mild and easy steps with which the kind mother leads along that road. That way thou knowest and goest; and thou dost keep the child longer in that loving road of his first instruction than even his mother can. Complete thy knowledge; and tell us the beginnings of childish knowledge, with thine own inimitable union of childlikeness and definiteness. Thou didst bring Niederer hither as thy brother, and livest with him in oneness of mind and soul. May the bond of your old friendship ever knit itself more closely; you are the firstlings of my house; and the only ones that remain of them. I am not always of the same mind with you; but my soul depends upon you. I should no longer know my house, and should fear for its continuance, were your united strength to be removed from it. But you will not leave it, beloved, only remaining firstlings of my house.

We may see from the deep feeling and strong expressions of these words how much Pestalozzi valued Krüsi's quiet and modest labors, and how well Krüsi deserved that value. Scarcely one out of twenty teachers has the ability to enter fully into the nature and needs of children, to bear patiently with their weaknesses, to be pleased with the smallest step of progress, and to become fully accomplished in the profession. Upon the management of such young natures, Krüsi gives his opinion in a letter upon the significance of the smallest opinions. We give an extract from it, as useful and important to all teachers.

It requires much experience to develop the heavenly from the earthly. I can assure you of this, that the world is by no means the comedy that it seems; and what we call indifference is often far more definitely good or bad than men consider. The common appearances of life are only indifferent to us when we do not understand their connections, and set too little value upon their influence over us, for weal or woe. But the purer our soul is, the clearer is our perception of the value or worthlessness of every day and usual affairs; the more do we become able to perceive fine distinctions, and the freer do we become in our own choice and the more independent in our connections.

He whose perceptions of the infinite varieties of plants have not been cultivated sees nothing in the meadow but grass; and a whole mountain will contain for him scarcely a dozen blossoms which attract his attention. How different is the case with him who knows the wonders of their construction. He hears himself addressed from every side; the smallest thing has significance for him; he could employ a thousand eyes instead of his two. In their least parts, even to the very dust that clings to his fingers, he perceives mysteries which lead his mind to the loftiest views, and give his heart the liveliest pleasure. As it is here so it is everywhere. One mother will see only the coarsest physical wants of her child, and hears it only when it begins to cry. Another will penetrate entirely into its inner being; and as she is able to direct this, so she is entirely different in respect to its outward management. Nothing that concerns it is indifferent to her. Every thing an expression of its being; and thus even the least thing acquires a high significance in her eyes.

The small and loveable children who were so often sent to the Pestalozzian institution—much to its credit—always attached themselves especially to Krüsi. From his views as above given, we may imagine with what wisdom he taught these little ones, and sought to awaken their minds and preserve their innocence. To the same purpose are

the following notices in his diary, which it is true contain no very important facts, but which nevertheless, are the clear marks of a man inspired by the holiness of his calling :

"I often pray at evening when I go to bed, that the dear God will let me find something new in nature," said W. M.—, a boy of ten years old, who had found in one of his walks, a stone which he had not before known. This holy habit, (continues Krüsi,) of referring every thing immediately to the Almighty hand, is a sure sign of a pure soul; every expression of it was therefore of infinite value to me. I thanked God that by means of it I had been able to see further into the heart of this good child.

"It is hard for me to write a letter," said S—, when he was set to write to his parents, and found it difficult. Why? said I; adding, you are now a year older, and ought to be better able to do it. "Yes," said he, "but a year ago I could say every thing I knew; but now I know more than I can say." This answer astonished me. It came from deep within the being of the child. Every child, in his liking and capacity for writing letters, must pass through periods, which it is necessary for his parents or teachers to know, lest without knowing or wishing it, they should do the children some harm.

E—, nine years old, said yesterday, "One who is clever should not be told what 'clever' means. But one who is stupid will not understand it, and he may be told as much as you like."

Th. T—, six years old, sees God everywhere as an omnipresent man before him. God gives the birds their food; God has a thousand hands; God sits upon all the trees and flowers.

J. T—, on the contrary, has an entirely different view of God. To him he is a being far off, but who from afar sees, hears, and controls every thing. Are you also dear to God? I asked him. "I do not know," he answered; "but I know that you are dear to him. All good men are dear to him." I was so astonished to hear the child thus express his views of God, and of myself, and this childlike respect and dependence upon his teacher, that I dared question him no longer, lest I should not treat with sufficient tenderness and wisdom, this spark of the divine.

These extracts will sufficiently show that Krüsi considered the hearts of his pupils as holy things, which it was his business to keep in the right path. He was never ashamed, even in his old age, to learn from children; and the traits and efforts of earliest childhood often afforded him help in the construction of a natural system of instruction.

Every child that I have ever observed, writes Krüsi, in his "Efforts and Experiences," (*Bestrebungen und Erfahrungen*), during all my life, has passed through certain remarkable questioning periods, which seem to originate from his inner being. After each had passed through the early time of lisping and stammering, into that of speaking, and had come to the questioning period, he repeated at every new phenomenon, the question, "What is that?" If for answer he received a name of the thing, it completely satisfied him; he wished to know no more. After a number of months, a second state made its appearance in which the child followed its first question with a second: "What is there in it?" After some more months, there came of itself the third question: "Who made it?" and lastly, the fourth, "What do they do with it?" These questions had much interest for me, and I spent much reflection upon them. In the end it became clear to me, that the child had struck out the right method for developing its thinking faculties. In the first question, "What is that?" he was trying to get a consciousness of the thing lying before him. By the second, "What is there in it?" he was trying to perceive and understand its interior, and its general and special marks. The third, "Who made it?" pointed towards the origin and creation of the thing; and the fourth, "What do they do with it?" evidently points at the use, and design of the thing. Thus this series of questions seemed to me



to include in itself the complete system of mental training. That this originated with the child is not only no objection to it, but is strong indication that the laws of thought are within the nature of the child in their simplest and most ennobling form.

That Krüsi was now writing his experiences with a view to others, and was continually occupying his mind with reflections upon all the appearances of nature and of life, the following words show :

Thus I have again gained a whole hour of instruction. I had four divisions in mental arithmetic. Each of them, as soon as it had found the clue, taught itself; all that I had to do was to oversee, and to assist. It is a pleasure to teach in that way, and a sweet consciousness rewards the labor. But still, arithmetic is not the chief subject which occupies my mind. For had I the opportunity, I could do something in the investigation of language. For if matters turn out as I am in hopes they may, I shall give some proof that I have not lived in vain. The study of language leads me on the one hand to nature and on the other to the Bible. To study the phenomena of the former, and to become familiar with the contents of the latter, are the two great objects which now demand from me much time, much industry, and a pure and natural observation of childish character.

The little work alluded to in the above lines, bears the title, "Biblical views upon the works and ways of God." (*Biblische Ansichten über die werke und wege Gottes*;) and in it the exposition of God's operations in nature, stated in Biblical language, was carried through upon a regular plan. Krüsi would perhaps have undertaken the work in a different manner at a later period; but the Bible was always to him a valued volume, in which he studied not only the divine teachings and similitudes of the New Testament, but also the lofty natural descriptions of Moses, Job, David, &c. The charge of deficiency in biblical religious feeling has often been brought against the Pestalozzians. For my part I can testify that even the first of them had studied the Bible through and through, and placed uncommon value upon it. Their child-like faith and love for everything good and true, fitted them especially for doing so; moreover, they were inspired by Pestalozzi's energetic Christianity. The fact that they always endeavored to bring a religious spirit into every study, and especially into that of language, by awakening a love of truth, and an active preparation for every thing good and beautiful, is a clear proof that a high and Christian ideal was always before their eyes.

Krüsi's heart was, so to speak, in love with the beauties of nature all his life. In his seventieth year, every flower, tree, sunrise and sunset, spoke to him as distinctly as the first time he saw them. He perceived in nature that plain impression of the divine energy which is often dim to adult men, and is most plainly seen by children. And he always returned to nature to learn from her. How she awakened his sensibilities will appear from the following extract which he wrote in his diary and afterward sent to his betrothed :

It is Sunday, and a divinely beautiful morning. More than an hour before the rising of the sun, the brightness of the morning light could be seen upon the

summits of the great Alpine chain, from Mont. Blanc, to the Titlis in Unterwalden. Now the majestic sun himself in heavenly splendor, arises and lights up everything before me. Why does he begin his course so quietly that we must watch like a sparrow hawk, lest he escape our attention and stand there before us unawares? If the roll of the thunder were to accompany his rising, how exceedingly seldom would the dwellers in cities and villages keep themselves away from this divine spectacle, which no other earthly show even approaches? And yet none will be away when the roll of the drum announces the coming of an earthly prince. So I thought for a moment; but soon saw the silliness of my meditations. It is the very nature of light to distribute its blessings in silence. In the moral world it is the same. The nearer one approaches to the fountain of life, the more silent are his endeavors to spread around him light and blessings.

At the breaking of such a day it is as if a world were being created again. Light, air, water, land, plants, beasts, and men, appear to our eyes almost in the same order in which they were created.

How quickly is everything done which our Lord God creates! and how frightfully slow are we in understanding even the smallest of them! And besides all this quickness in creating, and slowness in comprehending, how infinite is the number of things which God places before our eyes! No wonder that our knowledge always remains mere patchwork, and that we have to postpone so many things to the other side of the grave, in the hope that there, free from the bonds of the earthly body, we shall progress with an ever increasing speed from knowledge to knowledge, and shall clearly understand how everything exists, in God, which was dim and perplexed to us here.

A strong and encouraging indication of our own inward worth appears in the expression, "The spirit explaineth all things, even the deep things of God." But it is a trouble to most men, that they cannot approach God by some other means than by the spirit; by their perceptions, or by their knowledge. He only can approach God by the spirit, to whom nature opens her mysteries; to whom her operations and her purposes are known. But how few are there who attain even to an A B C of knowledge of the world, from which, as from a living spring, they may gain a pure and worthy conception of their creator. How often must even he who has made the study of nature the business of his life, whose knowledge surpasses that of millions of his fellow beings, stand still before the most common physical, mental, or moral phenomenon, and exclaim: such mystery is too wonderful for me, and too high; I can not understand it.

Then hail to thee, human heart! Through thy feelings is it, that we can approach more nearly to God than through our intellectual powers.

The fundamental human relation is that of childhood. It is based entirely upon love. Without our own consent we enter into it. And this same condition is again the highest aim which man can propose to himself, as his best preparative for heaven. The mind loses nothing by this preëminence of the heart; on the contrary, it is this very preëminence in the growth of feeling, and in purity, which gives a higher character to the power and exercise of the mind.

The effort of men to know things here, as God knows them, to display the order of the heavens, the powers of the earth, and the relation of the mind, in the light of earthly truth, are a holy trait of humanity; but men in general can not find rest by these efforts. Everything elevating in the idea of the creator and ruler of the world must appear to them under the mild aspect of a father, if it is to be beneficial and elevating to them. Without this appearance, his omnipotence would be fearful to the weak mortal, his presence painful, his wisdom indifferent, and his justice a two edged sword, which hangs continually over his head and threatens to destroy him. Only by childlike faith in the fatherhood of God can our race feel itself cared for, elevated, supported and guided; or cultivate confidence, gratitude, love and hope, without a destructive conflict with opposing feelings.

The reëstablishment of this child-like condition and the revivification of the holiness which proceeds from it, are the things by which Christ has opened a way to God, and become the saviour of the world.

Through him is it that the pure in heart may see God. The simplest man has the powers necessary for this purpose. They are only the powers that the child exerts when he recognizes the love of his parents, in the care which they bestow upon him.

Truly, it is wonderful how both termini of the development of our nature—the being a child, and the becoming a child of God, should be so nearly connected with each other.

A holy confidence in God is shown in the letters in which he speaks of his prospects for a certain support in the future. His betrothed, who like him had been left destitute by the storm of the revolution, had wandered away from Glarus, her native land, with a troop of poor children, and had been received and supported by some respectable and benevolent people in Zürich, had of course no property : and Krüsi's new place with Pestalozzi, had much more attraction for the friend and follower, than for one prudent in pecuniary matters. Although Krüsi's approaching marriage must have made a certain income more desirable to him, he still felt no solicitude about it, like a true believer in the words of Jesus, "Take ye no thought," &c., but expressed himself as follows :

God will provide. Whoever is conscious of strong love and honest aims in life, should act with freedom, and believe in the prophecy that all things will be for the best. Has not the being who guides all things, thus far watched wonderfully and benevolently over us and our connection ? Many are troubled lest they shall not receive what is their own. Is it carelessness in me that I have no such feelings ?

I thank God for the powers which he has given you and me for our duties ; I feel much more solicitude that we may use these powers worthily of the benevolent God. At every rising of uneasiness I seem to hear God saying to me as Christ did to his disciples on the sea, "Oh ye of little faith !"

Krüsi at last managed to complete the indispensable arrangements for bringing his wife from Mühlhausen ; and he was married at Lenzburg, in 1812. His wife entered with confidence upon her new sphere of life, with a man who was not only her lover, but her teacher and her paternal friend. He was not an inexperienced youth, but a man thirty-seven years old, in the prime of his strength, and with a ripeness of experience and thought, seldom found even at his years. His wife too, although considerably younger, had also seen the rougher side of life, and had also felt the inspiring influence of a right method of education.

After his marriage, Krüsi occupied a private house near the castle, where he had charge of the deaf and dumb children of his friend Näf, as long as his connection as teacher with the Pestalozzian institution continued. This now soon came to an end, and under circumstances so unpleasant that we should prefer to be silent upon them, were it not for removing from one of Pestalozzi's oldest teachers the charge of ingratitude, which many well informed readers have believed in consequence of this separation.

There has seldom been a man who has had so many friends and so few enemies, among so great a variety of men, as Krüsi ; thanks to his mild and peace loving disposition. It was his principle always



rather to withdraw himself, than to make the evil greater by obstinacy or violence in maintaining his views. This habit stood him in good stead in the quarrel which at this time threatened to destroy Pestalozzi's institution. But how was it possible, it may be asked, that men engaged in such a noble enterprise, could not go on in harmony with each other? It was the work of one man, a graduate of the Pestalozzian institution, endowed with uncommon mathematical talents, who sacrificed the peace of the institution to his unbounded ambition. This man, Schmid by name, had contrived, under the name of a guardian, to gain the entire control of the aged Pestalozzi, and little by little to alienate him from all his old friends. As early as 1808, Krüsi had concluded that he could not with honor remain longer in the institution, and had accordingly written an affecting letter of farewell to Pestalozzi, from which we make the following extracts :

Dear Herr Pestalozzi :

God knows that I have always sought with an honest heart, the accomplishment of your holy plans. Whenever I have thought it necessary to differ from you, it has been without any ulterior views, from love for you and for the good of humanity.

For eight years the undisturbed possession of your paternal love has made me the happiest of men. Your present expressions upon the sequel of this relation, pierce so much the more deeply, the less I feel that they are deserved. (Here follow some reasons for his withdrawal.)

If it shall be permitted to me to live for the darlings of your heart, the poor, and to prepare their children to receive the benefits which your efforts have secured for them, there will again awaken in your soul some faith in my gratitude, my love, and my earnest endeavor not to have lived by your side, in vain.

Still further, dearest Pestalozzi ; if I have been to blame toward you, it was only by error. Forgive the child who with sorrow and grief tears himself away from his father and his friend.

Whether this letter was delivered to Pestalozzi, is not known. Krüsi did not leave at that time, although Tobler did, dissatisfied for various reasons, and sought another field of labor at Basle.

Schmid was at last, in 1810, removed from the institution, and for a few years the old good understanding prevailed there again. But when he returned and took charge of the financial department, (Pestalozzi, who was well known for a bad housekeeper, not being competent for it,) the quarrel came up again, directed this time chiefly against Niederer and his noble wife, but also against all the other faithful laborers in the institution. Thus, by a departure of many of the best teachers, especially the German ones, it lost many of its brightest ornaments ; and in the year 1816, Krüsi also, with a bleeding heart, sent his resignation to Pestalozzi, whom even in his error he loved and respected ; but for whom at that time another person spoke, in terms of the bitterest contempt, and most irritating coldness. There is, however, some trace of the old affection, in Pestalozzi's answer to Krüsi's letter :

With sorrow I see a connection dissolved, which I would willingly have continued unto my death, had it been possible. It was not, however, and I receive your explanation with the affection which I have always felt for you, praying God to better my pecuniary condition, so that I may be enabled before my death to show that I respect the relation in which I have so long stood to you. Greet your wife and embrace your child for me, and believe me ever your true friend,

Yverdon, 17th Feb., 1816.

PESTALOZZI.

In the letter of Krüsi, just quoted, he expresses his earnest wish to labor for the education of the poor. The same is found in the following to his betrothed; "My inmost wish is to be able to labor in some way, according to the idea of our father, for the education of poor children. We both know what poverty is, and how sorely the children of the poor need help, that they may live worthy and satisfactory lives. It is for us to afford this help. I feel it my vocation, and feel that I have the ability, to do for the poor whatever God has rendered me capable of doing. You must help me. Female instinct must join with manly strength for the accomplishment of this object."

The wish thus expressed was never gratified. It was to be Krüsi's chief occupation to instruct the children of parents in good circumstances, until at a later period his situation in a seminary whose pupils were then, and have been since, mostly from the poorer classes, and who thus have influence both upon the poor and the rich, at least permitted it partial gratification.

After his separation from Pestalozzi, Krüsi set about the establishment of an institution of his own, which he did in fact afterward open, with very little other help than his confidence in God. He purchased a small house, pleasantly situated on the Orbe, by the assistance of a benevolent friend, who lent him a considerable sum, without security, and had the pleasure of seeing an increasing number of parents send their children to him. It was especially gratifying to his patriotism that his first pupils were from his native place of Gais, where they yet live as respectable citizens. In his institution he proceeded upon the Pestalozzian plans; and the happiness of his labors was only troubled by the knowledge that his paternal friend was continually more closely entangled in the snares of the intriguing Schmid, so that even Niederer was forced to leave the institution in 1817.

Although Krüsi was now happily established as father of a family, his first child was born in 1814, and teacher of a prosperous school, yet another destiny was before him, and as previously, without his own coöperation.

In his own little native territory, the public-spirited Hans Caspar Zellweger and others, had conceived the useful idea of seeing a cantonal school for the higher education of native youth, who were then

able to command no other means of instruction in their own country than the ordinary village school. Herr Zuberbühler was appointed to the charge of the institution. He had been in the troop of poor children who went with Krüsi to Burgdorf; and was peculiarly fitted for his place, by his acquirements and by the mildness of his character. But man proposes and God disposes. Zuberbühler was soon seized by an illness, which brought him to the edge of the grave, and which profoundly impressed him with the idea of his own helplessness and the danger from it to his institution. It being necessary to employ another teacher, he invited Krüsi, who was now well known in that neighborhood since his abode near it, and who had besides during the journey into Appenzell, in 1819, made himself acquainted with various influential men there. Soon after this journey he made another to Karlsruhe, Frankfort, Wiesbaden and Schnepfenthal, near Gotha, where he visited the excellent Gutsmuths, who has done so much for the art of gymnastics. It was in 1822 that the news of Zuberbühler's illness reached him, and of his own invitation to the place of director. The prospect of being useful to his fatherland was irresistible to him; and he was also influenced by the promises of an assured income and of entire freedom in modes of instruction. The reputation of his own institution was already great, as will be understood from Krüsi's own mention of the fact as a rare one, that even while he was at Yverdun, pupils were sent to him from three-quarters of the world; some by French merchants from Alexandria, in Egypt, and one from the capital of Persia, Teheran, 800 leagues distant. This may, however, be in some measure ascribed to the fame of the Pestalozzian institution. A very respectable lady from Memel had besides taken lodgings in Krüsi's house with her two daughters, in order to learn under his guidance how to instruct them; and the same thing happened afterwards with an English family at Gais. Krüsi, however, did not hesitate long, but accepted Zellweger's offer in a respectful letter. He himself went first alone to Trogen, and proceeded to his sick friend, Zuberbühler. He says, "When I entered the room Zuberbühler put his hands before his eyes and burst into tears. It relieved his heart to know that I had come to continue the work which he had so well begun." In fact, he grew better from that very day, and was soon completely well. In his native place of Gais, Krüsi attached himself, especially to his early friend Kern, who had traveled to Yverdun to see him. He also had the great pleasure of finding his old friend, the good-natured Tobler, at the head of an institution in St. Gall; where afterwards he often visited him. Having after a time removed thither his effects and his family, Krüsi



with his two assistants, pastor Bänziger from Wolfhalden, and Egli from Hittnem, commenced operations in his new place, in the cantonal school at Trogen.

Want of space will oblige me to be brief in our account of Krüsi's stay at Trogen and Gais. Most readers are however better acquainted with this part of his life than with the earlier. This earlier period is especially valuable for teachers, as being that of the Pestalozzian discoveries, and of the enthusiasm which attended them. The later period is occupied more particularly with the further development of it. The institution at Trogen soon gained reputation. At first, most of the pupils were from Appenzell; but afterwards quite a number came from the canton and city of Zurich, and a less number from the cantons of Bündten, Thurgau, St. Gall and Basle, and several from Milan. There was an annual exhibition, which was always interesting, both as showing the progress of the pupils, and the spirit of the institution, and from the addresses made by the director, and Herren Kasper Zellweger, and Dean Frei; most of which have also appeared in print. The situation of the institution, in a somewhat retired place, had the advantage of withdrawing the pupils from material pleasures and the attractions of the world; in the stead of which were offered many enjoyments of a nobler kind in the pleasure of nature, and in the use of an excellent play-ground and garden. Although none of the studies, (which included the ancient and modern languages,) were carried so far as in many institutions of a higher grade, its results were very favorable, from the harmonious labors of the three teachers, and from the efficient character of the method by which Krüsi aimed always at increasing the capabilities of his scholars, and the industry of most of the pupils. There were, it is true, sad exceptions; and if the teachers did not succeed with any such pupils, there were often put under their charge a number of ill-taught or orphan children. Many were by Krüsi's friendly and earnest admonitions, caused to reflect, and brought into the path of virtue, no more to leave it. Krüsi, who always himself took charge of the instruction and management of such pupils, tried mild methods at first, as long as he had any hopes of succeeding with them; at lessons he was cheerful, pursuing every study with love and pleasantly encouraging every smile from his scholars which proceeded from honest animation. He became severe however upon the appearance of any falsehood, rudeness or immorality, and at such times every one feared the wrath of the angry and troubled father.

In 1832, one of the places of assistant teacher became vacant by the death of Herr pastor Bänziger, in whose stead he placed Herr

Siegfried of Zurich, an active and learned man. Meanwhile another change was at hand in Krüsi's lot. His earnest wish to devote himself to the training of teachers was to be gratified; although even in the cantonal school he had done something in this direction.

Since the year 1830 the cause of popular education had been gaining new life in many cantons of Switzerland. Funds were raised in many places for the establishment of new schools which were to be assisted by the State; the position of teacher began to be considered more respectable, and to be better paid; although neither a fair price nor this respect were paid in more than a few places. Clear-minded men however saw that in order to the improvement of popular education, the teacher must first be educated; that for this purpose teachers' seminaries must be established. The question of the choice of a director for the seminary at Zurich, being under consideration, Krüsi was mentioned by various persons, and particularly by the celebrated composer and firm admirer of Pestalozzi, Nägeli. Although this place, as the sequel showed, was not the right one for Krüsi, he still considered it his duty to think over the matter, and to communicate his views upon it, which he did in a letter to his friend Bodmer, at Zurich, from which we extract the following:

The higher education was always the field in which I hoped to labor, if it were the will of God, and to plant in it some good seed for the common schools of my native land. Thirty years ago, I hoped that I had found such a field, in the Swiss seminary, established in 1802, by the Helvetian government, under Pestalozzi as teacher. The act of mediation broke up the plan by disuniting the cantons, and the schools for the common people with them; but the investigation of the laws of education had always been since that a favorite pursuit with me. During a rich experience at Pestalozzi's side, and during researches up to this time uninterrupted, for the purpose of establishing a system of natural education, it has been my hope to be able to labor efficiently for the school system of my native land. The canton of Zurich is one which rather than any other I would gladly see the first in Switzerland in furthering this most high and noble object. But I ought not to hide from you my fears, whether:

1. I can count upon being able to carry out Pestalozzi's system of elementary education, freely and without hindrance. In that I recognize the only means of awakening the intellectual life of the teacher, or of bringing the same into the school.

2. The strict necessity of coöperating labor would be regarded in the choice of a second teacher. They should each supplement the work of the other; and this can only happen when their efforts are put forth in the same spirit and for the same object.

3. There should be a model school, which I consider an indisputable necessity for the seminary. It is not as a place of probation for new scholars that I desire this, but as affording an example of the correct bodily, material, moral and religious training of the children.

4. Sufficient care should be taken in the selection of a place for the seminary, that the supervision of its morals should be as much facilitated as possible. The pupils of such a seminary are usually of an age most difficult to manage; and their own moral character subsequently has a strong influence upon that of their scholars.

When Krüsi at last entered upon his long desired field of labor, in 1833, being appointed director of the teachers' seminary, erected in

that year, he felt the liveliest pleasure. The object of his life seemed to him now to stand in a clear light before him, and to open to him the prospect that his countrymen would reap the harvest, whose seed he had sown in the spring of youth, and watched over in the summer. Honor to our Grand Council, and to those who were the cause of the resolution, to spread such manifold blessings among our people and blooming youth. Honor to them, that they gave to poor but upright and study-loving youth, the means of training themselves for teachers in their own country, and of learning its necessities, that they might be able to labor for their relief. With gratitude to God, the wise disposer of his fate, Krüsi left the cantonal school, and proceeded to Gais; recalling with emotion the time forty years before, when as an ignorant youth he had there taken up the profession of teaching, himself afterward to become a teacher of teachers.

He considered the years of his labor in Gais, among the happiest of his life. To pass the evening of his days in his native country and his native town, to communicate the accumulated treasures of his teachings and experience to intelligent youth, to labor surrounded by his own family and with their aid, and to benefit so many pupils, all this was the utmost that he had ever dared wish for. This wish was however to be entirely realized. He conducted five courses, attended by sixty-four pupils, and with the assistance of his valued friend, pastor Weishaupt, of his own eldest son, and of Gähler, a graduate of the seminary itself. During the latter course death overtook him.

A boys' school, and a girls' school conducted by his second daughter, soon arose near the seminary, forming a complete whole, over which Krüsi's kind feeling and paternal supervision exercised a beneficial influence. Hardly ever did three institutions proceed in happier unity. Many pleasant reminiscences of this period present themselves; but the space is wanting for them. Krüsi's skill as educator and teacher were the same here as elsewhere. He used the same method, showed the same mild disposition, love of nature and enthusiasm for every thing beautiful and good. He occupied a position even higher in respect of insight and experience, in the completion of his system of education, as adapted to nature; and a more honorable one by reason of his old age and the gray hairs which began to ornament his temples. But despite of his age, whose weaknesses his always vigorous health permitted him to feel but little, he ever preserved the same freshness of spirit. His method of instruction did not grow effete, as is often the case with old teachers. He was always seeking to approach his subject from a new side; and felt the same animation as of old, at finding any new fruits from his method



or his labors. His kind and friendly manners won all his pupils, whether boys and girls, or older youth. Nor is it strange that all the other members of the establishment also looked upon him as a father. An expression of their love and respect appeared on the occasion of his birthday, which they made a day of festival, with a simple ceremonial speeches and songs. Upon such occasions he was wont to recall the time of his abode with Pestalozzi; and his affectionate heart always impelled him to speak in beautifully grateful language of his never-to-be-forgotten father and friend, the originator of his own useful labors, and all his happiness. The crowning event of his happiness was the presentation on his sixty-ninth birthday, in 1843, the fiftieth year of his labors as a teacher, by all the teachers who had been instructed by him, of a beautiful silver pitcher, as an expression of their gratitude. He looked hopefully upon so large a number of his pupils, and gave them his paternal blessing. Two of his birthday addresses have appeared in print.

Until April of that year, Krüsi continued to teach in the seminary and connected schools. After the completion of his fifth course, he had hoped to be able to completely work out his system of instruction, and more fully to write his biography; but this was not to be permitted him. He was able at leisure times to write and publish much matter; the last of these was a collection of his poems. These are valuable, not as artistic productions, but as true pictures of his pure and vivid feeling for every thing good and beautiful. The fact that he wrote many of his songs to the airs of his friend, pastor Weishaupt, shows that he valued high-toned musical instruction. This love of singing remained with him to the end of his life; and his face always grew animated if he saw men, youth and maidens, or young children, enjoying either alone or in pleasant companionship, that elevating pleasure.

At the annual parish festival of 1844, the old man now seventy, was present in Trogen, entering heartily into the exercises of the occasion, and particularly, the powerful choral, "*Alles Leben strömt aus Dir*," which was sung by a thousand men's voices, and an eloquent discourse on common education, by Landarman Nagel. The fatigue, excitement, and exposure to the weather, which was damp and cold, were too much for his strength, and in the evening he was ill, and on the following day he was visited by a paralytic attack, from which he never recovered, but closed his earthly career on the 25th of July, 1844. His funeral was attended by a multitude of mourners from far and near, and his body was borne to its last resting-place in the churchyard of Gais, by the pupils of the seminary.

# THE GENERAL MEANS OF EDUCATION.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF A NEW INSTITUTION FOR BOYS.

BY HERMANN KRÜSI.

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THE following "*Coup d'œil*" of the General Means of Education, with the Plan of the new Institution which Krüsi afterward organized and managed, was published at Yverdon, in 1818, and presents the ideas and methods of Pestalozzi, as held by one of his early assistants and avowed disciples.

The principal means for the education of man are three, viz., 1. Domestic Life. 2. Intellectual Education, or the Culture of the Mind. 3. Religious Training.

## I. DOMESTIC LIFE.

The object of domestic life is the preservation of the body and the development of its powers. It may therefore be considered the basis of physical life.

The body is a seed, enveloping the germ of intellectual, moral and religious activity. Domestic life is the fertile soil in which this seed is deposited, and in which this germ is to expand and prosper.

There are three principal relations of domestic life; of parents to children, of children to parents, and of children to each other.

In domestic life, love is the center of all the sentiments and actions. It is manifested in the parents by unremitting care and unbounded self-sacrifice; in the children, in return, by perfect confidence and obedience; and among brothers and sisters, by endeavors to promote each other's happiness. Every event, almost every moment, of domestic life, stimulates the entire being, body, mind and soul, into activity. Beyond the domestic circle, and the further we move from it, the more remarkable does the particular tendency and the isolated action of each faculty become.

A seminary should exemplify domestic life in all its purity. The teachers should regard the pupils as their children; the children should regard the teachers as parents, and each other as brothers and sisters. The purest love should inspire all these relations; and the result should be cares, sacrifices, confidence, obedience, and reciprocal endeavors to aid in attaining the objects desired.

Such a domestic life prepares the child for mental improvement and religious development and habits. Without it, religion will gain no access to the heart, and intellectual cultivation will only be a means for satisfying the selfish demands of the animal nature. But with it, the child is prepared for the successful exercise of the same good qualities and the maintenance of the like relations in a wider sphere as a man, a citizen, and a Christian.

## II. INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION.

The aim of this should be, on one hand, to develop the faculties, and on the other to develop executive power. The faculties must all be developed together; an end only to be attained by the exercises of the active and productive faculties. In order to real development, the mind must act of itself; and moreover, the active and productive faculties can not be exercised without at the same time exercising those which are passive and receptive, (namely, those of comprehension and retention,) and preparing them for future service with increased advantage.

That alone can be considered the elementary means of developing the mental

faculties, which is essentially the product of the human mind ; which the mind of each individual can, and does in fact, to a certain degree produce, independent of all instruction ; that which spontaneously exhibits itself in each department, and is, as it were the germ of attainment in it. These essential productions of the human mind are three ; *number, form, and language.*

The ultimate element of number is unity ; of form, a line ; of language, ideas, which are interior, and sound, which is exterior. Each of these three means may be employed in two different directions ; to develop, on one hand, the power of discerning truth, and on the other, that of discerning beauty.

The faculties of the individual can not be developed without his acquiring, at the same time, a certain amount of knowledge, and a certain bodily skill in the execution of what the mind has conceived ; and it is an important truth that an enlightened mind will succeed much better than an unenlightened one in the acquirement of knowledge as well as of every kind of executive ability.

Exercises intended to develop the faculties, like those intended to communicate knowledge, should succeed one another in a logical (natural or necessary) order ; so that each shall contain the germ of that which is to follow, should lead to it, and prepare for it.

The development of the principal faculties, and the acquirement of a certain amount of information, are necessary to qualify every individual for his duties as a man, a citizen, and a Christian. This degree of development, and this amount of information, constitute the province of *elementary education*, properly so called, which would be the same for all. But beyond these limits, the character and extent of studies should vary, on one hand, according to the indications of nature, which destines individuals by different capacities for different callings ; and on the other hand, according to his situation in life.

In the acquisition of knowledge, an elementary path should be followed, introductory and preparatory to a scientific method of study. This is suited to the child, because it leads from a series of particular facts, it leads upward to the discovery of general truths. The scientific method is suitable only to mature and enlarged minds, proceeding from general principles, displaying them in their whole extent, and thus arriving at particular truths.

We shall now point out the proper means of development, and the principal objects to be attained by them ; afterward considering the different ages of childhood, and the successive steps in development and order of studies.

### *First means of development. Number.\**

#### SECTION 1. Exercises in number, with reference to truth.

A. Mental calculation ; to give intuitive knowledge of numbers, and their relations : including

- a. exercises on units.
- b. " simple fractions.
- c. " compound fractions or complex fractions.

In each of these three series there are different degrees, namely,

*First*, (Preparatory,) Numeration, or learning to count.

*Second*, Composition of Numbers ; e. g., all numbers are composed of units. All even numbers are composed of twos ; all triple ones of threes, &c. Also, decomposition of numbers, e. g. ; all numbers may be decomposed into units ; all even numbers into twos ; all triple ones into threes, &c. Also, transformations of numbers. That is, the mode of composing new numbers from the threes, twos or units, coming from the decomposition of an old one.

*Third*, Determinations of simple relations and proportions.

B. Calculations by symbols. (Figures, letters, &c.) The object of this is to give an intuitive knowledge of rules, under which all operations on numbers may be performed, and also the ability to express numbers and operations by signs. Including,

- a. A knowledge of the decimal numerical system.

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\* We state the means of development in the following order ; *number, form, language* ; because the development of number is simplest and has fewest applications, those of *form* are more varied, and language includes number, form, and all human knowledge. When we consider the child at different ages, we shall, on the contrary, begin with language, because by that, begins the development of his understanding.



- b. The four simple rules, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.
- c. The rule of three, throughout.
- d. Evolution and involution.
- e. Algebra.

C. Applications both of mental and written calculation, to the discovery of relations between numbers and the attainment of skill in the common calculations. This application is to four principal objects, viz.,

- a. Extent, according to natural and arbitrary measures.
- b. Time and duration.
- c. Weight.
- d. Conventional values.

SEC. 2. Exercises on number, with reference to beauty, viz., Measure in music; the other musical element being sound.

#### *Second means of development. Form.*

SEC. 1. Exercises in form, with reference to truth. (Geometry.)

A. Construction of figures from given conditions.

- a. With lines determined by points.
- b. With planes determined by lines and points.

B. Valuation of lines and surfaces, either by absolute measures, that is, by comparison of dimensions, or by arbitrary standards.

- a. The measure of one dimension (length,) represented by a line.

b. The measure of two dimensions (length and breadth,) represented by surface. (Planimetry.)

c. The measure of three dimensions (length, breadth and thickness,) represented by solids. (Stereometry.) The higher development, of the same exercises leads to trigonometry and conic sections.

Together with the application of these exercises to surveying, drafting, &c.

SEC. 2. Exercises in form, with reference to beauty. (Drawing.)

A. Linear drawing, to form the eye and the hand, and to practice invention, under rules and in forms agreeable to the sight.

B. Perspective.

- a. As a result of observation.
- b. As the result of geometrical and optical laws.
- C. Knowledge and imitation of light and shade.
- D. Progressive exercises in drawing from nature.

#### *Third means of development. Language.*

SEC. 1. The interior view of language, i. e., language considered chiefly with reference to the sense of the words. (Exercises to teach children to make observations and to express them with ease and correctness.)

A. Maternal and domestic language includes what relates to infancy; what a child can comprehend.

a. Exercises in naming objects. Review whatever the child has learned in actual life, and ascertain if he knows and can name the objects of which he must speak.

b. Exercises on the qualities of objects. A quality is explained to the child, and he is to search for objects possessing it. Both here and in every subsequent exercise, the child must be required to give each example in a complete, correct and strictly true proposition. Each example should contain something of positive interest.

c. Exercises on actions and their relations. An action is explained to the child, and he is to inquire and discover who does it, what is its object; its when, where, wherewith, how, why. In this practice of observing every action with reference to the agent, object, time, place, manner, principles and intention, we not only obtain what this exercise is primarily intended to promote, the development of the faculty of language, and thereby of general intelligence—but also the development in the child of a disposition to explain to himself all he does, and all others do; which is likely to have the happiest effect upon his judgment and conduct.

B. Social language; a development of maternal language.

a. Exercises on families of words. A radical word is chosen, and all its derivatives sought for with the child. He is made to distinguish with care the differ-

ent meanings, proper or figurative, of each derivative, with a reference to the meaning of the radical word. He must give each word, and each meaning of it, in a phrase complying with these conditions, and those above laid down for propositions.

*b.* Exercises on synonyms.

*c.* Exercises in definitions.

SEC. 2. The exterior of language; *i. e.*, language with reference to the form of speech.

*A.* Exterior of language, with reference to truth.

*First.* Verbal language.

*a.* Composition of words.

1. With given sounds.

2. With given syllables. A final syllable, or an initial and final syllable, is given the child, and he is to find words formed with them; thus acquiring a knowledge of the roots of words.

3. With simple words. This and the last exercise are preparatory to exercises on the families of words.

*b.* Composition of phrases.

1. Knowledge of the constituent parts of phrases, (parts of speech.)

2. Inflection of those parts of speech susceptible of it.

3. Construction of phrases with given parts of speech.

*c.* Composition of periods.

1. Knowledge of the members of a period.

2. Combination of them.

*d.* Rules for the construction of language.

*Second.* Written language.

Besides the discourse of the living voice, which is the original and natural mode of representing our ideas, and which discovers them to the ear, there is an artificial method which displays them to the eye by means of signs called *letters*.

The desire of enjoying the ideas of others thus communicated, and of being able, in like manner, to communicate our own, leads to the study of written language, including the following exercises:

*a.* Combination of the pronunciation of sounds with the knowledge of the signs by which they are indicated to the eye. (Reading.)

*b.* Tracing these signs. (Writing.)

*c.* Expression of sounds by them. (Orthography.)

*d.* Knowledge and use of signs which indicate the relations of the members of the phrase or period composed. (Punctuation.)

*B.* The exterior of language with reference to beauty. (Modulation, accent, prosody, versification.)

*C.* Sound, the external element of language, developed in an independent manner with reference to beauty; constituting one of the elements of music.

REMARKS. The study of the construction of a language constitutes grammar; whose laws being correspondent to the laws of thought, grammar leads directly to logic, in which are united the studies of the interior and exterior of language.

By exercises in logic, and in the formation of language, the pupil is prepared to compose on given subjects, and to study the rules of composition, (Rhetoric.)

The same exercises will nourish and develop the talent for poetry or eloquence, where it has been given by nature.

Language, as a production of the human mind, and the expression of physical, intellectual, and moral life, should be universally the same in principle, since human nature is everywhere essentially the same. But as the development of human faculties, the circumstances of life, social and domestic relations, variously differ, this difference must have caused corresponding differences in this production of the mind; that is, different languages. Men associated in a social body have formed for themselves a certain tongue, which has become their national language. In order to intercourse between different nations, they must learn each other's language; hence the study of foreign tongues. This study enables us in a certain sense to hold intellectual and moral intercourse even with nations no longer existing; *i. e.*, by the study of the dead languages.

Those whose mother tongue is derivative, must, in order to understand it perfectly, study the primitive language from which it originated.

### SEC. 3. Application of language to the acquirement of knowledge.

Man is the center of all knowledge.

A. Physical man. Knowledge of the body ; not anatomical, but of the parts of the animated body.

*First degree.* Knowledge of the parts of the body.

a. Names of the parts.

b. Number of parts of each kind.

c. Their situation and connection.

d. Properties of each.

e. Functions of each.

f. The proper care of each.

*Second degree.* Knowledge of the senses.

a. Distinctions and names of the senses.

b. Their organs.

c. Functions of these organs.

d. Objects of these functions.

e. Means of the activity of each organ.

f. Consequences of the action of the senses, sensations, disposition, inclinations.

REMARKS. The child acquainted with the physical man, knows the highest link of external nature ; the most perfect of organized beings.

Man belongs to the animal kingdom by his body and by his animal affections. He employs animals for different purposes. The knowledge of physical man conducts therefore to that of the *animal kingdom*.

Plants are also organized beings, but of an inferior organization.

Man obtains from plants the greater part of his food, his clothing and his remedies. They feed the animals he employs. They adorn his abode. Their fate in some respect resembles his, like him they grow, they expand, they produce, decline and die. The knowledge of the physical man conducts therefore to that of the vegetable kingdom.

The mineral kingdom forms the ground of our abode and of that of all organized bodies, and all return to it when they die. It supplies us with salt, many remedies, and the greater part of materials for our habitations. The knowledge of the physical man conducts then to that of the *mineral kingdom*.

Fire, air, water and earth compose all terrestrial bodies, wherefore to the observer, without instruments, they appear as elements. The preservation and the destruction of all bodies depend upon them. The constant property of fire is to consume, of air to volatilize, of water to liquify, of earth to mineralize. It is by their equilibrium that bodies are preserved ; so soon as one of the four overpowers the rest, the body subject to its preponderating action must perish. Thus the study of the three kingdoms of nature leads to that of substances commonly called *elements* and this is a preparation and an introduction to the study of *physics* and *chemistry*.

Physical man, animals, minerals, and elements belong to the terrestrial globe, the knowledge of which constitutes *geography*. The study of the earth, regarded as a planet, leads to *astronomy*.

Man as a *physical* being, stands in relation with beings above him, on a level with him and beneath him. Above him are the elements considered at large and the laws of physical nature. On his level are his fellow creatures, and beneath him the individuals of the three kingdoms of nature, and the elements taken in detail.

B. Intellectual man.

a. *Inferior faculties* which animals possess in common with man. Faculties of perception and observation.

b. *Intermediate faculties*. The faculties of comparison, judgment, and inference.

c. *Superior faculties*. The faculty of seeing abstractly, the essence of each object, and the invariable laws of its nature. The faculty of believing divine revelation, which unites the most elevated powers of the soul and heart.

Faculties formed in each of the preceding degrees, are :—

The faculty of devoting the thoughts to one object, excluding every other attention.)

The faculty of creating any image : (*imagination*.)



The faculty of receiving and preserving every effort of the understanding (*memory*.)

The faculty of discovering beauty : (*taste*.)

The study of the intellectual faculties leads to the study of intellectual productions.

a. For satisfying intellectual wants, that is to say, the essential means for the expansion of the mind : (*Language, number, form*.) These three productions of the human mind have been already represented as essential means for intellectual cultivation.

b. For satisfying corporal wants or to aid the bodily organs to serve the mind. General knowledge of arts and trades, of the materials they employ, of their mode of action : (*technology*.)

C. Moral man.

The germ of morality is in the sentiments of love, confidence, gratitude. Fruit of these sentiments : (*obedience*.)

Faculties whose action springs from intelligence and sentiment : *will, liberty*. The governing and representative faculty of the will, is with the child the will of his parents ; among men grown, the will of God : (*conscience*.)

Man as a *moral, intellectual* and *physical* being is in affinity with his superiors, his equals, and his inferiors. Our relation with superior beings commences at our birth : those then above us are our father and mother. Those with whom we begin to be in connection when we enter into civil society are persons in authority. The highest points to which we can ascend in our relation to beings above us is as *children of God*. The fundamental relation of all those with beings on a level with us, is that of brothers and sisters in the interior of our family. These relations exist in full extent, and perfection, when we regard all mankind as brethren, and as forming with us a single family. The fundamental relations of all those with beings beneath us are those of a father and mother toward their children. These relations exist in all their perfection and true dignity when we are the *representatives of the Deity*, with those committed to our care. The knowledge of the relationships of which we have just spoken, existing in domestic life, in civil society, and in religion, the same conducts to that of our rights and duties as men, as citizens and as Christians.

By exercising a child in the study of himself and of the men around him, his faculties, the productions of his intellectual activity, the principles and the consequences of his actions, his relative situation to all beyond himself, the rights and duties resulting from this situation, he is prepared to study the same objects in a wider sphere, namely, in the human race, where appears in full, all that the individual offers in miniature ; and this study is the main object of history. The study of history includes three successive degrees.

1st DEGREE. From the time a child begins to study human nature and as a confirmation of the truths this study will discover to him, he will be shown particular and well chosen facts, taken from the history of individuals or nations, facts, the circumstances of which compose a whole, and form in his imagination, as it were, a picture after nature. When the child shall have arrived at a certain degree of development, he will be made to bring home all these isolated events to the men, or to the people, as well as to the time and place, to which they belong. In this degree the study of history serves principally to feed the *imagination*, and the *memory*.

2d DEGREE. When the young man shall be more advanced in the knowledge of human nature, he may ascend to the origin of the actual state of the nations that surround him, beginning with the people of his own country. We may conduct him to the epoch which has been the germ of this actual state, and seek with him the successive degrees by which the nation has progressed, as well as the principles and consequences of each particular event. He will thus learn to know the current order of history, of the principal nations in existence. He will then pass on to the history of those now no more. In this degree, the study of history serves principally as food to the judgment, inasmuch as it connects actions, causes, and their consequences.

3d DEGREE. Only when the young man shall have become more matured, acquired a deep knowledge of human nature, and the consequences of the development of the individual, is it, that he can with advantage collect the particular

facts, and the series of events which he has learned to know, in order to form one entire whole, and to study in mass, the consequences of the development of the human species and of each historical personage, which is the essential end of history, and the highest point to which it can lead. In this degree the study of history serves as food *to the mind in its most noble state of action.*

Auxiliary means for the development of the faculties and the acquisition of knowledge. The study of what men have produced, as true, beautiful and good.

1st. Progressive lessons according to the degree of development the child has attained and the branches of study to which he applies.

2d. Exercises for the memory. To learn by heart beautiful pieces of poetry, eloquence or music.

3d. Exercise of judgment and of taste: an examination of the productions of art, to trace therein the principles of truth and beauty.

4th. Imitation and reproduction: declamation of pieces of eloquence, or of poetry; execution of musical composition; copying drawings and paintings.

General means for rendering the body of man able to serve his soul and to execute its conceptions. (*Gymnastics.*)

In domestic life the child's body is the object of most tender care. As the child expands, he constantly exercises the organs of his senses and of all his members. Care on the part of the parents and exercises on that of the child are the double means of his preservation and his first development. Bodily exercise for a child comes in the form of plays destined to amuse and divert him. At first they vary at almost every instant. Gradually they become more steady, and more serious.

The art of education extends and perfects what life itself begins and prepares. Thus what in its birth was but play and amusement becomes the object of a complete development, of which the very organization of our body points out the aim and the laws.

Gymnastics present three different degrees.

a. Children's plays; free exercises produced by unconscious strength and activity, and determined by the impulse of the mind and the accidental circumstances of life.

b. Progressive and regulated exercises of the limbs. *Gymnastics* properly so called.

c. Exercises preparatory to occupations in active life, and to the employment the pupil is to embrace: *Gymnastics of Industry.*

By the gymnastic exercises, directed toward the essential object of developing the physical faculties in harmony with the intellectual and moral, and by care to preserve the strength and purity of the organs, the body may attain its true destination, namely to serve the mind by executing its conceptions.

### *Different ages of pupils.*

These ages are fixed from a general view of children. In different individuals nature accelerates or retards the progress of development, so that some enter earlier, some later into each period. There are also individuals who develop more rapidly in some directions than in others. *We must therefore take care that the backward faculties are not neglected, which would destroy in the individual, the harmony of human nature.*

A. First age; until five years old.

During this first age, the child is exclusively the object of maternal and paternal care. He only receives instruction occasionally; each moment, each circumstance may furnish a means to fix his attention upon the objects which surround him, and to teach him to observe them, to express his observations and to act upon them as far as his age will allow. The development which the child may acquire in this first period is of the greatest future importance. Every teacher will find a wide difference between the child whose parents have trained him with tenderness and judgment and him who has been in the first stage abandoned to himself, or what is worse, ill-directed or ill-associated.

B. Second age; from five to ten years.

It is at this period only that a regular course of instruction should begin. At first this should be but a recapitulation of all the child has learned by the habits of life, with the simple difference that the objects of the exercises should no longer be determined by accident, but fixed in one plan, adapted to the intellectual wants

of the child. Domestic life thus furnishes, during the first period, the germs which a course of instruction ought to develop, and in a great measure decides its success.

The following exercises properly belong to this age.

1. Maternal and domestic language.
2. Exterior of language: composition of words, reading, writing, spelling.

We must always take care that the knowledge of the interior of language keeps a little before the exterior.

3. Elementary exercises in singing.
4. Mental arithmetic with units.
5. Construction of figures according to given conditions, and linear drawing.
6. Application of language and the acquisition of knowledge; knowledge of the human body.

There are other exercises which may be begun at this period, but which do not properly belong to it; for which reason we put off the mention of them to the following period.

C. Third age; from ten to fifteen.

1. Interior of language: social language.
2. Exterior of language: composition of phrases and of periods, orthography, punctuation.

3. Continuation of singing exercises.
4. Mental arithmetic with simple and with compound fractions.

Written arithmetic to the rule of three, in its full extent, inclusively.

5. *Geometry* properly so called: relation of forms, as far as, and including *stereometry*.

Drawing: perspective, shades, drawing from nature.

6. Application of language to the acquisition of knowledge.

a. Continuation of the study of the physical man: senses, sensations, inclinations, passions.

b. Intellectual man.

c. Moral man.

d. Knowledge of such natural objects in the three kingdoms as by a complete system of positive features, may serve as a representative of a series of other objects of like character.

e. Knowledge of the elements as far as it can be acquired by observation, without the aid of physical and chemical apparatus.

f. Geography.

g. Technology and notices of the principal inventions.

h. History, 1st degree.

7. Application of arithmetic to bulk: to duration, to weight, and to the conventional value of objects.

D. Fourth age; from fifteen to eighteen or twenty.

*Language.* Continuation of language. Rules for the construction of language. *Logic.*

Compositions on given subjects. *Rhetoric.* Continuation of singing exercises. Arithmetic, mental and written; evolution of powers; extraction of roots. Algebra, geometry, trigonometry and conic sections.

*Drawing.* Continuation of perspective, shades, and drawing from nature.

Application of language to the acquirement of knowledge.

Continuation of the study of the intellectual and moral man.

Relations of the physical, intellectual and moral man to other beings.

Continuation of the study of the three kingdoms of nature.

Elementary course of physics and chemistry.

Geography, mathematics and history.

History, 2d degree.

Application of arithmetic and geometry united, to agriculture, drafting, etc.

*Observations on the study of foreign languages.*

In each stage of development it is important that the mother tongue should always keep a little before all foreign languages, that the child should learn nothing in these he does not already know in that, so as to leave no deficiency in the mother tongue. If any study were pursued by the child in a foreign language only, such language would in this department take the lead; the child would find



it difficult to express himself in his own tongue on subjects learned by means of a strange one. On the contrary, the study of all foreign languages should serve to make the mother tongue better known.

In a seminary where different pupils speak different languages, these must go hand in hand, and every branch of instruction must be cultivated in them both.

Hence results this advantage, that the pupil learns by *intuition* the meaning of the words of the language which is foreign to him, that is to say he every instant sees this meaning, and does not learn it solely from translation and memory. This mode of employing two languages singularly facilitates the communication of ideas in them both. It also gives the advantage of comparing them, and thereby teaches their actual relations and difference both as to ground and form. A knowledge of the genius, the peculiarities and the shades of meaning of each are the fruits of this comparison.

Dead languages are more foreign to the mind of a child, and more difficult for him. The study of them should be based upon a sufficient development of the living languages, and above all of the native language; without which they remain dead in the mind, without real fruit. This study should not therefore begin before the third period; and should not occupy all the pupils, but only those destined to walk in the paths of science. Those otherwise to be disposed of, may employ their time and their endeavors to much greater advantage.

### III. RELIGION. THE SOUL AND THE FINAL END OF ALL EDUCATION.

#### *Third means for the cultivation of man.*

As the body is vivified by the soul, so domestic, social and intellectual life are animated and ennobled by religion. Without it the activity of man in each of these three spheres, has only a terrestrial object and falls short of its true dignity and destiny.

Thus the relations of father and mother are ennobled and sanctified when the father and the mother consider themselves, in respect to their children, as the representatives of God, the common father of all.

The state of the child is ennobled and sanctified, when we not only feel ourselves children of mortal parents, but at the same time children of God, destined to rise to perfection even as our heavenly father is perfect.

The state of brothers and sisters is also ennobled and sanctified when we recognise all mankind as brothers and sisters and members of one same family.

The endeavors we make to develop our intellectual faculties and to gain a knowledge of truth, are sanctified when we acknowledge God as the fountain of all wisdom and the eternal source of all virtue and goodness. All earthly life is sanctified when made a preparation for one heavenly and immortal.

The specific means which education may adopt to promote in the child a religious life are :

1. Pious exercises, the principal of which is prayer.
2. Religious conversations, in which we take advantage of the circumstances and events of life to raise the soul of the child from what is earthly and fugitive, to what is heavenly and everlasting.
3. The study of sacred history and important passages of Holy Writ, chosen with care, according to the degree of development the child may have attained, and which, committed to memory, are germs which religious instruction and the events of life will hereafter develop.
4. Religious instruction properly so called; or the regular explanation of the doctrine of our Saviour. This instruction should only take place in the 4th period of development; and the chief aim of every preceding period should be to prepare for it. It should close the child's career and become his support in the hour of trial, his guide to direct his steps to the highest point of perfection of which his nature is susceptible

All education should proceed from man and lead to God. Man should endeavor to live in God and for God, and to devote to *HIM* all his terrestrial and intellectual existence. To this, domestic and social life, exterior nature, and all the circumstances through which he passes here below, should conduct him. But it is only through the influence of God, that all these can produce this effect; the sublime truths of the gospel can alone lead us into that way which leads to that heavenly life which is our true destination.

## PROSPECTUS OF AN ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE EDUCATION OF BOYS.

*From the earliest age at which they can receive regular instruction, to that in which they should enter into a scientific pursuit, a profession, or business.*

This establishment was commenced three years ago. While I was yet with Mr. Pestalozzi, working with him in his undertaking and teaching in his institution, two pupils were unexpectedly committed to my particular care and direction. These were shortly followed by a third, their relation. From that time a combination of circumstances independent of my will induced me to leave the institution I had assisted to form and direct during sixteen years. I should above all things have preferred, after this separation, to have labored to form teachers for the people, taking poor children equal to the office. Seeing the accomplishment of this desire beyond my reach, I applied myself to measures more within my ability, and such as appeared appointed by Providence. I extended my sphere of activity, receiving such new pupils as were intrusted to my care unsought by me.

This train of circumstances on the one hand, and on the other my desire to remain attached to Messrs. Niederer and Naef, (during many years my friends and companions in labor,) and with them to devote my life to education, induced me again to choose Yverdun for the place of my intended labor, and for the gradual growth of my rising institution.

Our union enables us to find means and men competent in every respect to insure the prosperity of our three institutions, (that of Mr. Naef for the deaf and dumb, that of Mr. Niederer for youth of either sex, and mine.) Mr. Nabholz, whose sentiments and purposes resemble our own, will enter my institution as assistant. Mr. Steiner, a pupil of Pestalozzi, will teach mathematics, in which his talents and success afford the brightest hopes. Keeping up friendly intercourse with Mr. Brousson, principal of the College of Yverdun and with other respectable men, I receive from them, in the different branches of instruction, assistance of importance to me, and on the continuance of which I can depend. In my former situation the frequent changes which occurred among my companions in labor often pained me on account of its influence on the success of that undertaking to which I devoted my life.

To avoid a like inconvenience, which must inevitably produce every kind of discord, and expose an institution subject to it, to great dangers, we shall choose our assistants and fellow-laborers with the greatest circumspection.

The views which serve as the foundation of my enterprise are the same with those I have helped to develop under the paternal direction of Pestalozzi. All that I have found in many years' observation, both by my own experience and that with my pupils, to be true and conducive to the entire culture of man, I shall strive by unremitting efforts to develop more and more in myself and to apply in a natural manner for the advantage of my pupils.\*

My first object is, to establish in my institution a true domestic life; that all the pupils may be considered as members of one family, and that thus all those sentiments and all those virtues which are necessary to a happy existence, and which render the connections of life pure and sweet, may be developed.

Without this foundation, I believe that the blessing of God is wanting on every means of education whatever.

The extent of knowledge and executive ability which the pupils will acquire is in part the same for all, and in part influenced by individual dispositions and destinations. It is the same for all inasmuch as it embraces the development of the faculties and powers most essential to human nature. Thus far, the method has acquired an inviolable basis, inasmuch as it has established language, number and form, as productions of the human mind and as the universal means by which the mind should be developed.

The acquisition of knowledge and executive skill as a result of this development are secured either by means of exercises in language, number and form, or connect themselves with these in a very simple manner. Thus, with the study of numbers is connected mercantile and scientific calculation. The study of form and size leads to the art of drawing and writing. The exercises in the mother tongue as a means of developing the mind of the child, conduct to the study of foreign languages and to the knowledge of objects, which the tongue serves to seize and to define. Music as a combined production of two elements is allied to language by tone, and to number by measure.

In the circle of human knowledge, man as a compound being is the center of a double world: of an exterior and physical world to which the three kingdoms of nature

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\* I have endeavored in the Coup d'œil which precedes this announcement, to state the means of education such as I conceive them to be. This exposition will be the model and the basis of my work. It is evident that these views and these means can not all be developed by a single man or a single institution. It is a task in which all the friends of education must coöperate.

belong, and also the earth which contains them and all exterior nature ; and of an interior world, intellectual and moral, which, proceeding from the faculties and the powers of our nature, contains all the whole sphere of the connections of man, and of his duties toward himself, toward his fellow creatures, and toward God. The child should be as familiar with this interior world as with the exterior and physical world.

Intellectual cultivation should be accompanied by cultivation of the heart. The physical powers should also be developed, in order that the body may be able to perform what the mind has conceived and the will has resolved. Bodily exercise in this respect possesses an essential and incontestible value. The mind and the heart stand in need of the body in all the actions of life. The operations of the soul are hampered in proportion as the body is neglected, or unequal to execute its orders.

In regard to the admission and residence of pupils in my school, I desire parents who propose to intrust their children to my care, to fully weigh the following considerations.

The two most decisive epochs in education are that of early infancy under the mother's care, and that where the youth enters into manhood. If these two periods are successfully passed, it may be considered that the education has succeeded. If either has been neglected or ill-directed, the man feels it during his whole life. The age of boyhood being the intermediate period between early infancy and youth, is of unmistakable importance, as the development of the first period, and the germ of the third ; but in no case does this age influence either decisively, *by repairing previous defects or neglects, or by insuring what shall follow.* In the first age the child belongs by preference to its mother, to be taken care of by her ; in the second age it belongs by preference to its father, to be directed by him. As a young man, a new existence opens to him, he ceases to be the child of his parents ; and becomes their friend. The son, at maturity, becomes the tender, intimate and faithful friend of his parents, as he was, in his minority, their amiable, docile, and faithful child.

With regard to exterior life, the child must sooner or later become an orphan, and when this misfortune befalls him in his minority, society provides that a guardian shall supply the place of parents until he comes of age. *For the interior life, no one can supply this place for him.* Nothing but intellectual and moral strength in the child himself, and strengthened by that wisdom and that love which proceed from God, can bring us near to HIM and supply the place of the wisdom and the love of our father and mother. When the young man has attained this point, it is only as a friend that he remains the child of his parents. If he is not brought up in these noble dispositions, an unhappy consequence follows ; the bonds of nature are broken on his coming of age, because these bonds were only of force with respect to physical life ; and *the child, who, in this first friendship—in this friendship whose objects are nearest to him—has not supported the trial of fidelity, will never bear the test for any being upon earth.*

Therefore it is that this period in education is so important, so decisive, and so exacting more than any other. On the one hand it requires the purity and tender affection of domestic life, and on the other side, solid and wholesome food for the mind.

In this exigency a means presents itself which ought to be the keystone in the education of the child, the resting place for the passage from minority to majority, the foundation of a new life ; a means raised above every other, namely, *Religion*—the revelation of all that is divine in man manifested by Jesus Christ. The young man, who in body, as a mortal, ceases to be a child, should become a new child in soul, and as an immortal being. After entering this new state, he ought in general to cease to be the pupil of men, to raise himself above their direction, and to become the pupil of himself, that is to say, *of that wisdom and that love which comes to us from God and raises us to him.*

So long as a man has not attained this point, his education is incomplete. The aim of education is to enable him to reach it.

To strive incessantly toward this object, is the task of the institution here announced  
YVERDUN, Pestalozzi's birthday, 1818.



The addition below is by Ramsauer (p. 305), who has been so often charged with "editing" Pestalozzi's writings till they became his own. The writing on the side is probably Niederer's (p. 293), while the note crossed out seems to be by Tobler (p. 361). We regret that it is impossible here to show the difference in the ink, four different kinds of which are plainly used at as many different dates. The original was lent us by Hermann Krüsi, the son of Prof. Krüsi (p. 323), who was born at Yverdun, and was christened by Pestalozzi. He was well known as a teacher in the Oswego Normal.

[illegible]

## JOHN GEORGE TOBLER.

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JOHN GEORGE TOBLER, an educator of the Pestalozzian school, was born at Trogen, in the canton of Appenzell-Ausserrhoden, in Switzerland, October 17, 1769. He lost his mother in his third year, and his father in his tenth. His education was very inadequate, as was usual in those times. His disposition inclined him to become a preacher. Want of means, however, prevented him until his twenty-third year, when with a very insufficient preparation he entered the University of Basle. With all the other qualifications for becoming a valuable preacher and catechist, his memory for words failed him in respect to the acquisition of foreign languages. This defect decided him entirely to give up entering for the examination as candidatè. He was to find a greater sphere of usefulness in another career. He exchanged his theological studies for the practical employment of a tutor and teacher.

In 1799, he placed himself at the head of a school for the female children of emigrants at Basle. An invitation from Pestalozzi brought him to Burgdorf in May, 1800. He there became the friend of Buss and Krüsi, and married, and after a short disagreement with Pestalozzi, labored with him for seven years at Munchen Buchsee and Yverdun. Circumstances brought him to Mühlhausen, where, besides other exertions, he founded his labor-school, which quickly increased so as to contain from four to six hundred scholars, but which came to an end in 1811, in the midst of a prosperous career. Tobler returned to Basle, and set about collecting his pedagogical views and experiences, and preparing for the press a geography upon Pestalozzi's principles.

His pecuniary needs, however, obliging him to seek another situation, he obtained a place as teacher in a private institution in Glarus. On New Year's day of 1817, together with his fellow-teachers, he was dismissed, by reason of the famine. He immediately turned to his profession of tutor, and held a situation for three entire years, in an eminent family of the neighborhood. The children being afterward sent to a newly erected cantonal school, he went to Arbon on the Lake of Constance, with the design of erecting there, instead of a school, a superior orphan-house; but the place was too small. A year afterward he went to St. Gall. Here, the real star of his peda

gical career shone out upon him. That place deserves gratitude for having afforded him ten years together, of free and unimpeded room for the display of his talents as teacher and educator. One of the noblest fruits of this time, was the education of a son to follow his father's honorable example. In 1831, this son was able to graduate from school, and in 1836, he left St. Gall, and accompanied Niederer to Yverdun, and then to Geneva, at both of which places he was at the head of institutions of his own; and was also of very great service to Niederer's school for girls. At present he fills the place of director of a cantonal school at Trogen.

Tobler passed his latter years at Basle, in part with his second son, the principal of a boys' school at Nyon; where he died in his seventy-fourth year, after a short sickness, Aug. 10, 1843. The last months of his life were rendered happy by an elevated self-consciousness, by the pleasant prospect of ending his days at his native place, as he desired, and by incessant and active occupation in setting in order his writings and his domestic affairs. His inner life was as happy and elevated above earthly things as the evening sun, amidst the eternal blue of heaven.

After this short sketch of Tobler's life, varied and struggling as it was, although not fateful, we may devote a few words to his intellectual peculiarities, his rank as a teacher, and his services to humanity and human culture.

His moral and religious nature was his predominating trait; the key-tone of his mind. His father, who filled the place of both father and mother to his sensitive nature, inspired these sentiments into him while yet a child. The maxim "Seek first the kingdom of God (or what was with him its equivalent, the sphere of attainments according to Christ) and its righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto you," was his rule of life; and in his teaching and his example, afforded him constant assistance in answering such questions as arose during his labors for moral improvement.

As soon as he could write, he commenced the practice of taking down sermons and catechizings; and thus acquired great facility in his German style, and a mastery of analytic methods which afterward stood him in good stead by enabling him to deliver extemporaneous sermons and addresses to children, and to compose excellent sketches of sermons. His popular and instructive style occasioned various congregations, after hearing him, to desire him for a pastor. His morning and evening prayers with pupils and children were exceedingly simple, pathetic, clear, and impressive. In moments of higher excitement, the very spirit of the Apostle John's epistles spoke through



him. His religious instruction and other Sabbath exercises exerted a profound influence upon the neglected children of the manufacturing school at Mühlhausen.

While a student at Basle, Tobler exercised a predominating influence over numbers of his fellow students, in inciting them to industry, and inspiring them with the idea of the honorableness of their future calling. He was one of the founders there of a society for intellectual improvement; an enterprise which later events rendered prophetic. A very remarkable difference was to be observed between the after lives of those who were his friends, and others.

While he was teacher and director of the female school at Basle, he followed in general the doctrines of Basedow, Campe, and Salzmann. His method of teaching was substantially that which has since been named the Socratic. By strictly adhering to this method he endeavored to call into life and to develop the minds and hearts of his scholars, not however in the ancient Greek spirit, but in that of Christ; and thus he proceeded until the man appeared upon the stage, who gave an entirely new meaning to the word Education, who completely apprehended the entire subjects of education and instruction, who established them as an independent art and science, and made an epoch in their history. To Pestalozzi Tobler adhered, and was afterward his steady disciple.

Tobler fully comprehended Pestalozzi's idea and method, in their general collective significance for humanity and education. Their individual principle separately was more difficult of comprehension to him. He understood it to be Spontaneous Activity. This, however, he considered only as a *receiving* and *working* faculty, to be developed by perception and drilling (*i. e.* Receptivity and Spontaneity; Nature and Capacity; Faculties;) and in this opinion he was quite correct, as well as in regard to the relation of these faculties to the three subjects of instruction, nature, man, and God. But Pestalozzi had determined a third sub-division of this Spontaneous Activity, before unrecognized, and had distinguished within it the elements pertaining to the intellect and to the feelings, viz., that of the *productive* spontaneous activity of the moral and intellectual powers, (the talents?) In this consists the peculiarity and importance of Pestalozzi's discoveries in method, and of the discoveries and the revolution thus originated. It is by operating according to this distinction that the progress of the development and general training of human nature is assured, and the real intellectual and moral emancipation of the schools substantially established.

During the first period of Pestalozzi's institution, Tobler took part

with all in everything as a beloved teacher and pupil. In a general activity of this kind consisted what might be called Pestalozzi's jubilee. Then, all the teachers were pupils, and all the pupils teachers; so far as they brought forward independent matter of their own, and furnished results of their own inner activity. After a time, however, the necessity of the separation and ordering of different departments of instruction and drilling, rendered it necessary for Tobler to select some special department of labor; and he selected the real branches; and among them, that of elementary geography. He established the principles of this study by reference to the actual surface of earth, and to the pupil's own sphere of vision, with a success which entitles him to the name of the father of the new method in geography. Ritter, who knew his labors, and proceeded onward from their termination, passed beyond the sphere of education, by a giant stride forward in his science.

Tobler's personal relations with Pestalozzi were neither fortunate nor enduring. Pestalozzi had not the faculty of determining the proper place for each of his assistants, and of laying out for each of them his appointed work. He was neither an organizer nor administrator; and he regarded Tobler's wishes in this respect as mere assumption and weakness. Tobler could not bring out the real value of his views, without their complete display in actual operation. Whoever could at once put a matter into a distinctly practical form could in Pestalozzi's eyes do everything; and whoever fell at all short of this, nothing. Tobler, therefore, wholly absorbed in the business of elementarizing, did nothing to please or satisfy Pestalozzi. The elementarizing of instruction, and of the so-called "real branches," required too much at once; namely, the investigation and harmonious arrangement of the elements and laws of two spheres, viz., that of children's powers, and that of the proposed subject-matter of them. Pestalozzi required from Tobler, simple, rapid and immediate results from this investigation, even when the indispensable materials for them were wanting. Both Tobler and Pestalozzi, moreover, were in the habit of very plain speaking; and as husband and father, Tobler could not devote his entire life to Pestalozzi.

This false position of Tobler's gradually became that of the teachers and pupils of the institution. And Pestalozzi's disposition and opinions passed more and more under the influence of a single one of the assistant teachers (Schmid.)

At München Buchsee, Tobler was a promoter of the separation between Pestalozzi and von Fellenberg. Coöperation with the latter, was possible only on condition of complete submission to his authority;

a claim which von Fellenberg made on the ground of his social position. But the views of the two men were too radically different; of the world, of men, and of pedagogy. It is true that pedagogically, von Fellenberg proceeded on Pestalozzi's principles; but it was upon those principles as he entertained them when he wrote Leonard and Gertrude; when he considered the common school as a valuable instrumentality for the training by society of its needed members; *i. e.*, for education to agriculture, manufacturing, and trades. This view was in harmony with the caste-spirit of society; "The individual was not considered as a moral person, and society subordinated to him as to a superior being, but he was placed quite below it." Pestalozzi had, while at Stanz and Burgdorf, risen very far above this view. He had turned about, let go his consideration of mere purposes, and had laid hold upon the principle of personal exterior independence; not merely as a negative, but as a positive fact. This starting point von Fellenberg did not recognize; and Tobler, therefore, could not agree with him. The true reason why no union between von Fellenberg and Pestalozzi and the Pestalozzians never took place is, therefore, not to be sought amongst any accidental circumstances, but in their radical opposition of views.

In Mhlhausen, and afterward in Glarus, Tobler established new schools. His want of adaptedness to the demands of the times upon the teacher and educator here came sharply out. He experienced, by the severe lesson of falling into poverty and want, the truth, that no one, even if possessed of a lofty new truth, strong by nature, and really deserving of confidence and support, can unpunished oppose himself to the tendencies of the age. Every new truth has its martyrs; and a pedagogical truth as well as others.

His real excellence, and his maturest, he showed at St. Gall, while director and center of his school there, as educator and instructor of his pupils, as guide to his assistants, and as unwearied and unsatisfied investigator after new applications of the Pestalozzian method to language, geography and Natural History. He invented a useful alphabetical and reading machine, arranged a simplified mode of map-drawing, and a good though unfinished course of instruction in Natural History. Having continual reference to the common schools, he paid much attention to the subject of obtaining cheap materials for instruction, and took great interest in the training of teachers, for which also he accomplished considerable good.

An idea which never left him after his connection with Pestalozzi, was the training of mothers as teachers; and the establishment of the belief of the destiny and fitness of the female sex for this high



calling. Even in his latter years he was still enthusiastic upon this subject, and Niederer's female school at Geneva, owes to him much that is valuable.

The following account of Tobler's educational experiments and failures, is given in his own words, in Pestalozzi's "*Eliza and Christopher*."

"After having been, for six years, practically engaged in education, I found the result of my labors by no means answering my expectations. The energy of the children, their internal powers, did not increase according to the measure of my exertions, nor even in proportion to the extent of positive information which they had acquired: nor did the knowledge which I imparted to them appear to me to have a sufficiently strong hold upon their minds, or to be so well connected in its various parts, as I felt it ought to be.

I made use of the best juvenile works that were to be had at that time. But these books contained words, of which the greater part were unintelligible to children, and ideas far beyond the sphere of their own experience; and consequently formed, altogether, so strong a contrast with the mode of thinking, feeling, and speaking, natural to their age, that it took endless time and trouble to explain all that they could not understand. But this process of explaining was in itself a tedious job, and, after all, it did no more toward advancing their true internal development, than is done toward dispelling darkness by introducing a few detached rays of light in a dark room, or in the obscurity of a dense, impenetrable mist. The reason of this was, that these books descended to the profoundest depths of human knowledge, or ascended above the clouds, nay, and to the uppermost heavens of eternal glory, before an opportunity was offered to the children of resting their feet on the solid ground of mother earth; on which, nevertheless, it is absolutely necessary that men should be allowed to stand, if they are to learn walking before flying; and for the latter, moreover, if it is to be flying indeed, their wings must have time to grow.

An obscure foreboding of those truths in my mind, induced me, at an early period, to try to entertain my younger pupils with matters of immediate perception, and to clear up the ideas of the elder ones by Socratic conversations. The result of the former plan was, that the little ones acquired a variety of knowledge not generally to be met with at that age. I endeavored to combine this mode of instruction with the methods I found in the most approved works; but whichever of those books I took in hand, they were all written in such a manner as to presuppose the very thing which the children were in a great measure to acquire by them, viz., the knowledge of language. The consequence was, that my Socratic conversations with the elder pupils led to no better result than all other explanations of words by words, to which no real knowledge corresponds in the children's minds, and of which they have, consequently, no clear notion, as regards either each of them taken separately, or the connection in which they are placed together. This was the case with my pupils, and, therefore, the explanation which they seemed to understand to-day, would a few days after be completely vanished from their minds, in a manner to me incomprehensible; and the more pains I took to make everything plain to them, the less did they evince energy or desire to rescue things from that obscurity and confusion in which they naturally appear.

With such experience daily before me, I felt myself invincibly impeded in my progress to the end which I had proposed to myself. I began to converse on the subject with as many schoolmasters, and others engaged or interested in education, as were accessible to me, in whatever direction: but I found, that although their libraries were well furnished with works on education, of which our age has been so productive, yet they saw themselves placed in the same difficulty with myself, and were no more successful with their pupils than I was with mine. Seeing this, I felt with what an increased weight these difficulties must oppress the masters of public schools, unless, indeed, they were rendered too callous for such a feeling by a professional spirit. I had a strong, but, unfortunately, not a clear impression of the defects of education in all its departments, and I exerted myself to the utmost to find a remedy. I made a determination to collect, partly from my

own experience, and partly from works on the subject, all the means, methods, and contrivances, by which it seemed to me possible that the difficulties under which I labored, might be removed at every stage of instruction. But I soon found that my life would not suffice for that purpose. Meanwhile I had already completed whole volumes of scraps and extracts, when Fischer, in several of his letters, drew my attention to the method of Pestalozzi. I soon began to suspect that he was about to reach the end I was aiming at, without my circuitous means; and that most of my difficulties arose out of the very nature of the plan which I followed, and which was far too scientific and systematic. I then began to see, that in the same manner the artificial methods, invented in our age, were the very sources of all the defects of modern education. On the contrary, I saw Pestalozzi equally free from my peculiar difficulties, and from the general failings, and I accounted for this by the fact, that he rejected all our ingenious contrivances, all our well-framed systems. Some of the means employed by him, that for instance of making children draw on slates, seemed to me so simple, that my only puzzle was, how I could have gone on so long without hitting upon them. I was struck with the idea that all his discoveries, seemed to be of the kind which might be termed "obvious," they were none of them far-fetched. But what most attached me to his method, was his principle of re-educating mothers for that for which they are originally destined by nature, for this principle I had long cherished and kept in view, in the course of my experiments.

I was confirmed in these views by Krüsi, who, at his visit in Basle, gave, in the girls' school, practical specimens of Pestalozzi's mode of teaching spelling, reading, and arithmetic. Pastor Faesch, and Mr. De Brunn, who had in part organized the instruction and management of that institution, according to the loose hints which had as yet reached us on the Pestalozzian method, perceived immediately what a powerful impression was produced upon the children by their spelling and reading together in a stated measure of time. Krüsi had also brought with him some school materials for the instruction in writing and arithmetic, and some leaves of a vocabulary, which Pestalozzi intended to draw up as a first reading-book for children; which enabled us to see the bearing which Pestalozzi's method had upon the development of the different faculties of human nature. All this contributed to mature in me, very rapidly, the determination to join Pestalozzi, according to his wish.

I went to Burgdorf, and the first impression of the experiment, in the state in which it then was, fully answered my expectations. I was astonished to see what a striking degree of energy the children generally evinced, and how simple, and yet manifold, were the means of development by which that energy was elicited. Pestalozzi took no notice whatever of all the existing systems and methods; the ideas which he presented to the minds of his pupils were all extremely simple; his means of instruction were distinctly subdivided, each part being calculated for a precise period in the progress of development; whatever was complicated and confused, he rejected; by a few words he conveyed much, and with little apparent exertion produced a powerful effect; he kept always close to the point then under consideration; some of his branches of instruction seemed like a new creation, raised from the elements of art and nature: all this I saw, and my attention was excited to the highest degree.

There were some parts of his experiment, it is true, which seemed to me rather unnatural; of this description was, for instance, the repetition of difficult and complicated sentences, which could not, at first, but make a very confused impression upon his pupils. But I saw, on the other hand, what a power he had of leading children into clear ideas; yet I mentioned my doubts to him. His answer was, that nature herself presented all sorts of perceptions to our senses in confusion and obscurity, and that she brings them to clearness afterward. To this argument I had nothing to reply,\* especially as I saw that he attached no value to the details

\*The obvious reply was, that the perceptions which nature presents, however confused, or otherwise obscure, they may be, are realities, and therefore contain in themselves the very elements of clearness, and at the same time, a strong inducement to search for those elements. But confused impressions made upon us by words, are not realities, but mere shadows; they have in themselves the elements of confusion, and they offer neither an inducement, nor the means, for clearing them up. The former call out the mind, the latter cramp it. The very power which Pestalozzi possessed over his pupils, what was it owing to, according to the statements both of himself and his friends, but to his making a rule of supplying the child with a clear and distinct notion of the reality, before he gave him the sign or shadow, the name?



of his experiment, but tried many of them with a view to throw them aside again, as soon as they should have answered their temporary purpose. With many of them he had no other object than to increase the internal power of the children, and to obtain for himself further information concerning the fundamental principles on which all his proceedings rested. I resolved, therefore, not to mind the apparent inadequacy of some of his means, so much the more as I had come to the conviction, that the further pursuit of the experiment necessarily involved the improvement of the details of the method. This was perfectly evident already in arithmetic, in drawing, and in the rudiments of language.

I perceived, likewise, that by the connection which his different means of instruction had with each other, every one of them, individually, was instrumental in promoting the success of all the others, and, especially, in developing and strengthening the faculties generally. Long before he began to lay down his principles in stated terms, I saw, in the daily observation of their practical effect, the approaching maturity of the whole undertaking, and, as an infallible consequence of it, the gradual attainment of the object he had in view. In trying the details of his method, he never leaves any single exercise until he has so far investigated and simplified it, that it seems physically impossible to advance any further. Seeing the indefatigable zeal with which he did this, I was more and more confirmed in a sentiment, of which I had before had some indistinct notion, that all the attempts at fostering the development of human nature, by means of a complicated and artificial language, must necessarily end in a failure; but that, on the contrary, a method intended to assist nature in the course of human development, must be characterised by the utmost simplicity in all the means of instruction, and more especially in language, which should be a faithful expression of the simplicity of both the child's own mind, and the objects and ideas which are employed for its cultivation. I now began to understand, by degrees, what he meant by introducing a variety of distinctions in the instruction of language; by aiming, in his arithmetical instruction, at nothing else but producing in the child's mind a clear and indelible conviction that all arithmetic was nothing else but an abridgment of the simple process of enumeration, and the numbers themselves nothing but an abridgment of the wearisome repetition, one, and one, and one, and one; and, lastly, by declaring an early development of the faculty of drawing lines, angles, curves, and figures, to be the groundwork of art, and even of the capacity, which so few men possess, of taking a distinct view of visible objects.

I could not but feel every day more confirmed in the notions which I had formed of the manifold advantages of his method, by being a constant witness of the effects produced by general development of the mental faculties in the arts of measuring, calculating, writing, and drawing. I grew more and more convinced that it was possible to accomplish what I have before stated to have been the leading object of my own pursuits at a previous period, viz., to re-educate mothers for the fulfillment of that sacred task assigned to them by nature, the result of which would be, that even the first instruction imparted in schools, would have previous maternal tuition for a foundation to rest on. I saw a practical method discovered, which, admitting of universal application, would enable parents, who have the welfare of their offspring at heart, to become themselves the teachers of their little ones. From that moment, popular improvement ceased to be dependent on the circuitous plan of training teachers in expensive seminaries, and with the aid of extensive libraries.

In short, the result of the first impression produced upon my mind by the whole of Pestalozzi's experiment, and of the observations I have since been able to make on the details of his method, has been, to re-establish in my heart that faith which I held so dear at the onset of my career, but which I had almost lost under the pressure of systems sanctioned by the fashion of the day, faith in the practicability of popular improvement."

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In the progress of his narrative he declares himself, that it was one of the characteristic features of his method of teaching language, that he reduced it to the utmost simplicity, "by excluding from it every combination of words which presupposes a knowledge of language." He was not, however, at all times, equally clear on this point, although it lies at the very foundation of all his improvements in elementary instruction.



## KARL CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON TÜRK

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KARL CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON TURK, was born at Meiningen, January 8, 1774. He was the youngest son of Chamber-president and High Marshal von Türk, who was of a noble Courland family, and in the service of the duke of Saxe-Meiningen. At his mother's death, when a boy of six years old, he was transferred to the family of his mother's brother, Grand Huntsman von Bibra, at Hildburghausen, where he was brought up with his cousins under a strict tutor. At seventeen and a quarter years old, without having attended any public school, he entered the University of Jena, where he found in his elder brother Ludwig, who had already been studying there a year and a half, a true friend and a pattern of industry and good conduct; and where he contracted a close friendship with several cotemporaries, amongst whom were T. von Hardenberg, known as a poet under the name of Novalis, and von Bassewitz, afterward Chief President and his own official superior.

After completing his legal studies, in 1793, he offered himself for an office under government in Meiningen, which had been promised him while his father was Chamber-president and his brother a government official, notwithstanding the strictness of the examination. What, however, his knowledge and capacity did not enable him to attain, he secured by means of a very ordinary social talent. During a visit in Hildburghausen, the Prince, then Duke Karl of Mecklenburg, father of Queen Louise of Prussia, found that he was a skillful ombre-player; and he took so strong a liking to him that afterward, upon receiving the principality by the unexpected death of his brother, he determined to fix him within his dominions. Accordingly, in the very next year, 1794, he appointed von Türk chancery auditor, and two years later, chamberlain and chancery councilor. In 1800, his official senior von Kamptz, afterward well known as Prussian minister, was appointed to a public station in Mecklenburg, and von Türk was appointed in his stead to take the oversight of the school system, with his judicial employments. The inquiries which his new place suggested to him drew his attention in such directions that he became gradually estranged from the occupations to which he had been earlier devoted.

In 1804, von Türk took a furlough for six months, visited various

schools, and made the acquaintance especially, of Olivier, Tillich and Pöhlmann, then distinguished teachers of the day. In the same year, he remained during some months, at Pestalozzi's institution at München-Buchsee, and made himself acquainted with his views, and with J. Schmid's system for geometry and mathematics. He published the results of his stay with Pestalozzi, in his "*Letters from München-Buchsee*" (Leipzig, 1808); one of the most practical and useful accounts of Pestalozzi's method.

After his return to Mecklenburg, he could not resist his impulse to become a teacher. He gathered together a troop of boys, instructed them two hours daily and made teachers acquainted with Pestalozzi's method. During his educational journeys he had become acquainted with the prince of Oldenburg, and at the end of 1805, he was appointed to a lucrative office as Justice and Consistory Councilor in Oldenburg, with an annual salary of fourteen hundred thalers, (about \$1050.)

In his new place he experienced the same impulse to exertion as a teacher and educator. Here also he gathered a troop of boys whom he instructed two hours a day; and he received into his house a number of young people, and gave them a complete education. These operations however did not meet the approval of the duke, who intimated a wish that he should devote himself wholly to the duties of his judicial station, and refused his request to be employed wholly in educational matters. This, together with the condition of Oldenburg (then threatened by the French,) which caused him much pecuniary difficulty, decided him to resign his place in Oldenburg and to give himself up entirely to the business of education.

In 1808, with some pupils, sons of a Bremen merchant, he went to Pestalozzi at Yverdun, and for some time instructed in that institution. His work, "Perception by the Senses," (*Die Sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen*,) is a fruit of his labors at that time in Pestalozzi's institution. But the situation of affairs there was unfavorable, and an increasing difference soon grew up between him and Pestalozzi. This decided von Türk to leave him and to establish an educational institution of his own at the castle of Vevay on the lake of Geneva. Here he lived amongst a small circle of children, but happily progressing in knowledge under his love and zeal. The financial results did not, however, answer his expectations, and he finally in 1814 transferred the care of the school to Latour de Peilz, at his castle not far from Vevay. Having offered his services to the Prussian monarchy, he was in 1815 appointed royal and school councilor at Frankfort on the Oder.

The course of instruction which he gave here in September of 1816.

upon Pestalozzi's method, to nearly sixty clergymen and teachers, had upon many, who perhaps, then heard of Pestalozzi for the first time, an influence which did not remain fruitless. His efforts to improve the instruction in arithmetic, resulted in his publication of his "*Guide to Instruction in Arithmetic*," which is yet one of the best books of its class. Its fifth edition appeared in 1830. After Natorp's return to his native country in 1817, von Türk was appointed School Councilor in Potsdam, in which station he labored actively for sixteen years, but resigned it in 1833 to devote his whole time and powers to the benevolent institutions which he had founded.

These are (not including the Swimming Institution at Potsdam and the Association for the improvement of silk-raising,) the following :

1. The *Fund for School Teachers' Widows*, a. at Sorau, b. for the district of Frankfort, to which he has devoted the profits of his work on Arithmetic ; and c. for the district of Potsdam.

In the district of Frankfort it has since been found better to establish, instead of one widow's society for the whole government, to establish a fund in each synod ; an arrangement which has in most cases been entirely successful. In the case of the fund for the district of Potsdam, the plainest conclusions of experience were unfortunately so much overlooked, that after a few years the allowances, which are raised only from taxation, were materially reduced ; the consequence of which has lately been many complaints.

2. The *Peace Society of Potsdam*, founded at the Reformation Festival in 1818 ; a society for the support of talented but poor young men, who are devoted to the arts or sciences. More than a hundred such have been supported by the society. Further information about this society, and its statutes, may be found in Guts-Muth's "New Library of Pedagogy."

3. The *Civil Orphan House*—a twin child, as von Türk calls it, in which about thirty orphan boys are supported. The original fund of this institution was raised from the sale of a collection of paintings belonging to von Türk. It received an express royal sanction in a cabinet order dated 21st February, 1825. Up to 1841, thirty-six young men had received their education in this establishment.

4. The *Fund for the Education and Support of Orphan Girls* ; an institution which originated together with the Civil Orphan House, and which is managed in the same way. Up to 1841, twenty orphan girls had been supported by it.

5. The *Orphan House at Klein-Glienicke* near Potsdam, for the orphan children of artisans, elementary teachers and the lower grades of public officers.



It may not be uninteresting to describe the precise circumstances which led to the foundation of the Klein-Glienicke house. Von Türk heard that the Crown Prince was desirous of buying the hunting seat known as Klein-Glienicke, then occupied as a factory, in order to improve it into the counterpart of Prince Carl's adjacent beautiful estate in Glienicke. Von Türk accordingly quietly bought it, and offered it to the Crown Prince at the cost price, but received the answer that he would not be able to make use of the offer. Under these circumstances von Türk applied to his tried friend, Chief President von Bassewitz, and by his mediation gained permission to resign his hasty bargain at a small loss. He, however, made no use of the permission, but told his friend that he would retain the property, and found there another orphan house, to serve as a sort of supplement to the Civil Orphan House, which was intended for the sons of persons of rather higher rank. In fact he laid his plans before some of the higher authorities, but the means which he could show for the establishment of his intended institution were so small that permission was refused him. But promises of support gradually came in, and the heads of several departments, especially Postmaster-general von Nagler and the Ministers of Justice and of Finance declaring in its favor, on account of an arrangement to establish endowed places in it for orphans of their departments, the institution was finally set in operation. The plans for it were remodeled more than once, and more than one reckoning of the funds made; but at last, an association being formed which purchased the real estate from von Türk, and there were thus secured sufficient means to open the establishment for those at least for whom endowed places had been promised. Von Türk never lost his faith in ultimate success, though the funds still remained deficient. It happened that the disposition of some funds from a war-indemnity, not accepted by those entitled to them, were intrusted to the disposal of his chief, von Bassewitz, who, with the consent of the families of these proprietors, appropriated three thousand thalers (about \$2,250,) from this source to the new Orphan House. Thus all difficulties were obviated. The association met, completed the purchase of Klein-Glienicke, leased it to von Türk, who was now able to proceed with the completion of his institution; and had the pleasure of seeing it flourish under his eyes.

In a letter of the present year, (1846,) relating to Klein-Glienicke, von Türk writes, "Here, the favorite idea of my teacher and master, Pestalozzi, is realized; education, combined with agriculture and gardening. My scholars now number about thirty. I have about two hundred Magdeburg *morgen*, (the *morgen* is about five-

thirteenth of an acre,) of tilled land, from sixteen to twenty *morgen* of garden and nurseries, twenty-four *morgen* of meadows, and a dairy which accommodates twenty cows and five horses, besides sufficient room for the silk-making, except that the latter is not comfortably accommodated in winter. I feel great interest in encouraging the establishment of similar institutions. What has been possible for me, without financial resources and in spite of the many prejudices with which I have had to contend, (for example, I have been a government official; and our burghers and laboring classes do not love the government officials; and I have had the little prefix 'von' before my name,) must be possible elsewhere under more favorable circumstances."

6. *Soup Distribution Institution for the Old, Sick, Feeble, and Poor, and Lying-in-Women.* By the day-book of the institution, 96,908 portions of soup were distributed in 1845. This was received by six hundred and fifty-one families, including four hundred and forty-one married persons, four hundred and thirty-eight widows and single persons, and thirteen hundred and forty children; in all two thousand two hundred and nineteen persons. The cost of one portion of soup was about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pfennig, (about three-fifths of a cent.)

For some years von Türk had been complaining of the decay of his bodily strength and of his memory, when, in 1845, while he was in Berlin, a dangerous sickness seized him, from which he has never entirely recovered. He died July 31, 1846. His wife, two children and adopted daughter were by his side, and his last hours were peaceful and without pain. His memory will long endure.

On the 25th of the April before his departure from the world in which he had labored so nobly and benevolently, a letter, not without interest in this connection, from which a portion follows. To the request that he would communicate an autobiography for Hergang's Encyclopædia, he replies that he is unable. "My autobiography," he says, "lies ready written in my desk, but I propose to publish it for the benefit of the Teachers' orphans. I have established here an orphan house, especially intended for the orphans of teachers; but their numbers and necessities in the province of Brandenburg, for which the institution is founded, are so great, that I am obliged to refuse many applications; and thus I am contriving the means for assisting a larger number." "The motives which have impelled me to the establishment of the institutions which I have commenced, and the manner and means by which, without means of my own, and without the gift of eloquence, I have been able to accomplish these designs, will be related in my biography, that others, more richly endowed, may learn how to do the like." "I am in my seventy-

third year, on the borders of the grave, in body much broken, but peaceful and happy in mind, and in all my efforts for the improvement and elevation of my fellow-citizens, having enjoyed a success far beyond my hopes." "At Easter I dismissed from the Civil Orphan House, a pupil, son of a country clergyman, who is now studying theology in Berlin. Several of my scholars are already laboring as preachers, judges, physicians, public officials, carpenters, architects, teachers and officers." How happy must we reckon thee, excellent man, who, while still living, hast experienced such intellectual and heartfelt pleasure! Thy works follow thee into eternity; their memory shall even give thee ever increasing pleasure, and many, happy through thy means, shall bring thee thanks.

Noble and venerable as von Türk was, he was yet attacked by the arrows of wicked calumny. On this point we shall only relate the following:

Bishop Eylert relates in his character of Frederic William III., (vol. 2,) that von Türk was suspected by that monarch of being an unprincipled demagogue. Von Türk was living amongst the common people, as his inborn and profound preference made it happiest for him to live, and laboring for their good by his writings and in his official station, according to his irresistible vocation; and some persons had concluded that to be doing this without apparent interested motives, and without remuneration for the necessary sacrifices of labor, means and time, was enough to stamp von Türk a dangerous demagogue. Bishop Eylert, who was a friend of von Türk, undertook to remove this impression from the king's mind. Having argued the case, the king said, "I am glad to have my former opinion corrected, and to be able to entertain a good opinion of one who has certainly been accused to me." At the next festival of the order, von Türk received the red order of nobility; the king immediately interested himself in the Civil Orphan House at Potsdam, and for the institution at Klein-Glienicke, where he endowed additional scholarships, made presents to the orphans, and continued to von Türk, at his resignation of his place as royal and school councilor, in order to devote himself wholly to his institutions, the whole amount of his salary as pension.



## ROBERT OWEN AND FACTORY POPULATIONS.

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ROBERT OWEN—1771-1858.

[ROBERT OWEN, whatever we may think of him as a reorganizer of human society, and readjuster of the relations of capital and labor, deserves a recognition among the Practical Educators of his time as a reformer of the demoralizing Home Life and Education of Factory Populations, and one of the earliest to recognize the importance of regulating the plays and employments of very young children, so as to promote their healthy development as human beings. We copy the following notice of his life, and particularly of his labors at New Lanark from his son's (Robert Dale Owen) *Autobiography* :]

### EDUCATION AND EARLY BUSINESS LIFE.

Robert Owen, born in Newtown, North Wales, in 1771, was, like my grandfather, a self-made man. His specific plans, as a Social Reformer, proved, on the whole and for the time, a failure; and this, for lack of cultivated judgment and critical research, and of accurate knowledge touching what men had thought and done before his time; also because he strangely overrated the ratio of human progress; but more especially, perhaps, because, until late in life, he ignored the spiritual element in man as the great lever of civilized advancement. Yet with such earnestness, such vigor, such indomitable perseverance, and such devotion and love for his race did he press, throughout half a century, these plans on the public, and so much practical truth was there, mixed with visionary expectation, that his name became known, and the influence of his teachings has been more or less felt, over the civilized world. A failure in gross has been attended by sterling incidental successes; and toward the great idea of co-operation—quite impracticable, for the present at least, in the form he conceived it—there have been, ever since his death, very considerable advances made, and generally recognized by earnest men as eminently useful and important.

At the age of ten, his travelling expenses paid and ten dollars in his pocket, Robert Owen found himself in London, whither he had been sent to the care of an elder brother, to "push his fortune." Six weeks afterwards he obtained a situation as shop-boy with an honest, kind Scotchman, Mr. James McGuffog, a linen draper of Stamford, Lincolnshire, where he remained four years; the first year for board and lodging only; afterwards with a salary added, of eight pounds the second year, and a gradual increase thereafter—an independence for the child, who thenceforth maintained himself. The labor was moderate, averaging eight hours a day. McGuffog was childless; but he adopted a niece, two years younger than his Welsh apprentice; and between the two children there grew up a warm friendship. When my father finally decided, at four-

teen years of age, to return to London, he and the family parted with mutual regrets.

He then became salesman in the long-established haberdashery house of Flint & Palmer, on Old London Bridge. There he had twenty-five pounds a year, with board and lodging; but he was occupied often till one or two o'clock in the morning, arranging and replacing goods, so that he was scarcely able to crawl, by aid of the balusters, up to bed. The details of the morning toilet I give in his own words: "We were up, had breakfast, and were dressed to receive customers at eight; and dressing then was no slight affair. Boy as I was, I had to wait my turn for the hair-dresser to powder and pomatum and curl my hair—two large curls on each side and a stiff pigtail—and until this was nicely done, no one thought of presenting himself behind the counter."

He endured this ceremonious slavery for half a year; then found another, easier situation, and a larger salary, with Mr. Satterfield, in Manchester, which he kept for four years and until he was between eighteen and nineteen.

His life so far had been passed entirely in subordinate positions; in which, however, he acquired habits of regulated industry, strict order, and persistent attention to business.

For a few months after this he was in partnership with a Mr. Jones, manufacturing cotton machinery. While thus engaged he received a cordial letter from his former master, McGuffog, now become old and wealthy, with a proposal, if Owen would join him in business, to supply all the capital and give him half the profits at once; and with the further intimation that he would surrender the entire establishment to him in a few years. It appears that the niece had conceived a childish attachment to her playmate, though the object of her affection did not discover that she had till many years afterwards; and, perhaps, a knowledge of this may have influenced the uncle. "If I had accepted," says my father in his autobiography, "I should most likely have married the niece, and lived and died a rich Stamford linen-draper." Why, then only nineteen years old, he refused an offer in every way so eligible does not appear. If, as is probable, he then expected large profits from his present enterprise, he soon discovered his mistake—separating from his partner, in whom he had lost confidence, after a few months, and taking, as his share of stock, three mule-machines only.

With these, however, he did well; engaging three men to work them and superintending the business himself. He bought *rovings* at twelve shillings a pound and sold them, spun into thread, for twenty-two shillings—thus gaining two dollars on each pound of yarn he turned out. At these rates the profits soon ran up to thirty dollars a week; a fact which lets one into the secret of the enormous fortunes then made in this business.

Some months passed, when one Monday morning he read an advertisement by a Mr. Drinkwater, a wealthy merchant and manufacturer, for a factory manager. A sudden impulse induced him to present himself, an applicant for the place.

"You are too young," was Mr. Drinkwater's curt objection.

"They used to object to me," said my father, "on that score four or five years ago; but I did not expect to have it brought up now."

"Why, what age are you?"

"I shall be twenty in May next."

"How often do you get drunk in the week?"

My father blushed scarlet. "I never," he said indignantly, "was drunk in my life."

This seemed to produce a good impression. The next question was: "What salary do you ask?"

"Three hundred a year" (that is, three hundred pounds; as much as from two to three thousand dollars to-day).

"Three hundred a year! Why, I've had I don't know how many after the place here, this morning; and all their askings together wouldn't come up to what you want."

"Whatever others may ask, I cannot take less. I am making three hundred a year by my own business."

"Can you prove that to me?"

"Certainly. My books will show."

"I'll go with you, and you shall let me see them."

He inspected them, was so far satisfied; and then my father referred him to Satterfield, McGuffog, and Flint & Palmer.

Ten days later Robert Owen was installed manager of what went by the name of the "Bank Top Mill." A raw youth, whose entire experience in the operations of cotton-spinning was limited to the running of three mules—who had never entered a large factory in his life—found himself suddenly at the head of five hundred work people. It might conceal his first blunders, but in reality it added to the difficulty of the position, that Mr. Lee, the working partner and a practical cotton-spinner, had just formed another business connection and deserted Mr. Drinkwater, who, though an experienced fustian manufacturer and a successful importing merchant, knew nothing practically of the new manufacture then coming into vogue.

It was the turning point in my father's fortunes. There is not, probably, one young man in a thousand, coming suddenly to a charge so arduous and for which no previous training had fitted him, who would not have miscarried, and been dismissed ere a month had passed. But Robert Owen had received from nature rare administrative capacity, large human sympathy, and a winning way with those he employed. For six weeks, he tells us, he went about the factory looking grave; saying little, but silently inspecting everything; answering requests for instructions as laconically as possible, and giving no direct order in all that time; at night studying Mr. Lee's notes and drawings of machinery. Then he took the reins, and so managed matters that in six months there was not, in Manchester, a more orderly or better disciplined factory. He had gained the good-will of employer and work people; and had greatly improved the quality and reputation of the Bank Top yarn. He had also become an excellent judge of cotton; and, early in 1791, he bought, from a Mr. Robert Spear, the two first bags of American Sea Island cotton ever imported into England.



In the Spring of 1797 he connected himself with two rich and long-established firms, Borrodaile & Atkinson of London and the Bartons of Manchester, under the name of the "Chorlton Twist Company." Soon after, business took him to Scotland; and there, both as regards his domestic life and his future career, public and private, he met his fate. A sister of the Robert Spear above mentioned happened, at that time, to be on a visit to my grandfather; and my father, walking near the Cross of Glasgow one day, met and recognized her. She introduced him to a young lady who was with her, Miss Ann Caroline Dale, David Dale's eldest daughter; and, turning, he walked with the ladies some distance. Miss Dale and the young cotton spinner seemed to have been mutually attracted from the first. She offered him an introduction to her uncle, then manager of her father's establishment at New Lanark; suggesting, at the same time, that the Falls of Clyde, a mile or two beyond the mill, were well worth seeing. The offer was eagerly accepted, and the lady then added that, when he had made the trip, she would be glad to hear from him how he liked it.

Of course he called, on his return to Glasgow, to render thanks for her kindness. Fortune favored the young people. Mr. Dale was absent; the morning was fine; a walk in the "Green" (the park of Glasgow) was proposed, and my father accompanied Miss Dale and her sisters to the banks of the Clyde. The young lady dropped a hint—not quite as broad as Desdemona's—that they would probably be walking there early next day.. But, "on this hint" my father, less adventurous than Othello, spake not. He joined the party, indeed; but the day after he returned to his snug bachelor quarters at a country house called Greenheys, near Manchester.

The standing and reputation of David Dale dismayed him; not alone his wealth, his eminence as a manufacturer, his prominence as a popular preacher and bounteous philanthropist, his position as chief of the two directors, in the Glasgow branch of the Royal Bank of Scotland; but, more than these, his former station as one of the magistrates of Glasgow.

We of America are unfavorably situated, at this day, to appreciate the exalted respect with which the magistrates of Scotland's chief cities were then regarded; and which, to a great extent, they have retained till now. During a week which I spent, in 1859, with Robert Chambers, the well-known author and publisher, at his Edinburgh residence, I questioned him closely as to the manner in which the municipal affairs of the city were conducted. His replies surprised me. "I have never," he said, "heard even a suspicion whispered, affecting the unblemished integrity of our city magistrates. There is not a man who would dare approach one of them with any offer or suggestion touching official action inconsistent with the strictest honor. He would know that, if he did, he might expect to have a servant rung for, and bidden to show him into the street."

"And the contracts," I asked, "by the City Councils, as for building, street alterations, and the like—how are they managed?"

"With better judgment and more economy, it is generally admitted, than the average of contracts by private individuals."

"Who are these incorruptible men? What are their antecedents?"

"Usually gentlemen who have made large fortunes here; eminent merchants or manufacturers, or others who have retired, perhaps, from active business, and who consider it the crowning glory of their lives to take place among the magistracy of Edinburgh."

I must have smiled sadly, I suppose, for Chambers asked: "You are thinking of New York and some others of your own cities, with their universal suffrage?"

"Yes."

But my father was thinking of a Glasgow magistrate, such as held office toward the close of the last century; and he despaired of winning the great man's daughter.

[On the 30th of September, 1799, Miss Dale became Mrs. Robert Owen, who had by previous purchase, in company with his Manchester partners, become the owner of the New Lanark Cotton Mills, of which he took charge in January, 1811, and in this capacity began and effected great]

### *Reforms in Factory Life.*

Robert Owen's ruling passion was the love of his kind, individually and collectively. An old friend of his said to me, jestingly, one day, when I had reached manhood, "If your good father had seven thousand children, instead of seven, I am sure he would love them devotedly." But the inference thence to be drawn is unfounded. If we *were* only seven, he was to every one of us a most affectionate, even indulgent, parent. His organ of adhesiveness could not have been less than that of benevolence; while the organs of hope and self-esteem were equally predominant. I think that these four sentiments, together with large order and firmness, chiefly governed his life and shaped his destiny.

My father enabled his children to obtain many weapons which he himself never possessed. He had none of the advantages of regulated study. He did, indeed, between the ages of eight and ten, devour a good many volumes; among them he himself enumerates Robinson Crusoe, Quarles (including no doubt his Emblems and his History of Samson), Pilgrim's Progress, Paradise Lost, Richardson's novels, Harvey's Meditations, Young's Night Thoughts, and many other religious books, chiefly Methodist; but these works, justly famed as some of them are, must have made a strange jumble in an infant mind, left to digest their contents unguided even by a suggestion, and, as he tells us, "believing every word of them to be true."

When I first remember him, he read a good deal; but it was chiefly one or two London dailies, with other periodicals as they came out. He was not, in any true sense of the word, a student. One who made his own way in life, unheeded by a single dollar, from the age of ten, could not well be. I never found, in his extensive library, a book with a marginal note, or even a pencil mark of his, on a single page. He usually glanced over books, without mastering them; often dismissing them with some such curt remark as that "the radical errors shared by all men made books of comparatively little value." Except statistical works, of which his favorite was "Colquhoun's Resources of the British Empire," I never remember to have seen him occupied in taking notes from any book whatever.

In this way he worked out his problems for human improvement to great disadvantage, missing a thousand things that great minds had thought and said before his time, and often mistaking ideas that were truly his own, for novelties that no human being had heretofore given to the world.

Thus it happened that, while bringing prominently forward principles of vast practical importance that had been too much neglected both by governments and individuals, he forfeited, in a measure, the confidence of cultivated men by evident lack of familiarity with precedent authorities on the same subjects, and from inability to assign to a few favorite axioms their fitting place and just relative importance in a system of reformatory philosophy.

But to counterbalance these disadvantages he had eminent mental qualities that worked for him, with telling effect, whenever he came into contact with the masses, either as employer, in the early days of which I am now writing, or, later in life, as a public teacher. The earnestness of his convictions—all the stronger for imagining old ideas to be original—amounted to enthusiasm. I do not think that Napoleon was more untiring in his perseverance, or that Swedenborg had a more implicit confidence in himself; and to this was joined a temperament so sanguine that he was unable—no matter what rebuffs he met with—unable, even as an octogenarian, to conceive the possibility of ultimate failure in his plans. During the afternoon immediately preceding his death he was arranging, with the rector of the parish, for a series of public meetings (at which he promised to speak), looking to an organization that should secure to every child in and near his native town the best education which modern lights and knowledge could supply.

But I am speaking now of a period more than half a century past, when he was in the vigor of early manhood. At that time his two leading ideas of reform were temperance and popular instruction.

No grog-shops, indeed, were permitted in the village, but liquor was obtained in the o'd town. Robert Owen, acting on his belief in the efficacy of circumstances, soon wrought a radical change. He had village watchmen, who patrolled the streets at night, and who were instructed to take down the name of every man found drunk. The inebriate was fined so much for the first offence, a larger sum for the second, the fines being deducted from his wages; and the third offence resulted in dismissal, sometimes postponed if he showed sincere repentance. Then the people were so justly and kindly treated, their wages were so liberal, and their hours of labor so much shorter than the average factory hours throughout Great Britain, that dismissal was felt to be a misfortune not to be lightly incurred.

The degree to which, after eight or ten years of such discipline, intemperance was weeded out in New Lanark may be judged by the following incident.

I was in the habit of going to "The Mills," as we called them, almost daily. One day, in my twelfth year, when I had accompanied my father on his usual morning visit, and we had reached a sidewalk which conducted from our porter's lodge to the main street of the village, I



observed, at a little distance on the path before us, a man who stopped at intervals in his walk, and staggered from side to side.

"Fapa," said I, "look at that man. He must have been taken suddenly ill."

"What do you suppose is the matter with him, Robert?"

"I don't know. I never saw any man act so. Is he subject to fits? Do you know him, papa?"

"Yes, my dear, I know him. He is not subject to fits, but he is a very unfortunate man." "What kind of illness has he?"

My father stopped, looked first at the man before us, and then at me. "Thank God, my son," he said, at last, "that you have never before seen a drunken man."

Robert Owen's predominant love of order brought about another important reform. Elizabeth Hamilton, who spent several years as governess in a Scottish nobleman's family, has well described, in her *Cottagers of Glenburnie*, the careless untidiness and slatternly habits which, at the commencement of the present century, characterized the peasantry of Scotland. "I canna' be fashed" was the usual reply, if any one suggested that cleanliness, among the virtues, should rank next to godliness.

A writer, whose parents settled as workers in the New Lanark mills as early as 1803, states that in those days each family had but a single apartment, the houses being of one story only; and that before each door it was not unusual to find a dung-hill. He tells us, also, that one of Robert Owen's first reforms was to add an additional story to every house, giving two rooms to most of the families; and that the dung-hills were carried off to an adjoining farm, and a renewal of the nuisance was imperatively forbidden.

As I recollect the village, its streets, daily swept at the expense of the company, were kept scrupulously clean; and its tidy appearance in every respect was the admiration of strangers.

A reform of a more delicate character, upon which my father ventured, met serious opposition. After each family became possessed of adequate accommodations, most of them still maintained in their interior disorder and uncleanness. My father's earnest recommendations on the subject passed unheeded. He then called the work people together, and gave several lectures upon order and cleanliness as among the Christian virtues. His audience heard, applauded, and went home content "to do as weel as their forbears, and no to heed English clavers."

Thereupon my father went a step further. He called a general meeting of the villagers; and, at his suggestion, a committee from among themselves was appointed, whose duty it was to visit each family weekly, and report in writing upon the condition of the house. This, according to the statement of the author last quoted, while grumblingly acquiesced in by the men, was received "with a storm of rage and opposition by the women." They had paid their rent, and did no harm to the house; and it was nobody's business but their own whether it was clean or dirty. If they had read *Romeo and Juliet*, which is not likely, I dare say they would have greeted the intruders as the Nurse did her prying master—

"Go, you cotquean, go;  
G t y n t be'!"

As it was, while a few, fresh from mop and scrubbing-brush, received the committee civilly, a large majority either locked their doors or met the inquisitors with abuse, calling them "bug-hunters" and other equally flattering names.

My father took it quietly; showed no anger toward the dissenters; encouraged the committee to persevere, but instructed them to ask admittance as a favor only; and allowed the small minority, who had welcomed these domiciliary visits, to have a few plants each from his green-house. This gratuity worked wonders; conciliation of manner gradually overcame the first jealousy of intrusion; and a few friendly visits by my mother, quietly paid to those who were especially tidy in their households, still further quelled the opposition. Gradually the weekly reports of the committee became more and more favorable.

Within the mills everything was punctiliously kept. Whenever I visited them with my father, I observed that he picked up the smallest flocks of cotton from the floor, handing them to some child near by, to be put in his waste-bag.

"Papa," said I one day, "what *does* it signify—such a little speck of cotton?"

"The value of the cotton," he replied, "is nothing, but the example is much. It is very important that these people should acquire strict habits of order and economy."

In working out these and other reforms, my father, a scrupulous respecter of the rights of conscience and of entire freedom of opinion, never exercised, except in the case of habitual drunkards, the power of dismissal which his office as sole manager placed in his hands. The writer already quoted, who spent his youth and early manhood at New Lanark, bears testimony to this. "I never knew," he says, "of a single instance in which Mr. Owen dismissed a worker for having manfully and conscientiously objected to his measures."

### *School Reforms.*

The New Lanark schools, and the cause of education generally, were the subjects which, at this period of my father's life, chiefly engrossed his attention. His first appearance as a speaker was as president at a public dinner, given in the city of Glasgow in 1812, to Joseph Lancaster, the well-known educational reformer. In the character of this gentleman, a Quaker, there was a strange mixture of honest, self-sacrificing zeal, and imprudent, self-indulgent ostentation. As early as 1789 he labored stoutly among the poor of Southwark, teaching a school of three hundred out-cast children for years almost gratuitously. When his system finally attracted attention, and subscriptions poured in upon him, prosperity called forth weaknesses, and he squandered the money given for better purposes. I recollect that he drove up one afternoon, on invitation of my father, to Braxfield House, with four horses to his post-chaise—a luxury in which I never knew my father to indulge.

When, somewhat later, my father gave five thousand dollars to aid in the general introduction of the Lancaster system of instruction, I remember that my mother, adverting to the four horses, demurred to the

wisdom of so munificent a subscription. And I think that, in view of Lancaster's prodigality, she was in the right.

This Lancastrian system—one of mutual instruction, with *monitors*, selected from the pupils, as sub-teachers—was equally economical and superficial. It had its good points, however, and could be maintained where the funds were insufficient for anything better. My father, enthusiastic at first in its favor, gradually changed it for something more thorough and effective.

In the speech which Robert Owen made at the Lancaster dinner, the views which he afterwards elaborated touching the formation of character first peeped out. "General differences," he said, "bodily and mental, between inhabitants of various regions, are not inherent in our nature, nor do they arise from the respective soils on which we are born; they are wholly and solely the effect of education." While it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of education, in the extended sense of the term, this proposition is clearly extravagant, ignoring as it does the influences, often dominant, of race, climate, soil, whether fertile or barren, and hereditary qualities transmitted through successive generations. But the speech was applauded to the echo, and called forth from a certain Kirkman Finlay—then the great man of Glasgow—a laudatory letter.

"This induced me," says my father in his Autobiography, "to write my four Essays on the Formation of Character."

As early as 1809 my father had laid the foundations of a large building, afterwards called "The New Institution," designed to accommodate all the children of the village. But the estimated cost, upwards of twenty thousand dollars, alarmed his partners, who finally vetoed the enterprise.

My father was [with new partners] free to carry out his plans of education. He gradually completed and fitted up, at a cost of between thirty and forty thousand dollars, the spacious school-house, the building of which his former partners had arrested. It had five large rooms or halls, besides smaller apartments, and a bath-room on an extensive scale, sufficing for the accommodation of from four to five hundred children. No charge whatever was made; and not only all the children of the work people, but also children of all families living within a mile of the village, were thus gratuitously instructed.

#### *Infant Schools—1815.*

In this institution a novel feature was introduced. Pestalozzi and Oberlin have each been spoken of as originating the infant school system; but my father seems to have been its true founder. I have found no proof whatever that either of them even thought of doing what he carried out.\* He brought together upwards of a hundred children, from one to six years of age, under two guardians, James Buchanan and Mary Young. No attempt was made to teach them reading or writing, not even their letters; nor had they any set lessons at all. Much of their time was spent in a spacious play ground. They were trained to habits of order and cleanliness; they were taught to abstain from quarrels, to be kind to each other. They were amused with childish games and with

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\* See Barbauld's *National Education*. III. Great Britain. Infant Schools.



stories suited to their capacity. Two large, airy rooms were set apart, one for those under four years and one for those from four to six. This last room was furnished with paintings, chiefly of animals, and a few maps. It was also supplied with natural objects from the gardens, fields, and woods. These suggested themes for conversation, or brief, familiar lectures; but there was nothing formal, no tasks to be learned, no readings from books. "When the best means of instruction are known and adopted," says my father in his *Autobiography*, "I doubt whether books will be used until children attain their tenth year." But this he could not carry out at New Lanark, as the children were admitted to the mills, and were usually sent thither by their parents, at twelve years of age.

No corporal punishment, nor threat, nor violent language was permitted on the part of the teachers. They were required to treat the children with the same kindness which they exacted from them toward each other.

Some years later an attempt was made by a London association, headed by the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Brougham, to introduce infant schools into the British metropolis. They obtained a teacher from New Lanark. But they undertook to do too much, and so failed in their object. They had lessons, tasks, study. Not satisfied with moral training and instructive amusement, as at New Lanark, they sought prematurely to develop the intellectual powers. The tender brain of the infant was over-excited; more harm than good was done; and the system fell, in a measure, into disrepute, until Frœbel, in his *Kindergartens*, brought things back to a more rational way.

I visited our village infant school almost daily for years: and I have never, either before or since, seen such a collection of bright, clean, good-tempered, happy little faces.

#### *Limitation of Hours of Labor for Children.\**

At a meeting which he had previously held at the Tontine, Glasgow, he had introduced two resolutions recommending petitions to Parliament—one for the remission of the duty on imported cotton; the other for the protection of factory children from labor beyond their strength. The first passed unanimously; the second was lost by an overwhelming majority. Thereupon my father determined to agitate the matter himself.

As a preliminary measure we visited all the chief factories in Great Britain. The facts we collected seemed to me terrible almost beyond belief. Not in exceptional cases, but as a general rule, we found children of ten years old worked regularly fourteen hours a day, with but half an hour's interval for the mid-day meal, which was eaten in the factory. In the fine yarn cotton mills (producing from a hundred and twenty to three hundred hanks to the pound), they were subjected to this labor in a temperature usually exceeding seventy-five degrees; and in all the cotton factories they breathed an atmosphere more or less injurious to the lungs, because of the dust and minute cotton fibres that pervaded it.

In some cases we found that greed of gain had impelled the mill-owners

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\* For History of the Legislation of different countries to protect children from excessive labor both in time and in kind of work, see *Barnard's Legal Provision Respecting the Education and Employment of Children in Factories*. 1842. Revised edition. 1876.

to still greater extremes of inhumanity, utterly disgraceful, indeed, to a civilized nation. Their mills were run fifteen and, in exceptional cases, *sixteen* hours a day with a single set of hands; and they did not scruple to employ children of both sexes from the age of eight. We actually found a considerable number under that age.

It need not be said that such a system could not be maintained without corporal punishment. Most of the overseers openly carried stout leather thongs, and we frequently saw even the youngest children severely beaten.

We sought out the surgeons who were in the habit of attending these children, noting their names and the facts to which they testified. Their stories haunted my dreams. In some large factories, from one-fourth to one-fifth of the children were either cripples or otherwise deformed, or permanently injured by excessive toil, sometimes by brutal abuse. The younger children seldom held out more than three or four years without severe illness, often ending in death.

When we expressed surprise that parents should voluntarily condemn their sons and daughters to slavery so intolerable, the explanation seemed to be that many of the fathers were out of work themselves, and so were in a measure driven to the sacrifice for lack of bread; while others, imbruted by intemperance, saw with indifference an abuse of the infant faculties compared to which the infanticide of China may almost be termed humane.

In London my father laid before several members of Parliament the mass of evidence he had collected, and a bill which he had prepared, forbidding the employment in factories of child-workers under twelve years of age, and fixing the hours they might be employed at ten a day. Finally he obtained from the elder Sir Robert Peel (father of the well-known Prime Minister, and then between sixty and seventy years old), a promise to introduce this humane measure into the House of Commons. Sir Robert, then one of the richest cotton-spinners in the kingdom, and a member of twenty-five years' standing, possessed considerable influence. Had he exerted it heartily, I think (and my father thought) that the measure might have been carried the first session. But, in several interviews with him to which I accompanied my father, even my inexperience detected a slackness of purpose and an indisposition to offend his fellow manufacturers, who were almost all violently opposed to the measure. I think it probable that his hesitation was mainly due to a consciousness that it ill became him to denounce cruelties, in causing which he had himself had a prominent share. The bill dragged through the House for four sessions; and when passed at last, it was in a mutilated and comparatively valueless form.

Pending its discussion I frequently attended with my father the sessions of a committee of the House appointed to collect evidence and report on the condition of factory children. He was a chief witness, and one day had to stand (and did stand unmoved) a bitter cross-examination by Sir George Philips, a "cotton lord," as the millionaires among mill owners were then popularly called. This oppressor of childhood questioned my father as to his religious opinions, and other personal matters equally

irrelevant, in a tone so insolent, that, to my utter shame, I could not repress my tears. They were arrested, however, when Lord Brougham (then plain Henry) called the offender to order, and a'ter commenting, in terms that were caustic to my heart's content, on the impertinent character of Sir George's cross-examination, moved that it be expunged from the records of the committee—a motion which was carried without a dissenting voice.

Throughout the four years during which this reformatory measure was in progress, my father (in truth the soul of the movement) was unremitting in his endeavors to bring the evidence he had obtained before the public. The periodical press aided him in this; and I remember that one touching story in particular had a wide circulation. It came out in evidence given before the committee by an assistant overseer of the poor. He was called upon to relieve a father out of employment, and found his only child, a factory girl, quite ill; and he testifies further as follows: "Some time after, the father came to me with tears in his eyes. 'What's the matter, Thomas?' I asked. He said, 'My little girl is gone; she died in the night; and what breaks my heart is this—though she was not able to do her work, I had to let her go to the mill yesterday morning. She promised to pay a little boy a half-penny on Saturday, if he would help her so she could rest a little. I told her he should have a penny.' At night the child could not walk home, fell several times by the way, and had to be carried at last to her father's house by her companions. She never spoke intelligibly afterwards. She was ten years old."

#### *Industrial Element—Diversions—Military Drill.*

My father sought to make education as practical as possible. The girls were taught sewing and knitting, and both sexes, in the upper classes, besides geography and natural history, had simple lessons in drawing. Yet it was not the graver studies that chiefly interested and pleased our numerous visitors; the dancing and music lessons formed the chief attraction. The juvenile performers were dressed alike, all in tartan, the boys wearing the Highland kilt and hose. Carefully instructed in the dances then in vogue, as a lesson, not as a performance, they went through their reels and quadrilles with an ease and grace that would not have shamed a fashionable ball room, coupled with a simplicity and unconsciousness natural to children when they are not spoiled, but which in higher circles is often sadly lacking.

The class for vocal music numbered, at one time, a hundred and fifty and under a well-qualified teacher they made wonderful progress. I selected, and had printed for them, on a succession of pasteboard sheets, a collection of simple airs, chiefly national Scottish melodies, which they rendered with a homely pathos scarcely attainable, perhaps, except by those who are "to the manner born."

Another feature in our schools which proved very popular with visitors was the military training of the older children. Drilled by a superannuated soldier whom my father had hired for the purpose, and preceded by a boy-band of a drum or two and four or five fifes, they made a very creditable appearance.



## INTUITIONS IN OBJECT TEACHING.

### SUITABLE TO THE KINDERGARTEN PERIOD.\*

DIESTERWEG, in answer to the questions of his pupils, "What are the intuitions that shall be addressed?" "What shall we awaken?" "Out of what fields?" "Whence shall we take them?"—gave the following beautiful resumé.

"Let us look at the different kinds of intuitions—let us enumerate them."

1. *Sensuous* intuitions—not given merely mediately through the senses, but immediately or directly—outward objects.
2. *Mathematical* intuitions—representations of space, time, number, and motion, also belonging to the outward world and not directly given by the senses, but mediately through them.
3. *Moral* intuitions—The phenomena of virtuous life in man.
4. *Religious* intuitions, originating in man whose sentiments relate him to God.
5. *Æsthetic* intuitions,—from the beautiful and sublime phenomena in nature and human life (artistic representations).
6. *Purely human* intuitions, which relate to the noble mutual relations of man in love, faith, friendship, etc.

*Social* intuitions, which comprise the unifying of men in the great whole in corporations, in communities, and State life. The school cannot offer all these subjects of intuition according to their different natures and their origin; for the school will not take the place of life; it only supposes them, connects itself with them, and refers to them, it points them out in all their compass, occupies itself with them, and builds up with them on all sides the foundation of intelligence.

The *sensuous* intuitions relate to the corporeal world and the changes in it. The pupil must see with his own eyes, as much as possible, must hear with his own ears, use all his senses, seek the sensuous tokens of things in their phenomena upon, under, and above the ground, in minerals, plants, animals, men and their works, sun, moon, and stars, physical phenomena, etc.

The *mathematical* intuitions are developed out of the sensuous, by easy abstractions lying near at hand,—the representations of the expansion of space compared one with another, those of time in succession, the representations of number—the how much—the ever-moving representations of change in space, and the progression of the same. The simplest of these representations are those of space; the rest become objects of intuition by means of these, by points, lines, and surfaces. In arithmetic, for instance, points, lines, and their parts, bodies and their parts are the material of intuitions.

The *moral* intuitions come to the pupil through man, through his life with his relatives, as in the school through schoolmates and teachers. These are naturally *inward* intuitions which embody themselves in the

\*Taken from Chapter on Anschauungsunterricht ("Intuitional" or "Object Teaching") in the edition of *Die Wegweiser für Deutsche Lehrer*, issued by Diesterweg's friends after his death in numbers from 1873 to 1879. The Chapter entire will be found in *Barnard's Journal of Education* for 1880, p. 417.

expression of the countenance, in the eye, in the speech. The pupil's own experience is the chief thing here as elsewhere. Happy the child that is surrounded by thoroughly moral, pure men, whose manifestations lay in him the moral foundation of life. The moral facts of history are pointed out to him by the teacher from his own intuition, in a living manner by means of the living word, the eloquent lips, and the feeling heart.

To *religious* intuitions the child comes through the contemplation of nature, its phenomena and beneficent workings, through the piety of his parents, the commands of the father and mother, through contemplating the community in the house of worship, through religious songs in the school, through religious instruction and confirmation in school and church, through religious-minded teachers and pastors, biblical stories, etc.

*Æsthetic* intuitions are awakened by the sight of beautiful and sublime objects of nature (flowers, trees, stars, crystals, sky, and sea, rocky mountains, landscapes, storms, thunder-showers, etc.), and the real objects of art, pictures and picture-galleries, statues, gardens, poetical products, and human speech. We can classify their specific differences, calling them moral, æsthetic, etc., but I hold it better to place them in one category. The strong moral law equally binding upon all men, this field of view does not include, for its contents cannot be unconditionally required. That belongs to the *free*, beautifully human development, which is dependent upon conditions that are not attainable by every one.

The so-called *purely human* intuitions are related to the nobly formed human lives of individual men whose characters (Inhalt) proceed from the strongest conceptions of morality and duty, from sympathetic affections, friendship, and love, compassion, and loving fellowship, and other shining phenomena of exalted human life as they are met with in the more refined development and culture of lofty and pure men. Happy is the child who is in their sphere! If the home offers nothing in this respect, it is difficult to supply the want. Let the teacher do what is possible by the hold he has upon the school and by all his own manifestations.

The *social* intuitions, that is the social circumstances of men in a large sense are determined for the child by the manifestations of the community in the schools, in the churches, in the assemblies of the people, in public festivals, and especially in stories in which the teacher, by his living insight into states, nations, and warlike communities, defines to the scholar the best living representations of great deeds. Our early domestic life, not a public one, was an obstacle to the growth of these so important intuitions. How can he who has experienced nothing, understand history? How can he who has not seen the people make a living picture of its life? Small republics have endless advantage in respect to the observation of public life and patriotic sentiment. Words, even the most eloquent, give a very weak, unsatisfactory compensation for observation. The year 1848 has, in this respect, brought most important steps of progress.\* Prominent above all other considerations is the importance of the life, the intelligence, the standpoint, the character of the teacher, for laying the foundation of living observation in the soul, in the mind, and in the disposition of the pupil. What he does not carry in his own bosom he cannot awaken in the bosom of another. Nothing else can compensate for the want of this. The teacher must himself have seen, observed, experienced, investigated, lived, and thought as much as possible, and should exhibit a model in moral, religious, æsthetic, and purely human and social respects. So much as he is, so much is his educational instruction worth. He is to his pupils the most instructive, the most appreciable, the most striking object of observation.

\* "We hope," says Diesterweg's biographer, "that Father Diesterweg would have been satisfied with the progress from 1848 to 1871 if he could have experienced it, but let us keep watch of ourselves in spite of all that, for security. The chief battle of the German nation seems but just now (1873) to be beginning."

## PESTALOZZIANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

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### HISTORICAL DATA.

THE earliest presentation of the principles of Pestalozzi to the people of the United States, which has met my eye, was in a communication based on the authority of William Maclure in the *National Intelligencer*, printed in Washington on the 6th of June, 1806. This was followed on the 9th and 30th of the same month by an elaborate exposition of his method, taken from Dr. Chavannes' treatise published in Paris in 1805, and subsequently printed in the Italian and Spanish languages.

### WILLIAM MACLURE.

WILLIAM MACLURE, to whose broad humanitarianism science and popular education in the United States are largely indebted, was born at Ayr in Scotland in the year 1763, and died in San Angel in Mexico in 1840. He first visited New York in 1782, in the interest of the London mercantile firm of Millar, Hart & Co., in which he soon after became a partner, with his residence in London. He visited this country again in 1796; and in 1803 he had become so identified with it, that he was associated by President Jefferson with Messrs. Mercer and Barnet in a Commission to settle with the French government for claims of our merchants for spoliations committed in the revolutionary period.

Satisfied with a moderate pecuniary independence, Mr. Maclure retired from mercantile business in 1806, and entered on a course of scientific investigations in the great field of natural history, and especially of its mineralogy and geology, which won for him the distinction of the Father of American Geology. Without the patronage of a single State, or association, and at a time when there was little knowledge and sympathy with scientific pursuits, he commenced a geological survey of the United States, which extended from the river St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and which before its conclusion led him fifty times over the Alleghany range, crossing and recrossing it at different points in every State—over pathless tracts and dreary solitudes and with

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\* A memoir by S. G. Morton, read before the American Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and printed in Silliman's *Journal of Science*, April, 1844. Also biographical references in Maclure's *Opinions on Various Subjects*.



great privations and exposures, month after month and year after year, until he submitted a final memoir to the American Philosophical Society, in 1817, having read a preliminary paper eight years before, covering three years' work.

For several years before entering on this survey which extended over eleven years, Mr. Maclure devoted a portion of every year to the geology of Europe, and particularly of Switzerland, and during his visits there he became deeply interested in the educational work of Pestalozzi at Yverdun, and Fellenberg at Hofwyl, and by pen and conversation, and substantial offers and aid, labored to make their principles and methods known in his adopted country. To this part of his history we will return after noticing further his singularly disinterested labors in the field of science.

From 1812 Mr. Maclure took an active interest in the early history, endowment, and transactions of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia where he usually spent his intervals of rest. To its museum and library he gave valuable books and specimens, under his auspices lectures were instituted, and a Journal was commenced. Of this academy he was elected President in 1817, and continued to the time of his death, a period of twenty-two years; and to this institution he donated a large collection of books and minerals in 1819 and 1835, and from time to time made subscriptions of over \$20,000 to a fund for the erection of a fire-proof edifice, which was begun in 1839 and completed in 1840.

In 1817 he issued his *Observations on the Geology of the United States—with some Remarks on the Nature and Fertility of Soils*,—a corrected report of the memoirs of his survey in the transactions of the American Philosophical Society in 1809 and 1816.

In the winter of 1816-17, Mr. Maclure visited the West Indies to make personal observations on the geological features of the Antilles; and submitted a memoir to the Academy in 1817, which is printed in Vol. I of its Journal.

In 1819 he visited France and Spain, and while in Paris prepared several essays for the *Revue Encyclopedique* which were excluded by the Censors of the press as too democratic. These essays were afterwards translated into Spanish and printed in Madrid, to which the author had resorted in consequence of the liberal constitution promulgated by the Cortes. Here his beneficent activity was expended in scientific explorations and the improvement of the system of elementary instruction by the introduction of Pestalozzi's methods, and of an agricultural school

after the model of Fellenberg's in which manual labor should be combined with moral and intellectual culture. To facilitate his plans he caused a memoir of Pestalozzi, and Chavannes' report on his institution to be printed in Spanish, and bought of the government 10,000 acres of land near the city of Alicant, which had belonged to a suppressed convent. In 1823 the constitution was overthrown, and the lands were returned to the church; and Mr. Maclure in his mineralogical excursions in the mountains was in danger of being kidnapped and held as a slave until a ransom to an exorbitant amount was paid for his liberation.

In 1824 Mr. Maclure returned to the United States, intent on establishing an agricultural school on a plan similar to that projected in Spain; and sympathizing with Mr. Robert Owen in his leading object, 'The greatest good for the greatest number,' and especially in giving to the laborer with his hands the benefits of an instructed brain, he resolved to make trial of his own plans in the neighborhood of New Harmony, in Indiana, thirty miles from the mouth of Wabash River, where Mr. Owen had located his settlement for the trial of his new Social System. Mr. Maclure does not seem to have entered into the communism of Mr. Owen's village organization, but to have confined himself to his own educational work in the immediate neighborhood, where he erected a building for residence, to which he removed his private library, philosophical instruments, and collections of natural history, and to which he invited his friends, Mr. Say, Mr. Lesuer, Dr. Troost, and others, who already had an enviable scientific reputation.

In the autumn of 1827, the plan of an educational establishment of a delicate and original character, not succeeding, or at least not developing as rapidly as the proprietors hoped, in the natural hindrances of a new settlement like that of New Harmony, increased by discordant elements brought together from different countries in the expectation of a New Jerusalem, as it were, coming down from heaven—Mr. Maclure, with his friend Mr. Say, embarked for Mexico to secure the benefits of a more genial climate. Here he found ample scope for his scientific investigations and his socio-economical observations and speculations, which are embodied in his *Letters from Mexico*, printed in the *New Harmony Disseminator*, and embodied in his volume of *Opinions on Various Subjects*. Here his convictions of the immense importance of Pestalozzi's and Fellenberg's principles of education led him to incur expense for their dissemination, and for a second effort to establish an agricultural seminary in which the industrial element should be an essential part of the organization and

instruction. He was present at a meeting of the American Geological Society at New Haven in November, 1828, and there, among other designs, announced his purpose to bring back with him from Mexico a number of young native Indians in order to have them educated in the United States, and subsequently to become the pioneers of a better civilization among the people of their own race. But he did not live to return from his second visit to Mexico—his constitution, never very robust, yielded rapidly to the advance of age and disease, and after making great efforts to reach Vera Cruz, (with the co-operation of his friend, the American consul there,) on his return to Philadelphia, he died at the country house of Valentine Gomez Farias, ex-President of Mexico, March 23, 1840, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Educated in the best methods of the grammar schools of Scotland, trained by the responsibilities of large mercantile transactions to habits of bold and yet careful calculation, liberalized by the widest observation of natural phenomena, as well as the largest experience of mankind under different forms of government and widely varying conditions of occupation, Mr. Maclure devoted his talents and his wealth, not to the acquisition of a greater fortune, or personal aggrandizement, or sensual indulgence, but to the advancement of science and the amelioration of the condition of his fellow men, born and living in circumstances not as favorable to happiness as himself. Prof. Silliman remarked: 'It is rare that affluence, liberality, and the possession and love of science unite so signally in the same individual.' The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, although assisted by valuable contributions from many individuals, is a monument of his liberality. At the time of his death there was not a cabinet of natural history, public or private, in the whole country, which had not been augmented by his contributions; not a scientific publication of an expensive character which had not been aided by his timely subscription to its completion. In 1805 he enabled a young Frenchman (Mr. Godon) to go from Paris to the United States, who delivered in Boston and Philadelphia the first lectures that were given in mineralogy in any part of the Union. He furnished the earliest information, both in printed reports and private letters, in 1805 and 1806, for an intelligent description of the educational views of Pestalozzi in the public press of this country; and in 1806 he paid the expenses of travel and residence in Philadelphia for two years, to enable Mr. Joseph Neef, a pupil of Pestalozzi, to open a school on his principles in Philadelphia.



Joseph Neef, who opened the first avowedly Pestalozzian school in the United States, was born in Alsace about 1777, and was for a time a pupil, and in 1801 became a teacher, at Burgdorf. In 1803 he was sent by Pestalozzi, on the application of an orphan school and at the suggestion of Count de Lezay-Marnésia, Prefect of Upper Rhine, to Paris, where he taught the new method under such conditions, that in the year following, Bonaparte, then first Consul, according to Pompée (in his *Study of the Life and Works of Pestalozzi*, Paris, 1850 and 1878) attended a public examination of his pupils.

In 1805, William Maclure, with Mr. C. Cabal of Virginia, returned to Paris from Yverdon, where he had become deeply interested in Pestalozzi and his method; sought out Neef, who tells the story of the interview and results as follows:

"On what terms," said Mr. Maclure, "will you go to my country and introduce there your method of education? I have seen Pestalozzi, I know his system; my country needs it, and will receive it with enthusiasm. I engage to pay your passage and meet all expenses. Go and be your master's apostle in the new world!" My soul was warmed with admiration at such uncommon generosity. Republican by inclination and principle, and, of course, not at all pleased with the new order of things at home, I was not only glad to quit Europe, but I burnt with desire to see that country, to live in and be useful to a country which could boast of such citizens. But what still more exalts Mr. Maclure's magnanimity is that I did not at that period understand English at all. Two years at least were to be allowed for my acquiring sufficient knowledge of the language, during which time I had no resource but Mr. Maclure's generosity. But neither this nor any other consideration could stagger his resolution. Thus it was that I became an inhabitant of the new world."

Mr. Neef opened his school near Germantown in June, 1809, and in 1811, the *Providence* (R. I.) *American*, publishes a letter in answer to inquiries respecting the new system, which was copied into Niles' *Weekly Register* (Baltimore), of September 28th. From this reprint our extracts are taken.

Everything I have said, or which the power of language could express, would fall short of an adequate description of the effects already produced by Neef's system, which will not have been two years in operation till the 9th of June. Such indeed are the effects, that many who go there and see and hear are amazed, become incredulous, only because they can not see how it is produced. I, who have been a constant visitor, have had an opportunity to mark the principle of the method, as well as to note the astonishing ease, certainty, and simplicity of the process. ...

By the old system, children have a primer or horn book put into their hands, and they begin to learn the arbitrary and unmeaning names of certain signs called the alphabet.

By Neef's system, they begin to learn the names of all their limbs, members, and different relations and uses of all parts of the human body. Nearly two years elapse before they hear of an alphabet or a book; nor pen and ink, until they are able to read and write. This is an apparent paradox; but it is nevertheless true.

The second stage of the old system is to spell single syllables.

The second stage of Neef's method is to put a slate and pencil before the boy, and to bring his hand to the habit of drawing a straight line without the aid of a rule, and to draw the line to any given number of

inches as called for, by the eye only, and without any rule to measure, except after it is done, to exhibit its accuracy.

The third stage in the new is to divide the straight line into any required number of parts by the eye instantly, and with an exactness that shall stand the test of the compass and rule.

The fourth stage of the old school is words of four syllables.

The fourth stage of the new school, is to discriminate between the properties of lines—horizontal, vertical, and oblique,—and so he proceeds to visible objects. . . . Strange as it may appear, these lessons with the pencil lead to the art of alphabetical writing, and the alphabet after this course is not a matter of mere rote, but is established in the mind with precise ideas of its uses, as an agent for convenience to the memory, not as the essential object of learning.

The lessons are conducted like sports, and they are rarely more than an hour at any time in the school-room; nor do the lessons proceed in an arbitrary rotation. There is a certain order, but it is in the teacher's mind. The preceding lesson invariably leads to, and aids that which is to follow. . . . Their morning rambles over hills and valleys, rocks and declivities, are nothing more than exercises in gymnastics, or in natural history; minerals, earths, plants, and trees are investigated; the measurement of a triangle by the eye on a slate is now applied to the measurement of a similar figure in the open fields, and the chain of perches perform the operations which are assigned to the compass in the school-room.

The regular course embraces six years, but can be extended both in subjects and time should the parents desire or the pupil be qualified. The ordinary course consists of General Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Geography, and Drawing,—all taught with accuracy by a strict analysis of real objects, as far as attainable. Pupils are all taught to swim in summer and skate in winter, and their propensities to mechanics or gardening are encouraged, the fullest opportunities being given to unfold their faculties in such work.

The boys come to town occasionally, but what is not very usual, they are glad to go back to school again, the town being of less interest to them than their home and school life in the country.

The terms are \$200, which include tuition, board, washing, and every attention to health and happiness.

Before opening his school, Neef published in 1808, a *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education, founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties and Natural Reason suitable for the offspring of a Free People*. At the date of this publication, Neef had not yet attained such mastery of English as to justify his publishing his views of Education (which are, however, strictly Pestalozzian,) in that language. In 1813 he issued a second volume on *Language*, which met with less favor than the first; on the whole Neef did not achieve very brilliant results in Philadelphia, nor was he very widely known in his new field of labor in Lexington, Kentucky, where he conducted the "Pestalozzian Department" (the Primary and English students) in the Eclectic Institute, established by Rev. B. O. Peers in 1830. In both instances the school was not so situated as to admit of being freely visited, and its peculiar merits much written about in the press. Neef died in Lexington in 1835.

Dr. Keagy (John M.), a teacher in Harrisburg and Philadelphia from 1826 to 1836, was far more successful in his school manuals, and in public meetings of teachers, in commending the Pestalozzian system of Object Teaching to the people of Pennsylvania.



## THE ACADEMICIAN—1819.

In 1819 we find several elaborate and extended notices in the *Academician*, edited by Messrs. Albert and John Picket of New York. In Number 14, for January, there appears an article on Pestalozzi's "*Method of teaching Religious and Moral Principles to Children.*"

Pestalozzi, in the first place, by questions adapted to the tender age of the pupil, endeavored to ascertain whether any idea existed in his mind upon the subject to which he wished to direct his attention; and from any one clear idea of which he found the child in possession he led him on, by a series of questions, to the acquirement of such other ideas as were most intimately connected with that primary conception. Thus, for example, suppose that he found in the child an idea of the existence of a being whom he called God. He, instead of teaching him to repeat by rote the notions communicated by divine revelation on what constitutes the basis of all religious principle, proceeded by questioning him to direct his attention to such of the evidences of the divine power, wisdom, and goodness as were immediately within reach of his perceptions, concerning the unbounded love and all-directing providence of the Supreme Being. Clear ideas were in this manner obtained; and thus the infant mind was led at an early period to objects which cannot at any period of life be contemplated without producing corresponding emotions of reverence, gratitude, love, and veneration.

Having thus prepared the heart for obeying "the first great commandment," he, by leading to a consideration of the omnipresence of Deity, rendered the impression deep and permanent. It was thus that Pestalozzi laid the foundation for the belief and practice of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, when the faculties of the understanding should be sufficiently ripened for comprehending the importance of the truths that have been revealed. It was on the same principle, and by the same method of instruction, that Pestalozzi inspired his pupils with correct notions of justice, probity, and benevolence. The duty of doing to others as they would have others in like cases do to them, appeared, as it were, a discovery of their own, a truth demonstrated and unquestionable. Led also in the same manner to a perception of the utility of order, they became conscious of the necessity of adhering strictly to the rules and forms of discipline, essential to the preservation of that order of which they felt the benefit and advantage. Instructed, and in a manner compelled to think and to examine the motives of their conduct, they learned to set a value on self-approbation, confirmed by the approbation of those in whose wisdom they placed confidence.

We may easily believe, that when the moral feelings have been rendered thus susceptible, the dread of losing the esteem of a revered instructor would impose a restraint more powerful than is imposed by terror of punishment.

A few particular methods, judiciously planned, and carefully practiced, may be made habitually to exert the minds of youth in the acquirement of clear and accurate notions concerning all the objects of perception which can be brought within reach of their observation; and thus their mental powers, instead of being suffered to remain *dormant*, will be gradually developed and improved, and rendered capable of being exerted on other objects.

The principle adopted and adhered to by Pestalozzi is in its nature universal and may be universally applied. It is neither deep nor intricate, nor beyond the comprehension of the most ordinary capacity. In a few words, it is simply attending to the laws of nature. By these it has been ordained that the human understanding, though it may be generally opened, and enabled to embrace a vast extent of knowledge, can only be opened gradually and by a regular series of efforts. Pestalozzi, perceiv-



ing that when one idea upon any subject had been acquired by a child, the next in succession was no sooner presented than imbibed; and also observing that when it was attempted to force upon children ideas having no connection with any which had previously entered their minds, the attempt proved fruitless, took the hint from nature, and wisely formed his plan in conformity to hers. Instead of making children repeat words that suggested ideas to his own mind, he set himself to observe what were the ideas that actually existed in theirs.\* He then, by questions adapted to their capacities, induced them to make such further exertion of their powers as enabled them to add new ideas to their slender stock, and by persevering in the process, expanded their faculties to a degree, which, to those best qualified to judge of the difficulties of the abstruse sciences he professed to teach, seemed little short of miraculous.

The means employed by Pestalozzi to improve the heart and dispositions, are extremely simple and extremely obvious, yet, simple as they are, and infallible as is their operation, many and obstinate are the prejudices that must be surmounted ere we can expect to see them generally adopted. The effect resulting from them, as exemplified in the school of morality, is what has been termed by our old divines, the *practice of the presence of God*. Other children are taught to say that God is ever present: but the pupils of Pestalozzi are taught to know and to feel in their hearts that "in God they live and move and have their being." This conviction is impressed and riveted in their minds, so as never to be for a single moment obscured, nor does this belief produce in them the slavish fear which so naturally leads to a gloomy superstition; neither does it produce any tendency to that enthusiasm which expends its fires in the fervid and useless blaze of ecstasy. It is productive simply of the feelings of reverence and gratitude and love, accompanied by the sense of the divine protection which inspires courage and confidence, and that ardent desire of divine approbation which leads to the practice of every virtue.

#### A NATIVE OF CLINTON COUNTY.

In the *Academician* for February 13, 1819, "*A Native of Clinton County*," N. Y., begins a series of articles on Pestalozzi in these words:

MESSRS. A. & J. W. PICKET:

In your fourteenth number, there appeared a very brief view of the method of instruction devised by Pestalozzi. I have in my possession a very ample account of the Institute at Yverdon, by M. Jullien, printed in the French language, at Milan, in 1812. I have also a work on the subject in Spanish, entitled *Exposicion del metodo Elemental de Henrique Pestalozzi, &c., por Charannes*, 1807. I possess also about twenty volumes of the different books of instruction in that method, in the German language: the method pervading all parts of Germany; and a book of instruction has just fallen into my hands entitled *Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers*. Part 1, which has been translated from the German or French into English, and printed as the following will show: "Dublin: sold by Martin Keene, bookseller, College Green; Thomas Bower, No. 67 Lower Gardiner street; and at the Committee-House for Charitable Societies, No. 16 Upper Sackville-street, 1817."

My purpose in noticing those books is with the double view of exciting attention to the most efficient method of education that human genius has hitherto devised; and to show that a method of education scarcely known in this country has spread over Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, obtained great attention in France, found patronage even in Spain, and has found

\*This remark ought to claim the serious attention of every person concerned in the development of the infant mind. The flash of light thrown upon the subject is sufficient to dispel the darkness that hovers over most places of instruction in our country; but as the light begins to prevail, our schools are becoming better.

regard in Ireland, so as to become an object of concern to charitable foundation.

The sketch which you have given is corroborated by the work of Jullien, vol. 1, p. 107, and vol. 2, p. 305. Having had some opportunities to form opinions upon the efficiency and unequaled effect on the tender minds of young persons between six and sixteen years old, I am induced to invite your attention to it at this time, when there is at least an avowal of the necessity of some system adapted to teach to youth the rudiments of necessary knowledge in a comprehensive and effectual manner.

The peculiar characters of the method of Pestalozzi are simplicity and truth. Simplicity in the mode of inducing the mind to be instructed, to seek for knowledge, and to make the impression on the mind truly, and not ambiguously nor imperfectly. Whatever is thus inculcated is no longer necessary to be repeated, it becomes an indestructible part of the stock of rational ideas, which fade only with the decay of life.

Connected with those principles of simplicity and truth are the modes and means by which the *business of education* is insensibly prosecuted without any restraints or vexations or force; knowledge is acquired by means which assure the appearance and carry all the gratification of recreation. In a word, the mind is led without perceiving the delicate film which is proved to be competent to conduct it; the health is preserved by the exercises which enter into the modes of instruction, and the constitution is at the same time strengthened, while the mind is enlarged, and the temper secured in habitual contentedness and cheerfulness.

This general view of the method does not depend on the authority of books; it is the fruit of my own observation and experience when I had a tender interest in two of the innocent pupils who derived benefits therefrom which will continue during their lives, and which I regret that peculiar circumstances did not permit them to pursue up to a complete course.

In the particular branches of instruction, the eye and ear and tongue of the pupil are all engaged in a manner adapted to each subject, and several subjects follow in an unperceived order, adapted each to sustain either some previous study or to prepare for that which is to come. The usual *lessons*, if so they may be called, for children of five or seven years old, are the knowledge of the names of the members and parts of the individual. A work especially adapted to this first class of instruction, and called *The Mother's Book*, is published; it forms a part of the tuition of the school, because, although mothers usually teach their children to know their right hand from their left; and their fingers from their thumbs; yet even this mother-taught knowledge is itself defective, and men grow in years frequently without the knowledge of the proper names of any other parts of their bodies, unless some professional pursuit renders the acquisition indispensable. When mothers shall have obtained the accurate knowledge of the book that bears this title, of course it will no longer be necessary in the school.

Associated, but by succession, with the knowledge of the person, is the knowledge of interior forms or objects; those which present themselves to the sight, which makes an impression on that sense, but which require to be analyzed to render the impression distinct and discrimination durable. This method is here manifested in all its perfectness and beauty,—and the latent sparks of intellect are drawn forth with an effect that produces, in the pleasures of an hour, principles of knowledge which employ the labor and study of years. Erroneous ideas are barred out by the prepossession of intellectual light and truth. Thus, for example, if the objects to be seen are trees, houses, rocks, or animals, how are those different objects so discriminated from each other as to assign to each its proper name. By a question, this is soon brought forth. It is discovered that every object has a form; and another question discovers that all forms have an exterior line and that this line compared with the exterior line of another object is the first sensible difference. It is discovered that houses are



composed in their exterior forms of straight lines, generally; that rocks are composed of mixed lines; and that animals, besides being of different forms, have also the principle of life, of which care is taken to prepare the mind, further notice will be taken.

These exercises produce new questions on other visible properties of objects—among these are colors, and lights and shade are touched upon; heights, extension, and magnitudes, grow out of these inquiries; and curiosity leads the teacher to try his hand at describing some object, by lines on a slate or prepared board; many castles are built in the air and as speedily demolished; trees are described, and it becomes necessary to discriminate the difference between kinds of trees, for the same kind of lines will not describe the oak and the pine; and to discover other peculiarities affords an occasion for a ramble in the fields, when the first impressions of natural history are made, by comparing plants, leaves, bark, brambles, etc. The first elements of geology are formed in those *unpremeditated* walks or sport of innocent pastime; insects and fish are introduced to the mind by inquiries suited to the state of the little philosophers' knowledge.

But it is after the return from those rambles that the hand is led to trace the impressions of the mind, and to discover that practice is necessary to the production of lines of any form at will. The fundamental principles of geometry commence their initiatory course at that moment when it is perceived that lines have proportional lengths in symmetrical bodies, and that it is necessary even to describe in oral language the length, the direction, or inclination or position of a line. The exercises on the principle of forms is begun by drawing a line of an inch in length, and this leads to the proportional quantities of all measures.

Should this unpremeditated sketch be deemed of any use, and that a continuation will be acceptable, you shall hear from me again.

A NATIVE OF CLINTON COUNTY.

In the succeeding numbers (for March, p. 263; April, p. 283; May, p. 295; June, p. 312; July, p. 327; September, p. 345) under the general title of "Pestalozzi," different aspects of his system are very clearly presented. In one of the last of the series, No. 6, for July 10, 1810, the author adds:

I possess more than thirty volumes in the German language, containing the details of the instruction, which I would cheerfully give to any institution or publisher, upon the condition that they should be translated, printed, and published. And the gift would be a free offering, nor do I wish to be known in so doing, my only interest in obtaining those works from Europe being to promote knowledge, without any view to pecuniary advantage.

I notice the extent of the publications, for these reasons: first, to show that where so many works have already been published, that the method must have made very considerable progress; secondly, to show how inadequate a few essays must be to convey a complete idea of the method in all its details; but there is also a third reason, which is to take the opportunity of explaining why it is necessary that the details should be so minute.

As was exemplified in the case of Plato, who dismissed a hearer because the want of a knowledge of geometry disqualified him from comprehending his lectures, the defective methods, or want of all method in other modes of education, require to be supplied in a method which does not permit any progression of a pupil from one study or one bench to another until he actually understands the immediate study of the class, in which he has been at exercise. It may appear at first sight that the voluminous course of thirty volumes renders the labor of the pupil more excessive than the system of common education, which, commencing with grammar and the reading of Virgil, and in arithmetic with the ordinary treatises and the



elementary mathematics of the colleges, do not exceed eight or ten books in each department. But the modes of practice by the master, the labor of getting by rote, the examinations, the exercises in false and in correct grammar, parsing, etc., are not taken into the estimate of this comparison; but, if all these exercises of the common mode were written down, and the hours duly registered, employed by the pupil after the usual hours of school, it would be found that fifty volumes would not contain them. But in the works of the method of Pestalozzi, besides that there is no acquiring lessons by mere rote, the whole of the knowledge which education is intended to convey is taught in the actual exercises in which the *voice*, the *eye*, the *ear*, and the *head*, are all brought into action, and the understanding, the analytic faculty, is publicly exercised in the development of the most minute properties and nature of things; grammar, for example, is not acquired by getting by heart, as it is called, a given number of lines of Ruddiman's or Murray's grammar; the study of grammar by the Pestalozzian method is an oral analysis and determination of the classes to which words belong; the nature of the classification, its purpose, and even, where there are various opinions or classification of terms, the nature of those distinctions are investigated and referred to the nature and signification of words as the medium of communication between minds.

#### PROFESSOR GRISCOM.

IN 1818 and 1819, Prof. John Griscom\* spent a year in the most industrious and thoughtful inspection of schools, colleges, and charitable institutions of Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Holland, and published an account of the same in two volumes under the title of a "*Year in Europe*." No one volume in the first half of the nineteenth century had so wide an influence on the development of our educational, reformatory, and preventive measures, directly and indirectly, as this.

#### VISIT TO YVERDUN IN OCTOBER, 1818.

Breakfast finished, our first and chief concern here was to visit the celebrated institute of Pestalozzi. This establishment occupies a large castle, the use of which was granted to Pestalozzi by the canton of Berne, when the town of Yverdun was included in that canton, and the government of the Pays de Vaud, to which it now belongs, continues the grant. On entering the castle, we were invited into a private room. I gave my letters to the person in attendance, who took them immediately to the chief. The good old man soon came in, seized me warmly by the hand, and, seeing my hat on my head, he pointed to it in a sort of ecstasy, with his eyes almost filled with tears. I hardly knew how to interpret this emotion, and asked him if he wished me to take it off. He answered very earnestly, "No, no, no, keep it on, you are right." He seemed very glad to see us, and as he speaks French very imperfectly, and with an indistinct accent, he said he would call Monsieur Greaves to talk with us. This gentleman soon came and entered immediately into a detail of the institution, its principles, its spirit, its arrangement, etc. He is an Englishman, and, as I found upon inquiry, brother to the lady whom I had seen at Lausanne. He has been some weeks with Pestalozzi, for the purpose of understanding his system thoroughly, in order to aid a sister in England in the education of her children. He enters warmly into its concerns, and will be useful in making it better known. He explained to us very clearly the leading ideas and views of human nature, which

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\*For memoir of Prof. Griscom's long and useful educational career, see Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, Vol. VIII, 324-347.

induced Pestalozzi to become an instructor of youth. The two great instruments with which he works are faith and love. He discards the motives of ambition and emulation as unnecessary, and as tending to counteract the sentiment of good-will toward others. He thinks there is enough in the intuitive understanding of every child to accomplish the complete growth and maturity of its faculties, if its reason be properly trained and nourished, and not warped by injudicious treatment. The common plans of education he regards as too artificial, too wide a departure from nature. Too much stress is laid upon the memory, while the imagination is too much neglected. If the native feelings of the heart are allowed to operate, under the dominion of the native powers of the mind, drawn out and expanded by faith and love, the child is competent of itself to arrive gradually at the most correct and important conclusions in religion and science. There is a native and inherent life, which only requires to be cherished by genial treatment, to bring it into the full attainment of truth, and to the utmost perfection of its being. He therefore insists upon the greatest pains being taken to draw out this native life and to preserve it in full vigor. There is a constant danger of urging the child forward beyond its natural strength, of anticipating its conclusions and thus weakening its confidence in its own powers. In the plans he adopts nothing is to be got by heart. The understanding is to be thoroughly reached, and then the memory will take care of itself.

His school consists at present of about ninety boys, German, Prussian, French, Swiss, Italian, Spanish, and English. It is divided into four principal classes, according to the attainments of the pupils. These classes are subdivided into others. There are seven school-rooms in the castle, and twelve teachers or professors. His head professor, Joseph Schmidt, has been brought up in the institution, and is a very efficient and worthy man. He is a native of one of the German cantons, and speaks and writes perfectly the German and French. He is a man of modest demeanor and entirely devoted to the institution. He has written treatises on several of the subjects taught in the school, and adapted to its methods.

We spent most of the day in the different school-rooms, witnessing the exercises of the scholars. Very few books are used, as it is expected the children can read well before they come there. But to describe the modes of teaching, so as to render them clearly intelligible, would require much more time and space than I can possibly allot to it, were I ever so competent to make it known. We saw the exercises of arithmetic, writing, drawing, mathematics, lessons in music and gymnastics, something of geography, French, Latin, and German. To teach a school in the way practiced here, without book, and almost entirely by verbal instruction, is extremely laborious. The teacher must be constantly with the child, always talking, questioning, explaining, and repeating. The pupils, however, by this process, are brought into very close intimacy with the instructor. Their capacities, all their faculties and propensities, become laid open to his observation. This gives him an advantage which cannot possibly be gained in the ordinary way in which schools are generally taught. The children look well, appear very contented, and apparently, live in great harmony one with another; which, considering the diversity of national character and temper here collected, can be attributed only to the spirit of love and affection which sways the breast of the principal of the institution, and extends its benign influence throughout all the departments. In the afternoon we went with Pestalozzi, Greaves, and Bucholz, a German clergyman (who is here on a visit to the institution), and one or two others, to visit a free school of twelve or fourteen children which Pestalozzi has established in the village of Clendy, at a short distance from the castle. These are children taken from the families of poor people, selected on account of their character and talents, in order to be educated as teachers, with a view to extend and perpetuate the principles and operation of the system. One-half of them are boys and the other half girls. Their principal instructor is a sister of Schmidt, the chief master,



an exceedingly clever and interesting young woman. She has another sister also with her, younger than herself, who will soon become qualified to act as an instructor. These pupils were exercised before us, in drawing, in arithmetic, and in music. The girls, seated round a table, and busy with their needles, had questions in arithmetic given them by the mistress, which they were to solve by their heads. They are thus led on from the most simple beginnings to comprehend the principles of arithmetic, and to work questions with great expertness, solely by a mental process. A male teacher is provided for the boys, though the mistress often assists in the instruction. This little school promises to be well cared for, and of service to the Pestalozzian cause. We were much pleased with its appearance, and with the assurance it affords, that whatever there is of value and importance in this system will not be lost.

The success of this mode of instruction, greatly depends on the personal qualifications of those who undertake to conduct it. There is nothing of mechanism in it, as in the Lancasterian plan; no laying down of precise rules for managing classes, etc. It is all mind and feeling. Its arrangements must always depend on the ages, talents, and tempers of the scholars, and require, on the part of the teachers the most diligent and faithful attention. Above all, it requires that the teacher should consider himself as the father and bosom friend of his pupils, and to be animated with the most affectionate desires for their good. Pestalozzi himself is all this. His heart glows with such a spirit that the good old man can hardly refrain from bestowing kisses on all with whom he is concerned. He holds out his hands to his pupils on every occasion, and they love him as a child loves its mother. His plan of teaching is just fit for the domestic fireside, with a father or mother in the center, and a circle of happy children around them. He is aware of this, and wishes to extend the knowledge of his plan to every parent. Pestalozzi is seventy-two years of age. It has been quite unfortunate for the progress of his system on the continent, that he pays so little attention to exteriors, regarding dress, furniture, etc., as of no moment, provided the mind and heart be right.

The weather continuing wet, we resolved to wait till the morrow, and take the diligence to Lausanne and Geneva. Much of the day was spent at the castle, in the school-rooms, and in conversation with Greaves. I omitted to mention that we attended, last evening, to the religious exercise which terminates the business of the day. The scholars assembled in a room called the chapel, but very simply furnished with benches and a table. When all were collected, Pestalozzi, directing his face chiefly to the boys, began to speak in German, moving about, from side to side, directing his attention for some time to the boys on his right and then advancing toward those on his left. This motion, backward and forward, continued about twenty minutes; he was constantly speaking, and sometimes with considerable earnestness. It was altogether unintelligible to me, but I afterward learned that it consisted of a recapitulation of the occurrences of the day, noticing particularly everything of moment, and intermingling the whole with short prayers, adapted to the circumstances mentioned in the discourse. If, for example, any of the boys had quarreled or behaved unseemly to each other, or to their teacher, he would speak to the case, and accompany his remarks with a pious ejaculation. It is probable that he sometimes engages more formally in this exercise. As it was, it appeared to gain the whole attention of his audience. It was concluded by reading from a small book what appeared to be a hymn or psalm.

A company of English visitors attended at the castle to-day, consisting of men and women. The boys performed some of their gymnastic exercises before them, consisting chiefly of simple but simultaneous movements of the arms, legs, feet, head, etc., stepping, marching, turning, and jumping, all intended to exercise the various muscles which give motion to the limbs and head, and to make the boys acquainted with the elements of all those movements. This exercise took place in one of the large bedrooms. We attended, by invitation, last evening, a lecture given



by Schmidt, the head teacher, to a number of young men, among whom were four Russians, sent by the Emperor, to gain information in England and other countries relative to the best modes of teaching. They had been in England, and spoke our language tolerably well. The lectures are to illustrate more fully the principles and processes adopted in the Pestalozzian institution.

We had the company, this evening, at our lodgings, of Frederick Bucholz, who was lately a chaplain to the king's German legion in England. He had been some time with Pestalozzi, and was able to give us more information with respect to some parts of the system than we could obtain by a short visit to the school itself.

We have had at our table d'hôte, during the last two days, ten or twelve boys, with their three preceptors, constituting a boarding-school at Geneva. They are on an excursion round the lake of Geneva, taking Yverdun in the way. They came to this place on foot, through the rain, and intended to perform the whole journey on foot; but the weather continuing very wet, they went off this morning in carriages. One of them is a young prince of Wirtemberg, about twelve years of age, of plain juvenile manners, no extraordinary talent, but apparently of an amiable temper.

We left Yverdun in the diligence, after going again to the castle, and taking leave of some of the professors. Pestalozzi was not in; he had been to see us at the inn, but missed of us. Before we set off, however, the good old man came down again, and parted with us very affectionately. In the course of two days which we have spent at the castle he several times pressed my hand to his lips, and seemed to possess all the love and fervency of a true disciple in the cause in which he is engaged. If his personal talents, address, and management were equal either to his genius or his zeal, his influence would have been much greater even than it has been. Nevertheless, the period of his life and labors will, I fully believe, be hereafter regarded as a most important epoch in the history of education. When his principles come to be more generally understood, they will be found to contain much that is extremely valuable. It is to be feared, however, that many years will still elapse before the world is put in possession of a complete explanatory view of his whole system. He does not himself possess the faculty (as Bucholz informed me) of explaining in familiar and intelligible terms his own principles. He conceives with wonderful acuteness, and expresses himself in language of extraordinary force and energy; but it requires a deep and steady attention to be able to embrace his whole meaning. He has published largely in explanation and in support of his plans of instruction; but there is so much of vernacular pith—of idiomatic force and peculiarity in his style and manner, as to render it rather difficult to read him, and still more so to translate his writings. He is now, however, anxious to have all his works translated into English, fully believing that the merit of his plans will be better understood, and his principles more industriously supported, by the English nation than by his own people. His career has been marked with perplexities. He has had to struggle intensely against poverty, neglect, prejudice, and gross misrepresentation; but his patience, his meekness, his perseverance, his ardent love of his fellow-creatures, have borne him through all his trials; and notwithstanding his advanced age the reputation of his school is now as high, if not higher, than it ever has been. Toward those who have generously contributed to aid him in his pecuniary difficulties his heart glows with the liveliest gratitude. Of two of my acquaintances, one of London, and the other of Philadelphia, who had thus befriended him, he could not speak without emotion.

Prof. Griscom, in his account of Fellenberg's Institution at Hofwyl, and particularly of the School of Wehrli, remarks, that Pestalozzi's methods of instruction were followed in both.



ANOTHER PICTURE OF THE SCHOOL AT STANZ





# PRIMARY INSTRUCTION BY OBJECT LESSONS.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

OF THE CITY OF OSWEGO, IN NEW YORK.

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THE Committee selected by the Board of Education of the city of Oswego to attend an examination of the primary schools of that city, held on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of February, 1862, with special reference to an investigation of the system of "Object Teaching" recently introduced into said schools, and to an expression of opinion thereon, beg leave respectfully to

## REPORT,

That the system in question is designed and claimed to be in accordance with those principles so prominently exemplified by the great Swiss educator, Henry Pestalozzi, who lived and labored during the last half of the eighteenth century. Of him the Hon. Henry Barnard justly remarks that, "Although his personal labors were confined to his native country, and their immediate influence was weakened by many defects of character, still, his general views of education were so sound and just that they are now adopted by teachers who never read a word of his life or writings, and by many who never even heard his name. They have become the common property of teachers and educators throughout the world."

These principles lie down deep in the nature of man. They recognize the great truth that this nature is threefold—material, intellectual, moral, and that it has its laws of growth and development. Pestalozzi believed, as we believe and know, that human beings possess affections and a moral sense as well as reason, and intelligence, and sensation.

## NATURE OF EDUCATION.

He therefore assumed *faith and love* as the only true foundation of a system of education. He asserts that education, in order to fit man for his destination, must proceed according to natural laws; that it should not act as an arbitrary mediator between the child and nature—between man and God—but that it should assist the course of natural development instead of doing

it violence; that it should watch and follow its progress, instead of attempting to mark out a path agreeably to some vague preconceived system. He sought to develop and strengthen the faculties of the child by a steady course of excitement to self-activity, with a limited degree of assistance to his efforts.

He aimed to discover the proper point for commencing the education of the young, and then to proceed in a slow and gradual, but progressive and unbroken course from one step to another, always waiting until the preceding steps should have a certain degree of distinctness in the mind of the child before entering upon the presentation of a new step.

#### DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLES.

✓ Pestalozzi believed *that education in its essence consists in the harmonious and uniform development of every faculty, so that the body should not be in advance of the mind nor the mind of the body, nor should the affections be neglected; and that promptitude and skill in action should, as far as possible, keep pace with the acquisition of knowledge.* He required close attention and special reference to the individual peculiarities of each child and of each sex, as well as to the characteristics of the people among whom he lived, to the end that each might be educated for that sphere of activity and usefulness to which the Creator had destined him.

*He regarded Form, Number, and Language as the essential condition of definite and distinct knowledge, and insisted that these elements should be taught with the utmost simplicity, comprehensiveness, and mutual connection.*

Pestalozzi, as well as Basedow, desired that *instruction should begin with the simple perception of external objects and their relations.* He wished that the *art of observing* should be acquired. He thought the *thing perceived of less importance than the cultivation of the perceptive powers*, which should enable the child to observe completely, and to exhaust as far as possible the subjects which should be brought before him. He maintained that every subject of instruction should become an exercise of thought, and that lessons on *form, size, number, place, etc.*, would give the best occasion for it.

He thought highly of arithmetic as a means of strengthening the mind, and he also introduced Geometry into the elementary schools, with the arts of drawing, designing, and modeling growing out of it.

He would *train the hand, the eye, the touch, and the senses generally*, without which there can be no high executive power in the arts of civilized life.

He was opposed to the lifeless repetition of the rules of grammar, but rather aimed at a *development of the laws of language from within*—at a knowledge of its internal nature, structure, and peculiar spirit—thus affording the means not only for cultivating the intellect, but for improving and elevating the affections. He, as well as other educators of his time, introduced vocal music into the circle of school studies on account of its powerful influence upon the heart. Not satisfied with singing by rote, he included in his course of instruction the elementary principles of music—Rhythm, Melody, and Dynamics.

He discouraged that abuse of the Socratic method which attempted to *draw something out of children before they had received any knowledge*; but, on the contrary, recommended in the earliest periods of instruction the established method of dictation by the teacher and reproduction by the pupil.

( Pestalozzi strongly *repudiated the opinion that religious instruction should be exclusively addressed to the understanding*. He showed that religion lies deep in the hearts of men, and that it should not be so much enstamped from without as developed from within; *that the basis of religious emotion is to be found in the childish disposition to love, to gratitude, to veneration, to obedience and confidence toward parents; that these feelings should be cultivated, strengthened, and directed toward God*; and that religion should be formally treated of, at a later period, in connection with the feelings thus excited. As he required the mother to direct the first development of all the faculties of her child, he assigned to her especially the task of first cultivating the religious feelings. He thought that mutual affection ought to reign between the educator and the pupil, whether at the home or school, in order to render education effectual and useful. He was not, therefore, disposed to uphold school despotism, nor did he approve of special incentives addressed to emulation, preferring that the children should be taught to find their own highest and best reward in the delights of knowledge and in the consciousness of duty done. (

#### THESE PRINCIPLES WORTHY OF ATTENTION.

Such were the leading views and principles of this truly great man; and, with all the faults in their practical application by



himself in the eccentricity of his character, they are eminently worthy of the profound study alike of the parent, the teacher, the philanthropist, and the Christian. They constitute unquestionably the germs of that great system of means for the complete evolution of the varied and complex forces of our common nature which *is to be*—perchance which already is.

#### NATURAL ORDER OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE FACULTIES.

The Committee believe that these principles seem to imply the existence of a great comprehensive law or order of development of the human faculties, together with a corresponding order of succession and adaptation in the scheme of truth which must constitute the objects to which these expanding faculties must address themselves as the inexorable condition of their development and growth. Without stopping to argue this proposition, but desiring merely to suggest it, the Committee commend it to the profound consideration of their educational brethren every where. If this proposition be true, it lies at the basis of all educational inquiry, while its complete elucidation will essentially determine the character of all proper educational courses and methods of procedure.

What the character of the primary school should be, what its subjects and methods of instruction, depends upon the preliminary questions :

✓ What is the character and destiny of the beings to be trained therein? What is the condition of their physical, mental, and emotional powers? and what kind of studies, what description of knowledge, what exercises are best suited to meet the wants and exigencies of their present, while having reference, also, to their future condition and circumstances?

#### SENSATION AND PERCEPTION.

The Committee believe it to be the generally received opinion that, in childhood, all positive knowledge comes through sensation and perception. Sensation arises from the contact of our senses with the outer material world. Perception is the reference of a sensation to its cause. Sensations lead, through observations, to conceptions. Conceptions form the basis of our reasoning, and, through reason, we are led to discover our relations to the material world, to our fellow-men, and to the Creator; and, finally, the will, as the executive power, enables us to act according to the dictates of reason, of conscience, and of duty.

We have thus hinted at what many believe to be the natural order of evolution of the faculties :

- 1st. Perception through sensation.
- 2d. Conception through observation.
- 3d. Reasoning upon the basis of our conceptions, ascending from the concrete to the abstract, from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown.
- 4th. Volition, according to the conclusion reached by reason, acting in harmony with the conscience and the nobler emotions and impulses of our nature.

#### TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES.

Is there now an order of succession of studies, or of the sciences, corresponding to the order of evolution of the faculties? This has been conclusively shown, we think, by President Hill, Professor Joseph Le Conte, and others, and endorsed by the highest scientific and literary authorities of the age. The question may be determined from at least three different stand-points :

1st. From the history of the rise and progress of knowledge among men.

2d. From a careful examination of the relations, connections, and dependencies of the different special sciences to each other.

3d. From an investigation of the adaptations of the different sciences to the progressive wants of the faculties in every stage of their development.

All these fields have been explored by able men, and, from whichever stand-point the investigation proceeds, the conclusions reached are essentially the same, and they seem strikingly to confirm each other. Without going farther into this question, it may be remarked that, while the perceptive faculties are the earliest to manifest themselves in the order of time, so those sciences which address themselves the most directly to these faculties, to wit, those which deal with ideas of space, form, size, number, place, weight, color, etc., are the simplest of all, lie at the basis of all, and are best adapted of all, as experience and reason alike show, to meet the demands of these early stages in the education of the young.

#### LAWS OF CHILDHOOD.

In childhood, all is activity ; the senses are keenly alive to every impression made upon them ; the spirit of inquiry is awake, and runs abroad in every direction in search of knowledge ; the

perceptive powers are at work—they must be directed, and, if possible, sharpened; the imagination riots wildly in childish dreams—it must be chastened and corrected by deliberate and sober appeals to facts, to actual things, and thus gradually enticed to its appropriate work of aiding in the formation of correct conceptions; the affections are fresh and warm; the confiding innocent desires to live and move in an atmosphere of kindness and love; the bodily powers, though comparatively weak, are restless, and ever panting for wholesome employment.

#### THE TRUE EDUCATIONAL METHOD.

The question is, How are these conditions, so perfectly normal, to be met? How shall the development of the child, heretofore assisted by Nature's own method, be continued and perfected? How shall his young nature, leaping and bounding in joyousness and love, reveling in the pleasure of knowledge, be preserved in its freshness, and vigor, and purity? Not, surely, by forced and unmeaning strifes with mere words and phrases, not by the mechanical drudgery of loading the memory with dry formulas and senseless rules, not by the mastication of rudimental books, nor by those endless stripes which have no healing power.

This question, in the opinion of the Committee, can be solved only by efforts in the direction to which these suggestions tend. Our subjects and methods of instruction must be naturalized. "The course of true education is the course of nature. Man's method, to be effective, must follow God's method." As surely as our Divine Father has a plan in creation, so surely has he also a plan in education. By the light of history and revelation we see how he is guiding, instructing, educating the human race through the ages. Aided by the experiences, the discoveries, the inventions, the sufferings, the reverses of past generations, we have become exalted to Heaven in respect to our rights, our privileges, and blessings.

So children should be taught, as far as possible, by their own actual experience, and not so much by mere dicta, not so much by taking on trust what others say, and write, and print, but by more frequent and persistent intercourse, or experience, if you please, with those objects, qualities, and properties, the existence of which gives to language so much of its force and utility.

The Committee have thought it due, alike to the occasion which has called them together, as well as to the important movement which has here been inaugurated, to give expression some-



what at length to the foregoing views. They are too well aware of the obstacles which nearly every new enterprise, however noble, is doomed to encounter, not to embrace an opportunity so grave as the present to give it a substantial and hearty support.

#### AN IMPORTANT REVOLUTION AT HAND.

The examinations which it has been their high privilege to witness during the present week have impressed them with the conviction that we are on the eve of a great and important revolution in the education of our country. The system which has been developed from the principles herein before stated is yet essentially foreign. And as it was a doctrine of Pestalozzi himself that education, to be true, must have constant reference to the character of the people among whom it is to be dispensed, so it is evident that the system which has been exhibited before us is yet to be somewhat modified—Americanized—to meet the peculiar characteristics of our people and country. Systems and methods must change, “but principles are in their nature eternal,” says Professor Crosby; “and it is their office to guide and direct amid all the vicissitudes of circumstance, condition, event, fortune.” So, while adhering to the unchanging dicta of well-grounded principle, we would joyfully accept in the system of methods whatever is suited to our special wants, characteristics, and circumstances as a people.

#### SUCCESS OF THE EXPERIMENT AT OSWEGO.

How well the methods presented by the exhibitions from the Oswego primary schools are adapted to carry out the theory upon which these methods are based, the Committee have endeavored to give their professional brethren and fellow-citizens at a distance the means of judging, by presenting an abstract of each exercise, together with the precise aim of the teacher in each case. The ages of the children, together with the grades of the classes, will be found stated in the proper places. The number of classes presented will also be learned by an examination of the accompanying statement. It will be observed that a wide range of topics was developed by the classes, embracing lessons of various grades, on Form, Size, Weight, Color, Place, Number, Language, Objects, Plants, Animals, Shells, and including also exercises in Phonic Reading and Gymnastics.

The Committee are also most happy in bearing testimony to the universal fidelity of the teachers and superintendent to that



cardinal principle of Faith and Love which the great Pestalozzi affirmed must be the basis of all true education. The evidences of mutual kindness, respect, and affection between teachers and taught have been too palpable to be questioned. Let these devoted teachers rest assured that they are laying up imperishable treasures of future joy and gladness, alike for themselves and the long procession of the generations which shall rise up to call them blessed.

[Previous to commencing the exercises of the examination, the Secretary of the Board of Education stated that the primary schools of Oswego are divided into three classes, called A, B, and C. The C class is the lowest, B next, and the A class the highest. The children, on entering school, are placed in the C class, where they remain under the same teacher for one year, near the end of which time an examination takes place, and those who are sufficiently advanced are promoted to the B class at the commencement of the succeeding term, where they remain another year; they are examined again, and promoted to the A class; toward the end of the third year they are examined for promotions to the junior schools.]

## EXAMINATION EXERCISES.

The first exercise witnessed by the Committee was a review of the C class, primary. Ages of children, 6 to 7 years.

### LESSON ON FORM.

The children stood in a semicircular line on one side of the table, on which were placed several of the more common solids, as a sphere, a cube, a cone, etc. The teacher called upon the children to distinguish different solids, as the sphere, hemisphere, cylinder, cone, and cube, and to give their names. Then, holding up a cylinder, she asked, "What is this called?"

*Children.* "A cylinder."

*Teacher.* "Yes, this is a cylinder; and when we see any object of this shape we say it is *cylindrical*. Now look about the room, and see if you can see any thing that is of this shape."

*C.* The stove-pipe—the post.

*T.* Yes; and because the stove-pipe and the post are of this shape, we call them—

*C.* "Cylindrical."

In this manner the terms spherical, conical, etc., were presented to the children.

The teacher placed a cube before the children, and requested them to name objects of that form; then a sphere, and to name objects of a spherical form, etc.

Several of the solids being placed on the table, the teacher naming objects, as orange, stick of candy, church spire, etc., the children would say which solid they resembled in shape.

To show that the children understood the terms *face* and *surface*, they were requested to touch the surface of a sphere, the outside of a sphere, the faces of a cube and of a cylinder; then to point out the plane and curved faces of different solids; then to take solids, and tell by what faces they were bounded.

The manner of conducting this exercise, and the familiarity manifested with the subject, gave evidence that the children possessed a knowledge of it other than that derived from the words themselves. The second exercise was a

### LESSON ON SIZE.

Review of C class, primary. Ages of children, 5 to 7. They had attended school nine months; have had instruction in size during some eight weeks, about twenty minutes per day.

The children were requested to hold their forefingers one inch apart while the teacher measured the space between them.

Then children were required to draw lines on the blackboard an inch in length, and others to measure them, stating whether too long, too short, or correct.

Next they were required to tear papers an inch in length; then to tear them two inches in length; then to fold them three inches in length, and so on, the teacher measuring them meanwhile. At least two out of each three tore and folded their papers of the exact length named.

Then the children were requested to draw lines on the blackboard one foot in length, then to divide them into twelve inches.

They readily measured inches, and feet, and yards, both with the rule and with the eye, and drew lines representing them, showing that they understood the relations of these to each other, as well as the lengths of each.

### FORM AND SIZE.

Review of A class, primary. Ages of children from 7 to 9.

*Teacher.* Find me a solid whose surface is not divided. The children took from the table spheres and spheroids.

*Teacher.* Find me a solid whose surface is divided into two parts or faces—one divided into three faces—one divided into six faces. Now a solid with one plane and one curved face.

In each case the children selected the correct object.

The teacher then called upon one pupil to draw upon the blackboard the plane face of a square two inches on a side; another one of a square six inches on a side; another of a rhomb two inches on each side; an equal triangle one inch on a side; a plane face of a cylinder three inches in diameter; a square twelve inches on a side. The children then drew lines of various lengths, as called for by members of the Committee; also plane figures of various sizes, and, among others, circles two feet in diameter, then of two feet in circumference.

The teacher called upon the children, one at a time, to select laths of given lengths, and place them on the floor so as to represent the elevation of one end of a house. Another pupil drew each part of the house on the blackboard as it was represented by the laths.

## TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

### LESSON ON FORM.

Showing the transition from Form to Elementary Geometry. Review of C class, junior. Ages of children, 9 to 12.

The children drew lines on the blackboard, and described them. They represented, and then gave definitions of a point, straight line, length, direction, and of the distinction between different kinds of angles.



A pupil drew upon the blackboard a horizontal line, and an oblique one intersecting the first, and then proceeded to demonstrate that, "if two straight lines intersect each other, the opposite or vertical angles are equal." In giving the demonstration, the pupils used letters to designate the lines and angles. At the suggestion of one of the Committee, figures were substituted for the letters, and one of the same pupils called to demonstrate the proposition. The readiness with which the pupil went through with it, using figures in place of letters, was very satisfactory to the audience, their approbation being manifested by applause.

### LESSON ON COLOR.

Review of C class. Ages of children, 6 to 8. Object of the lesson—to cultivate the perception of color.

Worsted, and cards of various colors, were placed upon the table. The teacher called upon one child to select all the reds, and place them together; another, to select all the yellows, and place them together; another, the blues; another, the greens, etc.

The children were then requested to name all the red objects that they could see in the room; then those of the other colors successively.

Next, one child was called upon to name a color, and another to name an object of the same color. Then one child would name an object, and another name its color.

#### DISTINGUISHING SHADES AND TINTS OF BLUE.

The teacher next proceeded to give a *new lesson* to the same class, the object of which was "to teach the children to distinguish blue, and its shades and tints."

The teacher requested the children to find the bluest of the blue objects on the table. They having selected cards which the teacher pronounced correct, she took the cards, told them all to close their eyes, then she placed the same cards upon the table again among the other blue ones, and requested the children to find them again. When they could readily select the bluest cards, the teacher told them that the bluest blue is called the *standard blue*. Then the children were exercised in finding the standard blue.

Next, two cards were held up, one dark blue and one light blue, and the children told that the light blue is called a *tint of blue*, and the dark blue a *shade of blue*—the *tint* is lighter than the standard blue, and the *shade* is darker than the standard blue. Then the children were exercised in finding *tints* and *shades* of blue.

### LESSON IN MIXING COLORS.

Review of A class, primary. Children from 9 to 10 years of age.

The children were led to distinguish primary, secondary, and tertiary colors from mixing colors. The teacher held up vials containing liquids of red, yellow, and blue. She then mixed some of each of the *red* and *yellow* liquids, and the children said the color produced by the mixture is *orange*. She then mixed *yellow* and *blue*, and the children said that *green* had been produced. Then she mixed *blue* and *red*, and *purple* was the result.

The teacher printed the result of each mixture on the blackboard thus:

*First Colors, or Primaries.*

Red + Yellow =  
 Blue + Yellow =  
 Blue + Red =

*Second Colors, or Secondaries.*

Orange.  
 Green.  
 Purple.

Next she proceeded to show how the idea and term *tertiary* is derived from the secondaries by mixing the secondaries, and printing the result on the board as before :

*Secondaries.*

Green + Orange =  
 Orange + Purple =  
 Purple + Green =

*Third Colors, or Tertiaries.*

Citrine.  
 Russet.  
 Olive.

After the children had read over in concert what had been printed on the board, it was erased, and the pupils were required to state from memory what colors are produced by mixing primaries, with the names of each secondary ; also, what by mixing the secondaries, and the name of each tertiary. An exercise on *Harmony of Colors* was then given to the same class of children. They were requested to select two colors that would look well together, and place them side by side ; then two were placed together that do not harmonize. During these exercises, the teacher printed on the board,

Primary *yellow* harmonizes with secondary *purple*.

“ *red* “ “ “ *green*.  
 “ *blue* “ “ “ *orange*.

This was read by the pupils, then erased, and the individuals were called upon to state what color will harmonize with these several colors, as their names were respectively given.

## TUESDAY EVENING.

The exercises were held in Doolittle Hall, and were witnessed by a large audience. First there was given a

### LESSON ON OBJECTS—5th STEP,

to the B class, junior school, the aim of which was to lead the children to distinguish *acids* from *alkalies*, and to show some of the effects of each.

A class of boys and girls were arranged upon the stage so that they could observe the vials of liquids and solids upon the table in the centre. After introductory remarks by the teacher, alluding to the classification of children in school according to their knowledge, she requested one to arrange the vials upon the table into classes. He placed the vials containing solids in one group, and those containing liquids in another. The teacher remarked that, although that was one way to classify them, yet there was a better way, and that was by tasting, placing those which have a similar taste in the same class.

The children were each given some cream of tartar to taste ; they pronounced the taste *sour*. The name of the substance was written on the blackboard. Then they were given some sal soda to taste, and they said it tasted “bitter and burning.” The name of this was written on another part of the board. The teacher then told the children that we called those substances which taste *sour acids*, and wrote the word *acids* over cream of tartar. She then told them that the name for those substances which have a “bitter, burning taste,” is *alkalies*.

This word was written over sal soda. Then the children were given some vinegar to taste, and required to tell in which column its name should be written. They gave "acids." The teacher proceeded in a similar manner with *ley*, *pearlash*, *tartaric acid*, and *soda*, and the children designated the column in which the word should be placed. Some oxalic acid was produced, and the children told that it was poison, hence should not be tasted, but that it also was sour, and requested them to name the column in which its name should be written. The words on the blackboard were written thus:

| ACIDS.           | ALKALIES. |
|------------------|-----------|
| Cream of tartar. | Sal soda. |
| Vinegar.         | Ley.      |
| Tartaric acid.   | Pearlash. |
| Oxalic acid.     | Soda.     |

The children having learned a distinction between acids and alkalies, the teacher produced a vegetable dye, obtained by boiling a purple or red cabbage in water. She poured equal quantities into two glasses. Into one of these she poured some acid, and into the other a little alkali. The children were required to observe the effects of the acid and of the alkali upon the vegetable dye, and then to describe these effects.

*Children.* The acid turns the vegetable dye to a *red*. The alkali changes it to a *green*.

*Teacher.* Now what can you say of the *taste* of acids?

*C.* They taste sour.

The teacher now wrote on the board, "Acids have a sour taste"

*T.* What can you say of the effect of acids upon a vegetable dye?

*C.* Acids turn vegetable dyes to red.

The teacher wrote this on the board also.

*T.* Now what can you say of the taste of alkalies?

*C.* They have a bitter, burning taste.

*T.* We call this bitter, burning taste of alkalies an *acid* taste. What do we call the taste of alkalies?

*C.* An *acid* taste.

The teacher wrote on the board, "Alkalies have an acid taste."

*T.* What can you say of the effect of alkalies upon vegetable dyes?

*C.* Alkalies change vegetable dyes to green.

This was also written on the board.

Afterward the red and green dyes were mixed, when the whole assumed its original color. After trying similar examples with other acids and alkalies upon the purple water or vegetable dye, the children were told that acids and alkalies *neutralize* or destroy each other. The teacher then wrote on the blackboard,

*Acids and alkalies, when mixed together, neutralize each other.*

Next a bottle partly filled with soft water was produced, and a little soft soap added, when it was given to the pupils to shake. Soapsuds were produced. A few drops of acid were then added to the contents of this bottle, and on shaking it again the suds disappeared. Then a little ley was poured into it, and on being shaken suds were again produced. Then the children were led by another experiment to perceive that acids and alkalies neutralize each other when mixed.



A few other experiments were tried, illustrating in similar methods the processes of teaching children things and ideas before the words of description are given. Whenever the terms or words given by the pupils in describing what they saw were inappropriate, these were corrected by the teacher.\*

## WEDNESDAY MORNING.

### LESSON ON ANIMALS.—THE SEAL.—3d STEP.

This was a *new* lesson, given to children of the average age of eight years, from the C class, primary school. The object of the lesson was to show the children how the parts of the animal are adapted to the habits of it.

The teacher held before the children a picture of the seal, upon land, by the side of open water.

*T.* Where, in this picture, do you see the animal?

*C.* On the land.

*T.* What do you see near it?

*C.* Water.

*T.* Where do you think it lives?

*C.* In the water.

*T.* Does it spend all of its time in the water?

*C.* No ; it spends part of its time on land.

*T.* What other animals live in the water?

*C.* Fishes.

*T.* Fish breathe by taking the air from the water by means of their gills. The water and air passes into its mouth, and the water passes out through the gills. The seal breathes as we do, therefore he can not remain under the water as fish do. His head must be above the water to breathe. The seal feeds on fish. Now can you tell me why he goes into the water at all?

*C.* To catch fishes for food.

The teacher now printed upon the blackboard, "The seal can live in water and on land." This was read by the children. They now pointed out in the picture the parts of the seal, and described their shape. In developing the idea of round, the teacher showed the children a round and a flat object, and they named the one which most nearly resembled the shape of the body.

In developing the idea of tapering, the children were requested to point out the largest part of the body, and the smallest.

*T.* Why does the seal need a round, tapering body?

To develop this idea, they were asked which boat would move through the water most easily, one with a blunt end or one with a sharp end? Their attention was then called to the small head and tapering shoulders of the seal, and thus to its adaptation for moving through the water. The teacher then printed on the board,

*The body of the seal is round and tapering.*

This was read by the children in concert.

A picture of a fish was now shown, and the children requested to observe its shape. The teacher then led them to compare its organs of progressive motion

\* At the close of this lesson, a paper, written by Miss Jones, of London, at present the principal of the Training School in Oswego, was read ; also an address was delivered by N. A. Calkins, of New York. Both of these papers may be found at the close of this report.

with those of the seal, and to observe the adaptation of these organs to the special purposes for which they are designed.

C. The seal has broad, flat feet, which it uses to aid it in swimming.

This was printed on the blackboard.

T. Why would not fins suit the seal as well as they do the fishes?

C. Because the seal could not go on land with fins.

The children were then led to compare the covering of the seal with that of the fish, to show the adaptation of the warm fur to its mode of life. Their attention was also directed to the intelligence and docility of the seal, and the resemblance of its head, in shape, to that of the dog. His disposition was compared with that of the dog; humane feelings excited by describing the manner of hunting and killing the seals, and kindness inculcated.

As a summary, the children read what had been written on the board; then repeated it after it had been erased.

### LESSON ON HORNS OF ANIMALS.—4th STEP.

A class, primary. Average ages 10 years.

The object of the lesson was to give a general idea of horns, their form, position, and uses.

Children were requested to name animals having horns. Afterward the teacher presented to them pictures of a cow, goat, and a deer, and the class were requested to observe them carefully, and to state how their horns differ.

C. The cow's horns have no branches; the goat's horns have no branches; the deer's horns have branches.

T. Look at the form of the horns.

C. The horns differ in form.

To lead the children to the idea of horns differing in position, lines were drawn upon the blackboard in different positions. When this idea had been gained, their attention was directed to the position of the horns of the cow. These were described as being *placed on each side of the head, and slanting upward and outward*.

The horns of the goat were described as *placed on the top of the head, and slant upward and backward*.

*The horns of the deer are placed on the top of its head, and slant in different directions.* These descriptions were printed on the blackboard.

To develop the idea of the shape of the cow's horns, a pair of horns was presented, and the children requested to describe them.

C. The horns of the cow are round, large at the base, and tapering.

The teacher not having a pair of goat's horns present, pointed to the picture, and told the children that the horns of the goat are more slender, and less curved than those of the cow.

Deer's horns were shown, and described as spreading out like the branches of a tree. The children were led to observe that the cow's horns are hollow, while those of the deer are solid. They were told that the goat's horns were also hollow; and that, while the cow's and goat's horns were fixed, or remained permanent upon the heads of these animals, the horns of the deer are shed every year, new ones growing each summer.

The attention of the children was called to the uses of horns to animals as weapons of defense, and of their uses to man in the manufacture of combs and various other articles.

## LESSON ON SHELLS—3d STEP OF OBJECTS.

Given to a C class, primary ; ages of children 5 to 6 years.

Object of the lesson was to lead the children to observe the parts of the shell, also to perceive the appropriateness of the names given to the parts.

The teacher, holding up a shell before the class, told them that an animal once lived in that shell, and then asked, "What do you live in?"

*Children.* Houses.

*T.* This was the house of an animal. Now I want you to look at it, and see if you can find different parts of this shell. James may point to some part of it.

The boy touched the small point at one end. The teacher said this part is called the *apex* of the shell. Now point to the apex of this cone ; of the pyramid. The word *apex* was now printed on the blackboard.

Mary may touch some other part of the shell. She put her finger upon the largest part, or body of it ; and the teacher said, this is called the *body* of the shell, and printed the word on the board.

Pointing to the whorl on the shell, the teacher said, "Look at this ; see how it winds around the shell ; this part looks as if it whirled around, so we call it the *whorl*." This word was also printed on the board.

The opening of the shell was pointed at, and the children asked to give it a name. No one replied, and the teacher requested a boy to open his mouth, and the other children to look at it, upon which several of them suggested the word *mouth* as a good name for the opening of the shell. This was printed on the board, and the children told that it is the name for that part of the shell.

Next the edges of the mouth were pointed at, and the children referred to parts of their own mouths for a name. *Lips* was readily given, and printed on the board.

The groove leading to the mouth was pointed at, and the children told to call it a *canal*. The word was then printed.

The attention of the children was directed to the lower part of the shell, containing the canal, and the children asked if they had ever seen any part of a bird that resembled it in shape. "The bird's beak," was the reply. "That is right ; and we will call this the beak of the shell," said the teacher. This word was also printed on the board.

A child was now called to take the shell and point out the parts as the children named them. The teacher pointed out the parts, and the children named them.

## LESSON ON SHELLS—4th STEP OF OBJECTS.

Given to an A class, primary, ten children. Ages 8 to 10.

Object of the lesson, to show the use of shells, their formation, and general classification.

The children were shown several shells, and asked where they are found.

*Children.* On the lake-shore, the sea-shore, and in rivers.

*T.* How are shells obtained from the sea ?

*C.* The waves wash them on shore.

*T.* The creatures found inside of the shell are called mollusks. The word was written on the blackboard, and the children told that it means soft. To develop this idea, the children were directed to press their fingers upon their



cheeks, then upon their forehead, and to tell how they feel. They were asked whether they had seen oysters, and how they feel; and why they feel soft? The answer obtained was that the oyster has no bones.

*T.* What can we say of the oyster because it has no bones?

*C.* It is boneless.

The teacher printed on the board, and the children repeated together,  
*Mollusks are soft and boneless.*

The children were referred to the white cold fluid or blood of the oyster, and it was compared with their own red warm blood.

The teacher wrote on the blackboard,

*The blood of the mollusk is cold and colorless,*  
and the children repeated it together.

The shells were given to the children to examine, and see if they could tell of what materials they are made, and who made them. To develop the idea of their formation, a piece of chalk was shown, and the children told that one of the substances of which the shell is made was like that. They were asked if a shell made of so brittle a substance would be strong. The children were now told that the shell is made of lime which is obtained from the water, and this is mixed with a gluey substance, which the mollusk obtains from a portion of its own body, to stick it together. They were shown the smooth, polished outside of the shell, and told that the mantle which covers it deposits a substance which hardens and forms the beautiful polished surface. The children were also told how the little mollusk increases the size of its shell from year to year, as the animal itself grows larger, by making additions on the edge of the shell. Sometimes, when the shells are dashed against the rocks by the waves and broken, the mollusk repairs the broken part.

The idea that the shells are a means of defense for the mollusk was developed, and the teacher wrote on the board,

*Shells serve as a house and armor to the mollusk,*  
and the children repeated it. Following this, the idea of God's wisdom and goodness was presented in providing every thing so wisely for these little animals.

The teacher also gave some exercise in the classification of shells into univalves, bivalves, and multivalves. And, as a summary, the pupils read from the blackboard,

*Shells are inhabited by animals called mollusks.*

*Mollusks are soft and boneless.*

*The blood of the mollusk is cold and colorless.*

*Shells are composed of lime and a kind of gluey substance.*

*Shells serve as a house and armor to the mollusk.*

## WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Exercises were held in the school-room.

### LESSON ON PLACE.

A review of a C class, primary. Ages of children 6 to 7 years.

*The Object* of the lesson was to distinguish and define place, as nearer, farther, between, to the right, to the left.

2d. To represent objects in these relations.

3d. To distinguish the cardinal and semi-cardinal points.

First, objects were placed on a table, and the children requested to observe the position of each, after which the teacher would remove them, and call upon individuals to put them in the same position again. Then the position of these objects on the table were *represented* by drawing on a slate held in a horizontal position. Then the same positions were represented by drawings on the blackboard. Children were called upon to point with their fingers; also to walk in different directions; also to tell in what direction they must walk to go from their seat to some given part of the room. The teacher would name a point of compass, and request the children to point toward it, while she would point in some other direction. This made each pupil think and act for himself.

### LESSON ON PLACE.

Given to the A Class, primary. A review. Children, average age 9 years.

An outline map of the city of Oswego was placed before the class, and the children were required to point out the various localities, tell the distance of one from another, the direction in which a person must go in proceeding from one place to the other. The outline map was drawn on a scale of one foot to the mile; the pupils ascertained distances, after estimating by the eye, by taking a tape measure and ascertaining the number of feet from one point to the other.

A drawing of the school-room made to a scale, previously placed upon the blackboard, was exhibited.

Rivers, lakes, canals, dams, locks in canals, etc., were described by the pupils in answer to questions by members of the Committee.

### LESSON ON NUMBER.

A review of the C class, primary. Ages of children 6 to 7 years.

The object of this exercise was to show how addition, subtraction, and multiplication are worked out with objects.

The children were arranged in front of a shelf containing pebbles in boxes or compartments. The teacher said to the first pupil, "I will give you 1 pebble; how many must you add to it to make *ten*?"

To the next she said, "I will give you 3 pebbles; how many must you add to these to make ten?"

To the next, "I will give you 2 pebbles; how many must you add to make ten?"

The children would proceed to take other pebbles from the boxes, and counting, add enough to make ten. As each finished the number, the hand would be raised. When all had completed the number assigned, the teacher commenced by asking the first pupil, "How many did I give you?"

*Child.* "One."

*T.* "How many did you add to make ten?"

*C.* "Nine."

*T.* (To the next pupil.) "How many did I give you?"

*C.* "Three."

*T.* "How many did you add to make ten?"

*C.* "Seven."

In this manner the teacher kept all the pupils at work, and each at work on a separate problem. Subsequently the pupils were requested to see in how many ways they could arrange given numbers. One was to arrange the num-

ber *five* in as many ways as possible, as 4 and 1, 2 and 3, 2 and 2 and 1, 2 and 1 and 1 and 1, 1 and 3 and 1, etc. Another was told to arrange *six*, another *seven*, another *eight*, in as many ways as they could with the pebbles.

The teacher gave them numbers, and then told them to take away less numbers, as, "I give you 8 pebbles; take away 5, and tell me how many remain," etc.

The teacher having placed six marks on the board thus, | | | | |, rubbed out *two*, and asked, "What have I done?"

C. "Rubbed out two marks."

T. "How many marks remain?"

C. "Four marks."

T. "What may you say, then?"

C. "*Two* from *six* leaves four."

Then seven and eight marks were treated in the same way.

Again, the teacher gave them 2 and 2 and 2, to state how many 3 twos are. Then she asked how many are 4 twos, 2 threes, 5 twos. In each instance the pupils represented the numbers by arranging pebbles in groups corresponding with these numbers.

This exercise was followed by a lesson to show how children were first taught multiplication. The teacher placed two pebbles on the table, then two more, and asked, "How many pebbles were on the table?"

C. "Four pebbles."

The teacher then made two marks on the board, then two more, thus: | | | |, and asked, "How many are two marks and two marks?"

C. "Four marks."

Then the teacher placed three pebbles on the table, then three more, and asked, "How many pebbles are on the table?"

C. "Six pebbles."

She then made three marks thus, | | | | | |, and asked, "*Three* marks and *three* marks are how many marks?"

C. "Six marks."

Subsequently the teacher would change the question by saying, "How many are two times two pebbles?" "How many are two times two marks?" etc.

### LESSON ON NUMBERS.

Given to the A class, primary. Age of children 8 to 9 years.

The design of the lesson was to show the relations between addition, multiplication, and division.

The teacher wrote on the blackboard, and the children repeated the following:

$3+3=6$ ,  $6+3=9$ ,  $9+3=12$ ,  $12+3=15$ , etc., up to 99. Then the teacher wrote  $99-3=96$ ,  $96-3=93$ , and so on down to  $6-3=3$ .

|      |                |                           |
|------|----------------|---------------------------|
| Then | $6+6=12$ ,     | $12\div 6=2$ ,            |
|      | $6+6+6=18$ ,   | $18\div 6=3$ ,            |
|      | $6+6+6+6=24$ , | $24\div 6=4$ , and so on. |

The children read  $6+6=12$ , two times 6 are 12, etc.

|                |                                  |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| $7+7=14$ ,     | $14\div 7=2$ ,                   |
| $7+7+7=21$ ,   | $21\div 7=3$ ,                   |
| $7+7+7+7=28$ , | $28\div 7=4$ , and so on to 100. |



Children read  $7+7=14$ , two times 7 are 14. 14 divided by  $7=2$ .  $7+7+7=21$ , three times 7 are 21. 21 divided by  $7=3$ .

Such lessons as these the children placed upon their slates while at their seats between class exercises.

### LESSON ON LANGUAGE.

Given to the C class, primary. Age of children 7 to 9 years.

The children were requested to name something that is *hard*. They mentioned, and the teacher wrote on the board the following:

Coal is hard.

Wood is hard.

Gold is hard.

Iron is hard.

The teacher inquired if any one in the class could tell her how to write the same in one sentence. Several hands were raised, and one pupil said, "Coal, wood, gold, and iron are hard." This was written upon the board.

Then the pupils were asked to tell some quality of glass. They repeated, and the teacher wrote upon the board,

Glass is colorless.

Glass is hard.

Glass is transparent.

Glass is brittle.

Glass is smooth.

Then the pupils were requested to tell how to write these qualities in one sentence. They said, "Glass is colorless, hard, transparent, brittle, and smooth." This sentence was placed on the board.

### LESSON ON LANGUAGE.

Given to the A class, primary. Ages 9 to 10 years.

This lesson in language was designed to teach the pupils discrimination in the use of descriptive words.

The children were to give any term which may be used in describing a face, and the teacher wrote them on the board as mentioned. They gave *pretty, homely, white, rosy, freckled, wrinkled, blushing, happy, bashful, sad, pale, cheerful, thin, sorrowful, sour, ugly*.

When a sufficient number of words had been written upon the board, the teacher called up a pupil to mark each word that may be used to describe one face. The first pupil marked words making the following description: "Happy, thin, wrinkled, pleasant, pale, pretty, white, cheerful face."

Another marked "Ugly, freckled, homely, sour face."

When one of the pupils chanced to mark words that expressed opposite qualities, as *pretty, homely, cheerful, sour*, the others made the correction.

## THURSDAY MORNING.

The exercises of this forenoon were held in the school-room. The opening exercise was a lesson in *Moral Instruction*. The teacher placed a colored engraving (representing Moses stretching his arm over the Red Sea, the children of Israel crossing over on dry land, and the pillar of fire) on a stand, in view

of the entire school. The teacher read a simple description of this event from a little volume entitled "Line upon Line," then called upon several of the children to point out on the picture the objects mentioned in the lesson from the book, also to answer questions relative to the event. At the close of this exercise the school arose and repeated together the Lord's Prayer. The entire exercise seemed very interesting to the children, all of whom gave strict attention, and it was a beautiful sight to the observers.

#### OBJECT LESSON.—3d STEP.

Given to the C class, primary. Children 6 to 7 years of age.

The object of the lesson was to develop one quality—the idea of *malleability*, and give the term.

The children were shown pieces of lead, and asked to say something about it.

*Children.* Lead is heavy. Lead is gray. Lead shines when cut. Lead is opaque. Lead is tenacious.

The children handle the lead, passing it around. The teacher beats a piece of lead with a hammer, and having flattened it so that it is quite thin, she shows it to the children again. They say it has been flattened. The teacher then added, "Lead will flatten by being beaten, and because we can flatten it by beating it we say *lead is malleable*." The children repeat this.

Next the teacher pounded a stone, and asked if it would flatten by beating it. She then asked, "Is the stone malleable?"

*C.* Stone is not malleable.

*T.* Why?

*C.* Because we can not flatten it by beating it.

The teacher then pounded a piece of chalk, that the children might see that we can not flatten it as we can lead, and hence that is not called malleable. The pupils were now requested to mention other objects that are malleable. They having named several, she inquired, "Why are these objects said to be malleable?"

*C.* Because we can flatten them by beating them.

The teacher and pupils then repeated together, *Any thing that can be flattened by beating it is said to be malleable.*

#### LESSON ON ANIMALS.—THE IBIS.—3d STEP.

Given to a C class, primary. Ages 7 to 8. The object of the lesson was to show parts, and the adaptation of these to the habits, mode of life, etc.

The teacher held the picture of the ibis before the children, and called upon one to come and point out some part of the bird. The child pointed to the head.

*T.* What can you say of the head of the ibis?

*C.* The ibis has a small head.

Another comes and points to the eyes, and says, "The ibis has small eyes." Another points to its beak, and says, "The ibis has a long, curved, tapering, sharp beak."

*T.* Why do you say the beak is tapering?

*C.* Because it is smaller at one end than it is at the other.

The children were requested to observe the neck, and one was called to point to it in the picture and describe it.

*C.* The ibis has a long, slender neck."

*T.* What can you say of its legs?

*C.* It has long slender legs.

*T.* Where do you think it lives?

*C.* In swampy places.

*T.* Why?

*C.* Because it has long legs.

*T.* Why does it need a long neck?

*C.* To reach down in the water and mud to get its food.

*T.* Why would not short legs do as well?

*C.* The waves would wash him away.

*T.* Why does he have a long beak?

*C.* So it can reach its food without putting its head under the water.

### OBJECT LESSON.—PEPPER.

Given to an A class, primary. Ages of children 9 to 10.

Object of the lesson to develop qualities of the object. Grains of pepper are shown to the children. They say it is vegetable. The teacher prints on the board, *Pepper is a vegetable.*

The children say it is hard. One of them spells hard, while the teacher prints, *Pepper is hard.*

After tasting it, they say, "Pepper is biting—pungent." This is printed on the board as the children spell the words.

*T.* Why do you say pepper is pungent?

*C.* Because it has a burning taste.

*T.* Can you think of any thing else that can be said of pepper?

*C.* It is black. It is rough. It is spherical.

These sentences were placed on the board as the words were spelled. Allspice was shown them, and the two compared. They said, "Pepper is rough, and allspice is smooth."

*T.* What can you say of its uses?

*C.* It is used for preserving things.

*T.* What else may be said of it?

*C.* Pepper is stimulating, because it has a burning taste. It is wholesome.

*T.* It grows in very warm countries, hence we say it is *tropical*. It does not grow in our country, so we say it is *foreign*.

This was followed, as usual, with a brief summary of what had been gone over, to fix the important points in the memory.

### A CLASS FROM A COUNTRY SCHOOL INTRODUCED.

In accordance with a request of the Committee of Examination, and that they might see the first steps in teaching children who have never had any instruction by the system of Object Lessons, a class of children was procured from a school outside of the city and placed before one of the teachers.

There was placed on the table before them cubes, spheres, cylinders, cones, and other solids.

The attention of the children was first called to a sphere. They were told to observe its shape; then its name was told them, and they required to repeat it. Then they were requested to select a sphere from the objects on the table; then to point to other objects having the same shape. The children having



learned to distinguish this form, their attention was called to the cylinder, and they were led to select others like it. Then its name was told them. Afterward they were requested to look about the room and find something that had the shape of the cylinder. The children pointed to the stove-pipe, also to the pillars in the centre of the school-room. It was observed that the children distinguished resemblances in different objects much more readily at the close of the exercise than at its commencement.

The same class was next placed in charge of another teacher. She undertook to develop the idea of *vegetable*.

A small rose-bush was shown them, and they were asked if they had ever seen any thing like it before. Then they were requested to name some other plant which they had seen. They mentioned rose-bush, gooseberry, currant. They were asked what plants they eat which grow in the garden, and their reply was "Cabbage."

They were shown a picture of a leaf and a real leaf, and an effort was made to teach them to express a distinction between them; but it was discovered that they were German children, and had learned so little of our language that the teacher must explain new words which expressed qualities to them in German before they could comprehend them.

## THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Exercises were held in the Court-house, and devoted to

### PHONETIC READING.

Exercises were given with a C class, primary, in the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th steps.

1st Step. Teaching letters by their forms.

I was described as one perpendicular line.

V " " " two slanting lines.

D " " " one perpendicular line, and one curved line on the right, touching the perpendicular line at the top and bottom.

B was described as one perpendicular line, and two curved lines on the right, touching the perpendicular line at the top, in the centre, and at the bottom.

The design of this exercise was, *first*, to secure accurate observation; *second*, to secure accurate expression. These were to constitute the foundation of subsequent teaching.

The children were also given slips of straight and curved pasteboard, from which to form these letters and then to tell their names.

2d Step. The sounds of the letters were repeated as simple vocal exercises, without referring them to the letters which represent them.

3d Step. Now initial consonants were combined with syllables consisting of a vowel followed by a consonant, as,

|       |      |       |      |
|-------|------|-------|------|
| b—ud, | bud, | d—og, | dog, |
| c—ot, | eot, | c—at, | cat, |

In this exercise, the powers or sounds of the letters only are used.

4th Step. Here two initial consonants were used, as,

|         |        |        |       |
|---------|--------|--------|-------|
| bl—ack, | black, | br—ay, | bray, |
| cl—oth, | cloth, | br—ow, | brow, |

The meaning of the words are given in this step.

The 5th and 6th Steps were illustrated with the A class, primary, children about 9 years of age.

Anomalous sounds were considered, and the same sounds represented by different characters, also the same characters representing different sounds.

*5th Step.* The three sounds of *ch*, also silent letters, initial, central, and terminal letters, were considered:

*Ch* has the English sound, as in church, chair, chap, chip, chin, chat.

*Ch* has a hard sound, as in chyme, churn, choir, etc.

*Ch* has a French sound, as in Chicago, charade, chaise, Chemung, etc.

The words showing examples of these different sounds were given by the pupils, while the teacher wrote them on the blackboard.

*Initial silent Letters.*—H is an initial silent letter in hour, honor.

*Central silent Letters.*—D and G are central silent letters in bridge, edge, sign, etc.

*Terminal silent Letters.*—B and N are terminal silent letters in thumb, plumb, autumn, hymn.

*6th Step.* Sounds expressed by *ou*; and long sound of *o* expressed by different letters; classification of letters, and rules of spelling.

The proper sound of *o* is expressed by *ou* in ground, found, round.

“ long        “        o        “        “ “ “ soul, mould, court.

“ broad     “        o        “        “ “ “ sought, fought.

“ close     “        u        “        “ “ “ couple.

“ long     “        u        “        “ “ “ croup.

The long sound of *o* is expressed by different letters, as in oat, boat, floor, doe, chateau, sew, coast, sorrow.

*Classification of Letters.*—Letters are classified, with reference to their sound, into

Vowels, *a, e, o, u*, and semi-vowels, *w, y*; liquids, *l, m, n, r, ng*; mutes, sharp, *p, t, f, th*, as in thin; mute flats, *b, d, v, th*, as in then; diphthongs, *i, oi, oy*, and aspirate *h*.

In addition to the foregoing exercises, a few simple rules for spelling were deduced from examples of words given, and the exercises of the examination closed.

#### CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

In view of all they have witnessed in the exercises, of which the foregoing are brief sketches, and in the light of the best information which they have been able from various sources to obtain upon the subject of “Object Teaching,” and what is known as the Pestalozzian system generally, they feel warranted in giving expression to the following conclusions:

1. That the principles of that system are philosophical and sound; that they are founded in, and are in harmony with the nature of man, and hence are best adapted to secure to him such an education as will conduce in the highest degree to his welfare and happiness, present and future.

2. That the particular methods of instruction presented in the

exercises before us as illustrative of those principles merit and receive our hearty approbation, subject to such modifications as experience and the characteristics of our people may determine to be wise and expedient.

In conclusion, the Committee beg leave to present in the form of resolutions the following recommendations:

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of your Committee, the System of Object Teaching is admirably adapted to cultivate the perceptive faculties of the child, to furnish him with clear conceptions and the power of accurate expression, and thus to prepare him for the prosecution of the sciences or the pursuits of active life; and that the Committee do recommend the adoption of the system in whole or in part, wherever such introduction is practicable.

*Resolved*, That this system of primary education, which substitutes in great measure the *teachers for the book*, demands in its instructors varied knowledge and thorough culture; and *that attempts to introduce it by those who do not clearly comprehend its principles, and who have not been trained in its methods, can result only in failure.*

All which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

WM. F. PHELPS,  
D. H. COCHRAN,  
DAVID N. CAMP,  
THOMAS F. HARRISON,  
H. P. WILBUR,  
GEO. L. FARNHAM,  
W. NICOLL,

} *Special Committee  
on Report.*

Approved by the General Committee, and read before the Convention, in Doolittle Hall, on Thursday evening, February 13th, 1862.



## THE HISTORY OF OBJECT TEACHING.

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HISTORY furnishes no records of attention to elementary education prior to the seventeenth century. The ancients *neglected* the instruction of their children, although they provided schools of philosophy for their young men. The prevailing idea on the subject of education appears to have been that knowledge consisted in the memory of rules and words rather than in things and thoughts. The practice of teaching by requiring the pupils to memorize all lessons, without regard to an understanding of their meaning, had come down from the monastic schools of earlier ages. The principles of development by primary education were then unknown in all the plans of teaching.

Just before the dawn of the seventeenth century, a keen observer of nature and men, having noticed that artisans worked out their results by inductive processes of reasoning, also that the arts and sciences were progressing, while philosophy and education remained stationary, borrowed the principle of utility and progress from the workshops of his time, applied it to philosophy and education, and the world was aroused by the triumphal progress of a new system of philosophy which immortalized the name of Francis Bacon.

This philosopher taught that the powers of memory alone can do but little toward the advancement of science or education. He classed those school achievements in mere memory with the physical achievements of the mountebanks: "The two performances are much of the same sort. The one is an abuse of the powers of the mind; the other is an abuse of the powers of the body. Both may excite our wonder, but neither is entitled to our respect."

Although Bacon's attention was chiefly confined to philosophy, yet he struck the key-note of those great principles of education which have become the foundation of the most philosophical methods of teaching now practiced throughout the civilized world. Said he, "Men read in books what authors say concerning stones, plants, animals, and the like, but to inspect these

stones, plants, and animals with their own eyes is far enough from their thoughts; whereas we should fix the eyes of our mind upon things themselves, and thereby form a true conception of them." Little, however, was accomplished during Bacon's time in devising plans for the primary education of children.

Early in the seventeenth century the inductive system of Bacon attracted the attention of a thinking, earnest teacher of Austria—John Amos Comenius. He seems almost to have been endowed with an intuition which gave him, to a remarkable degree, a knowledge of the true principles of education. He saw more clearly than any of his predecessors what was necessary for the improvement of the methods of instruction, and he soon made an application of the principles of Bacon's inductive system to primary education. In 1657 he published the first school-book in which pictures were used to illustrate the various topics discussed in it. This work continued to be a text-book in the German schools for nearly two hundred years.

Comenius was an evangelical preacher as well as an educator, and on the issue of a decree in 1624 that all persons must leave the Austrian dominions who would not become Catholics, he took his departure for Poland with thirty thousand families, of whom five hundred were of noble blood. As he came upon the range of mountains at the boundary, he paused to look once more back to his native land, and, with his brethren, fell upon his knees and prayed, with many tears, that God would not suffer His Word to be entirely destroyed in that country, but would preserve some seed of it there.

Who will say that those prayers were not answered, when, within five years afterward, Comenius was himself permitted to return and labor for the improvement of the schools of Bohemia.

Subsequently he went to Lissa, Poland, where he became president of the school, and bishop of the Moravian brethren—a sect which has been distinguished for its good schools wherever its colonies have been planted. Here he published his first work, the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*—a new method of teaching languages, in connection with instruction in the elements of the sciences. This work soon carried his fame to other lands, and every where it developed the necessity of a reform in education.

By an Act of Parliament Comenius was invited to England in 1641, to undertake the reformation of their schools. His labors there were defeated by the disturbances in Ireland and the civil

wars. A similar invitation having been extended to him by the government of Sweden, he left England and went to Stockholm in 1642. War again interrupting his labors, he returned to Lissa. Subsequently he visited Hungary and other places to prosecute his efforts in behalf of education. Again he returned to Lissa, but only to encounter greater misfortunes. Amid the disturbances between the Catholic Poles and the Moravian Protestants, the city was burned, and he lost his house, his library, and his manuscripts, the labors of many years. He subsequently went to Holland, and found an asylum in the city of Amsterdam, where he reproduced several of his lost works. He died in 1671, at the age of eighty.

Comenius was the great educator of the seventeenth century. Such was his enduring earnestness that, although exiled from his native land, wandering, persecuted, and homeless, during the desolating thirty-years' war of that period, still he continued to labor unweariedly in the cause of education, not only inspiring several countries of Europe with an enthusiastic desire for a better system of instruction, but introducing new principles of education, which greatly modified the practices in teaching, and prepared the way, by gradual changes, for the more thorough reformation of schools which followed under the labors of subsequent educators.

In his educational works may be found the first promulgation of the principles and plans of Object Teaching, and of a graduated system of instruction adapted to the wants of the age in which he lived.

Some of his leading ideas on the subject of education we will briefly state: "Since the beginning of knowledge must be with the senses, the beginning of teaching should be made by dealing with actual things. The object must be a real, useful thing, capable of making an impression upon the senses. To this end it must be brought into communication with them; if visible, with the eyes; if audible, with the ears; if tangible, with the touch; if odorous, with the nose; if sapid, with the taste. First the presentation of the thing itself, and the real intuition of it; then the oral explanation for the farther elucidation of it."

But inasmuch as the presentation of the thing itself is so frequently impossible, he advised the use of pictures as the representatives of things, that the words which related to them might be understood.

The course of instruction laid down by Comenius commenced



with infancy. During the first six years the children were to learn to know animals, plants, stones, and the names and uses of the members of their own body. They were also to be led to distinguish colors, and to delight their eyes with beautiful things. They should begin Geography with the knowledge of the room, the streets, the fields, the farm—Arithmetic, with counting objects—Geometry, with understanding the ideas of lines, circles, angles, length, breadth, an inch, a foot, etc.—Music, with hearing singing—History, with a knowledge of what happened to them yesterday and the day before—Chronology, with the knowledge of day and night, hours, weeks, and festivals.

The views of Comenius are so completely in harmony with the natural means of acquiring knowledge through the exercise of the senses, and with the laws of mental development, and also with the observations and experiences of many succeeding educators, that we deem the presentation of a few of his thoughts, in language more literally his own, due even in this brief history of Object Teaching. For the following extracts from his writings we are indebted to that most valuable of all collections of educational literature, *Barnard's American Journal of Education*.

Said Comenius: "The best years of my own youth were wasted in useless school exercises. How often, since I have learned to know better, have I shed tears at the remembrance of lost hours. But grief is vain. Only one thing remains; only one thing is possible—to leave posterity what advice I can by showing the way in which our teachers have led us into errors, and the method of remedying these errors."

His practical views of education may be discerned in the succeeding quotations:

"Instruction will usually succeed if it follows the course of Nature. Whatever is natural goes forward of itself."

"The first education should be of the perceptions, then of the memory, then of the understanding, then of the judgment."

"Instruction must begin with actual inspection, not with verbal description of things."

"To learn is to proceed from something known to the knowledge of something unknown; in which there are three things, the known, the unknown, and the mental effort to reach the unknown from the known."

"We first proceed toward knowledge by the perception and understanding of the present; and afterward go on from the present to the absent by means of the information of others."

"The attention should be fixed upon only one object at a time; and upon the whole first, and the parts afterward."

"A second point should not be undertaken until the first is learned; and with the second, the first should be repeated."

"Sight will supply the place of demonstration. It is good to use several senses in understanding one thing."

"To know any thing is to be able to represent it, either by the mind, or the hand, or the tongue. We learn, not only in order to understand, but also to *express* and to *use* what we understand. As much as any one understands, so much ought he to accustom himself to express; and, on the other hand, he should understand whatever he says. Speech and knowledge should proceed with equal steps."

"Hitherto the schools have done nothing with the view of developing children, like young trees, from the growing impulse of their own roots, but only with that of hanging them over with twigs broken off elsewhere. They teach youth to adorn themselves with others' feathers, like the crow in *Æsop's Fables*. They do not show them things as they are, but tell them what one and another, and a third, and a tenth has thought and written about them; so that it is considered a mark of great wisdom for a man to know a great many opinions which contradict each other."

"The schools are wrong in first teaching language and then proceeding to things. The thing is the substance, and the word the accident; the thing is the body, and the word the clothing. Things and words should be studied together, but things especially, as the objects both of the understanding and of language."

"In God are the original ideas, which He impresses upon things; things, again, impress their representations upon the senses; the senses impart them to the mind; the mind to the tongue, and the tongue to the ears of others. The mind thinks—the tongue speaks—the hand makes; hence the arts of speaking and working, and the sciences of things."

Such are a few of the principles in education which Comenius taught—and they have since been confirmed by the experiences of two centuries.

It is difficult to judge to what extent the later educators—Lock, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi—were indebted to Comenius for those principles which they severally taught subsequently, but we find much in the writings of each that is entirely in accordance with the teachings of this great pioneer in educational re-

forms. It is not too much to say that a careful study of the history of education would result in the conviction that many of the best methods of instruction, and the principles of education on which are based so great a number of the modern improvements in modes of teaching, were conceived and taught by Comenius more than two hundred years ago. He planted the seeds which have germinated from time to time, under the fostering care of various educators, and to-day we behold their most vigorous growth.

The labors of Comenius were performed during the first two thirds of the seventeenth century. John Locke, the distinguished English philosopher, lived during the last two thirds of that century. He urged, as the chief business of primary education, the development of the faculties of the child; that as the first ideas of children are derived from sensation, so the perceptive faculties should be the first cultivated or developed. The main elements of his methods of education were attention to the physical wants of the child, and the development of the intellectual powers through the instrumentality of things.

Rousseau, who acknowledged his indebtedness to Locke, and who embodied ideas similar to those of that philosopher in a treatise on education called "Emile," lived during nearly three fourths of the eighteenth century.

Pestalozzi was born about the middle of the eighteenth, and died soon after the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He said: "Observation is the absolute basis of all knowledge. The *first* object then, in education, must be to lead a child to *observe* with accuracy; the second, to *express with correctness* the result of his observations." "The development of man commences with natural perceptions through the senses. Its highest attainment, intellectually, is the exercise of reason." Although we find no direct acknowledgment of Pestalozzi's indebtedness to Comenius, as we do of the relation of the latter to Bacon, no one can examine the systems of these educators of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries without discovering many remarkable similarities. It was doubtless owing to the general diffusion of the *principles* so widely taught by Comenius that the *methods* for applying them, which were subsequently devised by Pestalozzi, became at once so popular and widely successful.

The dawn of the present century beheld Pestalozzi at Bourgdorf, engaged with Krüsi in making a more detailed applica-



tion of those principles of education which were disseminated by Comenius a century and a half before, in methods chiefly devised by himself. While there, Pestalozzi wrote that work—"How Gertrude teaches her Children"—which attracted so much attention to his system of education from all parts of Europe.

As early as 1807 we find him in charge of the institution at Yverdon, where he attained his highest renown, and where he remained for nearly a quarter of a century. So widely had his fame extended, that persons went thither from almost every country of Europe, and even from America; not merely those who were led by the impulses which inspired him, but by the agents of kings and noblemen, and of public institutions, who desired to make themselves acquainted with his methods of teaching, in order to their introduction into other countries. No similar institution has ever attained so great fame, and no other has exerted so wide an influence on the methods of teaching.

Just before Pestalozzi opened his institution at Yverdon, he received a request from a philanthropic society in Paris to send a teacher there who could introduce his system of instruction into France. Accordingly, he selected Mr. Joseph Neef, who had been associated with him as a teacher, and who possessed the additional qualifications of understanding both the German and French languages. Mr. Neef went to Paris, and remained some two years, laboring with a good degree of success.

During the summer of 1805, Mr. William Mac Clure, of Philadelphia, while traveling in Switzerland, visited Pestalozzi's school, and was so much pleased with the system of teaching that he resolved to introduce it into America. On returning to Paris he sought out Mr. Neef, and invited him to come to this country.

"On what terms," said Mr. Mac Clure, "would you go to my country and introduce your method of education? I have seen Pestalozzi; I know his system; my country wants it, and will receive it with enthusiasm. I will engage to pay your passage, also to secure your livelihood. Go, and be your master's apostle in the New World."

So generous an invitation awakened an earnest desire in Mr. Neef to visit this country. He would fain have accepted it, but he did not know our language. "Two years shall be allowed you for acquiring that language, during which time I will support you," said this noble benefactor. This generous proposi-

tion decided the mission. Mr. Neef came to Philadelphia, studied the language, and in 1809 published a small volume setting forth, somewhat in the style of an extended prospectus, the plans and principles of a new method of education which he proposed to introduce into a private school that he should establish in the suburbs of that city. He labored there for several years, but from some cause, probably owing to his inability to adapt himself to the American mind and habits, his enterprise failed. Judging from a second volume which he issued in 1813, on language, he must have been not only impractical, but also have failed to comprehend the necessity of Americanizing the system instead of merely transplanting it.

He probably sought—to quote his own words, uttered in view of the fate which might attend his school—“some obscure village whose hardy youth want a schoolmaster;” for, said he, “to become an obscure, useful country schoolmaster is the highest pitch of my worldly ambition.”

Although Pestalozzi founded his system on correct principles, he frequently erred in his practice of teaching. Many of his expedients for Object Teaching were faulty, and not even in accordance with his own system. In his zeal for the improvement of the mind itself, and for methods of instruction which were calculated to invigorate its faculties, he forgot the necessity of positive knowledge as the materials for thought and practical use in future life. So frequently did he violate his own system in the exercises of the school-room, that one of his intimate friends and admirers said of him, “His province is to educate ideas, not children.” Nevertheless, he succeeded in reviving the true principles of teaching, and instituting the greatest educational movement of the century. He had the good fortune to associate with him Neiderer, Krüsi, Schmid, Zeller, and Fellenberg, to whose systematic development of his methods, and their dissemination of them, the subsequent success of his system is largely due. Many of his teachers even resigned to him whatever of fame and profit might come from publishing the manuals which they compiled for their respective branches of study while engaged as instructors in his institution.

During the subjugation of Germany under Napoleon, the minds of the ablest Prussian statesmen were eagerly occupied in devising means for raising the moral, mental, and physical character of the nation to a standard of elevated development, which, although it might be of little immediate use in their struggle for

independence, yet might insure the success of such a struggle in the future. Among the prominent instrumentalities sought for this purpose was an improvement in their schools, by the introduction of the Pestalozzian system of teaching. The king, the queen, and the ministry looked upon this movement with hopes of the happiest results. Accordingly, extensive measures were at once taken to test these plans.

Carl August Zeller, who had been one of Pestalozzi's teachers at Bourgdorf, also at Yverdun, was engaged by the government of Prussia to organize normal schools for training teachers in this system of instruction. In addition to this means, several young men were sent to Yverdun, also to other similar institutions, to acquire the best methods of teaching. Thus, in a comparatively short time, a large body of competent instructors were scattered among the Prussian schools.

Introduced as the system thus was under the most favorable auspices, yet with some modifications, its spirit proved satisfactory in meeting the needs of the people for a more thorough intellectual development of the nation. This introduction was commenced about 1810, and in 1825 it had possession of the entire common school system of that country.

From Prussia and the German states the system of Pestalozzi has been widely diffused in other countries by visitors who went there for the purpose of examining the workings of their schools. It was partially transferred to France by Cousin and Jullien. The principles of this system now prevail in the best schools of England, Denmark, Switzerland, Prussia, Germany, Sardinia, Greece, and many of the colonies of Great Britain. The methods of teaching which prevail in the United States have been materially influenced by the promulgation of these principles.

Some thirty years ago efforts were made in Boston, and other portions of New England, to introduce the system of Pestalozzi into their schools by Prof. William Russell, William C. Woodbridge, Carter, Gallaudet, Alcott, and Dr. Griscom. Able articles were published on this subject by Prof. Russell, in the "*Journal of Education*," as long ago as 1829. In 1830 and '31, William C. Woodbridge wrote a series of articles for the "*Annals of Education*," describing the principles of teaching in the institution of Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, where improved methods of Pestalozzi's system were practiced. These articles treated chiefly upon the principles of the system, without giving details of the methods. Notwithstanding the diffusion of the principles



of *Object Teaching* in this country during that period, its practice *died out through the want of teachers trained in the system and its methods.*

The institution of Pestalozzi, at Yverdun, was visited in 1818 by Dr. Mayo, of London, and about the same period by Dr. Biber and Mr. Greaves. Through the efforts of these gentlemen the system taught there was introduced into England. The success of this introduction was secured through the organization, in 1836, of the "Home and Colonial School Society," and the subsequent establishment of Training and Model Schools in London, for instructing teachers in its principles and methods.

In this introduction of the system of Object Teaching into England, it was found necessary to greatly modify the plans of instruction to adapt them to the Anglo-Saxon mind and character.

In the schools of this society the system of elementary instruction by object lessons has been brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it attained even under the immediate supervision of the celebrated Swiss educator.

The Training Institution of London usually has about two hundred student teachers in attendance; and about one hundred graduate annually. Up to the present time some 3000 teachers have been trained there, and by them the methods of Object Teaching are gradually being diffused throughout England.

Something has been done toward introducing the plans of Object Teaching into the best schools of Canada. Visitors from the United States to the celebrated Normal and Model Schools of Toronto have caught glimpses of the system from time to time, and brought away many suggestions for improvements in their own methods of teaching.

About two years since, one who had long been dissatisfied with the results of the usual methods of elementary instruction, and who had been endeavoring to devise some more common-sense methods for primary schools than those which consisted of mere memory of words, while visiting the Model School of Toronto, found the books published by the Home and Colonial Society on elementary instruction. He procured these, together with pictures and other apparatus for illustrating the lessons, and, returning to the schools under his supervision, prepared his programmes, called his teachers together, gave them instructions, and commenced in earnest the introduction of Object Teaching into all the primary schools under his charge.

Many were the difficulties encountered. The methods of

teaching were new alike to superintendent, teachers, and pupils. No one was at hand, familiar with the system, to give instruction either in its principles or methods. As a substitute for this, and the guidance of one trained in the practice of Object Teaching, once during each week teachers and superintendent met to compare notes of lessons and notes of progress. The oldest teachers, as well as the youngest, studied in preparation for the work before them.

The teachers became more and more interested in the system as they saw its results in their pupils. The interest of the pupils grew stronger as the teachers learned to practice the system better. Such were the efforts for the first systematic introduction of Object Teaching into the United States; and the honor of this achievement is due to the city of Oswego, her earnest superintendent, E. A. Sheldon, Esq., and her progressive Board of Education.

During the regular annual examinations for promotions, about one year ago, the subject of Object Lessons was added to the list of studies in which examinations were to be made. It was my pleasure to be present for several days, and witness the exercises. Notes from parents requesting that Henry, William, and Mary might be allowed to remain in the primary school another term, "they are so much interested in their Object Lessons," told in unmistakable language of its appreciation by the parents. They found their children becoming unusually interested in school, and more attentive and observing at home; and their hearts were gladdened in view of the changes that were being wrought in their boys and girls.

My own gratification has since been repeatedly expressed in words similar to the following: "To any one who may desire to see the practical operations of Object Teaching, and the best system of elementary instruction to be found in this country, let me say, make a visit to Oswego."

It was at length discovered that to meet the wants of their schools, and secure the complete introduction and continued practice of the system, a Training School was needed. Accordingly, application was made to the "Home and Colonial School Society" of London for a training teacher. They responded by sending Miss M. E. M. Jones, who arrived here on the first of May last, and immediately entered upon her duties.

In response to an announcement that a few teachers would be admitted in the class besides those engaged in the public schools

of Oswego, a dozen other ladies assembled there on the 6th of August last. Others were subsequently admitted. Several members of this training class have already left to engage in teaching.

Rooms have been fitted up in the New York State Normal School at Albany for a Model School in Object Teaching, where the future graduates from that institution will be instructed in this system. This Model Department will be under the charge of a lady who was trained in the class at Oswego.

The Board of Trustees of the New Jersey State Normal School, appreciating the advantages of the system, sent a lady teacher to attend this training class, and defrayed her expenses, to prepare herself for introducing it into their school at Trenton.

Some of the practices of Object Teaching have been introduced into the Normal School at Ypsilanti, Mich., by the principal of that institution.

Already several cities and many towns are taking steps preparatory to its introduction, and some have been practicing its lessons for several months. Among those thus actively interested, we may mention Syracuse, New York, Paterson, N. J., Chicago, Ill., Toledo and Cincinnati, Ohio, Rochester, N. Y., San Francisco, and might add a large number of smaller places.\*

The great interest manifested in this system of instruction is shown by the numerous articles on the subject which appear in the educational journals of the country, and in the repeated and

\* NOTE.—The author of this Address has omitted to state some facts, of a personal nature, which are important to an accurate history of the present movement in primary education in this country.

In the summer of 1860, Mr. Calkins commenced the active preparation of a work on "Object Lessons," which was published in July, 1861. Within six months from its first presentation to the public it had reached its fourth edition, and it is used wherever there is any interest in Object Teaching. In addition to this, and in response to numerous invitations from Teachers' Institutes and Teachers' Associations, he has delivered lectures on this subject in various parts of the states of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and in Massachusetts. Of his labors in the State of New York, the State Superintendent remarks in his last Annual Report:

"A large number of school commissioners, having interested themselves in the subject, secured the services of N. A. Calkins, Esq.—a gentleman who has given the system much attention and study—who visited and conducted quite a number of institutes, lecturing upon the principles, and giving instruction in the practice of 'Object Teaching.' In this way the attention of many hundreds of our teachers has been directed to definite aims in the elevation of the character of the educational work."—*Board of Education, Oswego.*



numerous inquiries relative to its plans. Amid this general interest in the system, and the popular excitement concerning it, there is great danger that the well-meaning, but *not* well-informed, may make fatal mistakes in attempting to practice it. Object Teaching is based on philosophical principles, and the teacher must know what those principles are before she can apply its methods successfully. The true system of teaching takes Nature for its guide ; its dangers lie in the want of observation and conformity to the relations of knowledge and the laws of mental development.

During the time of Pestalozzi, Yverdun was the fountain from whence the teachers of Europe and America sought a new and better system of education. When, subsequently, the Prussian schools had been modified by the methods employed at Yverdun, educators journeyed thither to observe and to learn.

To-day educators and teachers from several states, and from various parts of our own state, have come up to Oswego to see with their own eyes what they have heard with their ears of the schools, and the system of instruction pursued here. Their hearts have been made glad by what has already been witnessed, and their longings for some sound philosophical improvement, for some means whereby more satisfactory and practical results in elementary education may be attained, has been gratified by the hope that the glorious day has already dawned on our shores when the *philosophy of Bacon, the principles of Comenius, the system of Pestalozzi, and the most practical methods of Object Teaching* shall be thoroughly incorporated into the system of instruction in all the schools of our country.



YVERDUN

## OBJECT TEACHING;

### ITS GENERAL PRINCIPLES, AND THE OSWEGO SYSTEM.

Report (drawn up by Prof. S. S. Greene) of a committee appointed by the National Teachers' Association in 1864 to the Annual Meeting in 1865.\*

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In presenting the report of a large committee, residing at great distances from each other, it is but just to say that nothing like concert of action could be secured.

All the members have been invited to express their opinions upon the subject of the report. The writer alone has visited Oswego for the specific purpose of obtaining the requisite facts. The opinions of the other members, so far as expressed, are the results of their individual experience, their observations of object teaching in Oswego or elsewhere, or of their general views of the possibilities of the system. These opinions will have their appropriate places in the report. An excellent communication from Rev. Dr. Hill, President of Harvard University, obtained at the solicitation of the writer, will also be referred to. It is but just to say that the opinion of Mr. Pennell, of St. Louis, was, as a whole, somewhat adverse to any thing like systematic object teaching.

Without further preliminary remarks, your committee proceed to inquire,

1. What place do external objects hold in the acquisition of knowledge? Are they the exclusive *source* of our knowledge?

2. So far as our knowledge is obtained from external objects as a source, how far can any educational processes facilitate the acquisition of it?

3. Are the measures adopted at Oswego in accordance with the general principles resulting from these inquiries?

That all our knowledge comes from external objects as a *source*, no one who has examined the capacities of the human mind pretends to claim. Yet no inconsiderable part springs directly from this source. Nature itself is but the unfolding and expression of ideals from the great fountain and storehouse of all thought.

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\* The Committee consisted of Barnas Sears, D. D., Providence, R. I.; Prof. S. S. Greene, Providence, R. I.; J. L. Pickard, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago, Ill.; J. D. Philbrick, Superintendent of Schools, Boston, Mass.; David N. Camp, State Superintendent of Schools, Connecticut; R. Edwards, Principal of Normal School, Illinois; C. L. Pennell, St. Louis, Mo



With the Creator the ideal is the original, the outward form, its embodiment, or expression. The rose is a thought of God expressed. With us the forms of Nature are the originals, the derived conceptions, our borrowed thoughts, *borrowed*, since it is the thought of the Creator through the mediation of Nature that, entering our minds, becomes our thought. His claim to originality is most valid who approaches nearest the divine source, observes most faithfully, and interprets most accurately. The page of Nature lies open to all. No intellect is so weak as not to read something,—none so profound as to exhaust her unfathomable depths. She has an aspect to attract the gaze of early infancy. She rewards the restless curiosity of childhood. She repays the more thoughtful examinations of youth, and crowns with unfading laurels the profoundest researches of the philosopher. She stimulates by present acquisitions and prospective attainments. The well known of to-day is bordered by the imperfectly known, the attracting field of research for the morrow. What we know and can express is accompanied with much that we know, but have no power at present to express.

Says the Rev. Dr. Hill, "It is the thought of God in the object that stimulates the child's thought." Again, "Text-book and lecture without illustrations frequently fail in giving just and vivid images, and generally fail in awakening that peculiar reverence which may be excited by direct contact with Nature;" and again, "Nature is infinite in its expressions, and a natural object contains more than can be expressed in words. The great object is to teach the child to see and read more than you yourself could express in words." He gives an example in the case of his own child, which very forcibly illustrates this point. "I was walking," he says, "yesterday with my little girl, and showing her plants and insects and birds as we walked along. We were looking at lichens on the trees, when she suddenly and without hint from me said, 'The maple trees have different lichens from the ash; I mean to see if I can tell trees by their trunks without looking at the leaves.' So for a long distance she kept her eyes down, saying to the trees as she passed, '*Elm, maple, ash, pine,*' etc., and never failing. Now, neither she nor I would find it easy to express in words the difference between some of the elms and some of the ashes, though the difference was easy to see." How emphatically true is this last remark! and how true it is that, even if these should at any time be clothed with language, other marks and distinctions would unfold themselves equally obvious to the eye, but quite as difficult to be

expressed? They express themselves to our senses, and through them to our understandings, but we lack words to bind them into our forms of thought. In other words, the forms of nature are filled with thoughts which are, at all times, revealing themselves to us in advance of our power of speech. The thought is infolded in the form, and the form unfolds the thought. It becomes ours only when we have *experienced* it. Human speech may recall, but can never originate it. To be known it must be seen, or realized by the senses. This necessarily lays the foundation for object teaching.

But while Nature is thus the *source* of a vast amount of our knowledge, we have other sources, concerning which the most we can say of the objects in Nature is, they are only the *occasions* which call it forth. It springs spontaneously and intuitively from the depths of the soul. Such thoughts are not in the object, but in the mind. The object neither embodies nor in any way expresses them. It serves merely as the occasion to call them into consciousness. The boy drops his ball into the eddying current, and it passes beyond his reach. Though he may not be in a mood sufficiently philosophical to put into form the intuitive truth that one and the same object can not be in the hand and out of it at the same time, yet his vexation and grief will sufficiently express it. That thought, no one will pretend, is in the ball or in the water, or is expressed by either. It is simply in the mind.

So in the use of a native language, objects are most efficient aids in giving precision to the application of words, but they can never supply that wonderful power of discrimination in the expression of thought which marks the earliest and latest periods of life. Says the Rev. Dr. Sears, the chairman of this committee, "The eloquent speaker does not, in his highest bursts of oratory, first select words and parts of a sentence, and from them afterwards construct a whole, but he begins with the whole, as a germ in his mind, and from it develops the parts. This power in language is instinctive, and can no more be achieved by rules and canons of criticism than can a work of genius. A philosopher with his great intellect can not learn to speak a language idiomatically, feelingly, and naturally, any quicker than a child. The understanding alone may make a linguist, or a critic, but not a natural, fluent, and easy speaker. Study and analysis aid in comprehending language, and in correcting errors; but the native charms of idiomatic and touching English come unbidden from the depths of the soul, from a sort of unconscious inspiration."

Then, again, all subjects which are purely mental, especially those which have as their substance things hoped for, and as their evidence things not seen, are beyond the reach of object lessons. Thoughts, feelings, volitions, intellectual states; all notions of space and time, of æsthetic and moral qualities; all ideas of the absolute and the infinite, and finally, of God, as the unapproached and unapproachable fountain and source of all; all these rise immeasurably above the realm of the senses. Indeed, the introduction of material forms would rather obscure than aid in illustrating many of these subjects. Of these we may form what is logically called a notion by combining their *notæ* or characteristics, but we can never represent them to the eye of the mind by form or image. Objects may have been the *occasion* of calling up many of these ideas, but they are, by no means, the source of them. They address themselves to the interior consciousness alone, never to the senses. All knowledge springing from this source is *rational* rather than *experimental*. Yet let it not be understood that it is entirely dissociated from physical forms. We use this rational knowledge in thousands of ways, in our connection with the external world.

Let us pass to our second inquiry. So far as our knowledge has its source in external objects, how far can any educational processes facilitate the acquisition of it?

The thoughts of the Creator, as expressed in the outer world, would remain forever uninterpreted but for the presence of a knowing, thinking being, whose organism is in harmony with Nature. In early infancy, the minimum if not the zero point of intelligence, there is little or no appearance of such adaptation. We see only a sentient being, impelled chiefly if not wholly by instinct. The highest form of observation results in mere *sensation*. It is akin to that of the brute. Soon, however, the child awakes to the consciousness that what he sees is no part of himself. He distinguishes between himself and the objects around him. His intelligent nature, which before existed only in germ, is called into action. He interprets his sensations, and these interpretations are called *perceptions*. Now commences the period for the spontaneous cultivation of the perceptive faculty. Nature is ready with the proper aliment for its nourishment, and wise is that parent who sees to it that his child receives without stint. This is the period of greatest acuteness of this faculty—the period when an instinctive curiosity supplies the place occupied, later in life, by a determined will. It is the period for absorbing knowledge miscellaneously. Blessed is that child whose lot is cast where Nature in her purest and loveliest



forms daily feasts all his senses. Now is the time for gathering food for the higher faculties which exist either in embryo, or with only a feeble development. The knowledge gained is without order, and purely elementary. During this, which may be called the nursery period, little or no instruction can be given. The faculties act spontaneously, and with very little guidance from without.

Even at this period the faculty of memory must be developed; for the mind instinctively grasps at the *whole* of an object. Yet a single perception gives only the whole of one aspect. Be it a mite, a shell, or a mountain—it must have many aspects—an interior and an exterior. It has parts and properties. After the mind has contemplated every one of these in succession, it can not then form one complete whole without *retaining* all the previous perceptions. This process of *taking together* into one whole all the parts, aspects, and qualities of an object, and drawing off for the use of the mind a kind of photograph or mental picture, is called, as the term signifies, *conception*. It is the result of many varied, attentive, and careful perceptions in connection with memory. These conceptions, again, are laid away in the memory for future use. As they are recalled, and, as it were, placed before the eye of the mind, they have been variously denominated conceptions, concepts, ideas, notions, reproductions, or images. The name is of but little consequence, provided that we all understand them to be the results of perception, addressing themselves to our internal sight or consciousness—that they are quasi-objects, internal *realities*, with corresponding external realities. And yet, in using the term conception or concept, as equivalent to the image mental picture or reproduction of a *single* object, we should be careful to regard it as a conception in its depth and intention, not in the whole breadth or extent of its application; for to reach this requires the exercise of the higher faculties.

In the period of infancy, before the power of speech is developed, children form those conceptions whose very existence stimulates to the use of language. They early become the occasions for distinguishing between what is true and what is false, what has an internal seeming with an external reality, and what has an internal seeming without an external reality. At an early period the mind finds itself able to project forms of its own, to build castles and palaces, create gorgeous scenes, and dwell upon them *as though* they had a corresponding external existence. This power of *imagination* was formerly applied only to that faculty by which new scenes or forms were produced by combinations derived from actual

conceptions. Latterly, it is more generally applied to the faculty of forming images, whatever their source.

Still another power manifests itself before much can be done by way of direct culture. It comes in answer to an interior demand. It is the power of language. Let us not mistake its functions, or the mode of cultivating it. It is not called forth by any human agency. It springs up spontaneously as soon as the pressure for utterance demands its development.

While an external object may be viewed by thousands in common, the conception of it addresses itself only to the individual consciousness. My conception is mine alone—the reward of careless observation, if imperfect; of attentive, careful, and varied observation, if correct. Between mine and yours a great gulf is fixed. No man can pass from mine to yours, or from yours to mine. Neither in any proper sense of the term can mine be conveyed to you, nor yours to me. Words do not convey thoughts; they are not the vehicles of thoughts in any true sense of that term; a word is simply a common *symbol* which each associates with his own conception.

Neither can I compare mine with yours except through the mediation of external objects. And then how do I know that they are alike? that a measure called a foot, for instance, seems as long to you as to me? My conception of a new object, which you and I observe together, may be very imperfect. By it I may attribute to the object what does not belong to it, take from it what does, distort its form, or otherwise pervert it. Suppose now at the time of observation we agree upon a *word* as a *sign* or *symbol* for the object or the conception. The object is withdrawn; the conception only remains,—imperfect in my case, complete and vivid in yours. The sign is employed. Does it bring back the original object? By no means. Does it convey my conception to your mind? Nothing of the kind; you would be disgusted at the shapeless image. Does it convey yours to me? No; I should be delighted at the sight. What does it effect? It becomes the occasion for each to call up his own conception. Does each now contemplate the same thing? What multitudes of dissimilar images instantly spring up at the announcement of the same symbol!—dissimilar, not because of any thing in the *one* source whence they are derived, but because of either an inattentive and imperfect *observation* of that source, or of some constitutional or habitual defect in the use of the perceptive faculty. What must be the actual condition of children, then, at the proper age to enter school?

At this very point lie the greatest deficiencies in the ordinary teaching of our schools. It may be reasonably supposed that children at the proper age to enter school have substantially correct conceptions of the limited number of objects which fall under their daily observation. Of this, however, we must not be too certain, especially if we have occasion to refer to marks or qualities which lie beyond the most common observation. We may use an appropriate term applied to some familiar object, some aspect of a tree, as in case of Dr. Hill's little girl; the object may be a familiar one, the term may have been heard a thousand times, and yet the child may never have dreamed that the one applies to the other. What conception will the use of such a term occasion? Because the term and its application are familiar to the teacher, he makes the fatal mistake of supposing them so to the child. His teaching, in consequence, is so far powerless. Words have no mysterious power of creating conceptions. True it is that the mind, at length, acquires the power of divining the application of words from their connection. But we must not presume this in children.

Again, there is to every child the region of the clearly known, and the region of the faintly known, lying just beyond. All terms which apply to objects in this region have but a misty significance, and are often misapplied. Yet in the school-room they are liable to be used as if well understood.

All terms relating to what is unknown to the child, whether scientific terms pertaining to latent properties of familiar things, or familiar and popular terms pertaining to unknown things, are valueless when used by teacher or pupil.

Again, the abstract definitions at the commencement of the reading lesson, or taken from the dictionary, are usually deceptive and unreliable; they merely exchange an unknown term for another equally unknown. In other words, they do not create conceptions.

The usual process of teaching children to read, or indeed any process, unless great pains are taken, tends to make the direct object of reading the mere utterance of words, and not the awakening of conceptions. And hence arises that kind of chronic stupidity which so often marks all school exercises. Let any teacher first fill his own mind with a vivid picture of the objects which the words of a single lesson should call up, and then call upon his best class to repeat the language, carefully searching for their ideas, and he will find the deficiency in actual conception most astonishing.

Again, the theory of teaching with many, if we may infer their theory from their practice, is to require the pupil to commit to



memory the terms and statements of the text-book, whether they awaken conceptions or not, and to regard the standard of excellence as fluency of utterance and accuracy in repeating terms.

Now against all this way of teaching language, object teaching, in any proper sense of the term, raises an earnest and perpetual protest.

But what is object teaching? Not that so-called object teaching which is confined to a few blocks and cards to be taken from the teacher's desk, at set times, to exhibit a limited round of angles, triangles, squares, cubes, cones, pyramids, or circles; not that which requires the pupil to take some model of an object lesson drawn out merely as a specimen, and commit it to memory; nor is it that injudicious method which some teachers have adopted in order to be thorough, that leads them to develop distinctions which are suited only to the investigations of science; nor is it a foolish adherence to the use of actual objects when clear conceptions have been formed and may take the place of physical forms; nor is it that excessive talking about objects which makes the teacher do every thing, and leaves the child to do nothing,—that assigns no task to be performed—a most wretched and reprehensible practice; nor, again, is it that which makes a few *oral* lessons, without any thing else, the entire work of the school.

But it is that which takes into the account the whole realm of Nature and Art, so far as the child has examined it, assumes as known only what the child knows—not what the teacher knows—and works from the well known to the obscurely known, and so onward and upward till the learner can enter the fields of science or abstract thought. It is that which develops the abstract from the concrete,—which develops the *idea*, then gives the *term*. It is that which appeals to the intelligence of the child, and that through the senses until clear and vivid conceptions are formed, and then uses these conceptions as something *real* and *vital*. It is that which follows Nature's order—the thing, the conception, the word; so that when this order is reversed—the word, the conception, the thing—the chain of connection shall not be broken. The word shall instantly occasion the conception, and the conception shall be accompanied with the firm conviction of a corresponding external reality. It is that which insists upon something besides mere empty verbal expressions in every school exercise—in other words, expression and thought in place of expression and no thought. It is that which cultivates expression as an answer to an inward pressing want, rather than a fanciful collection of pretty phrases culled

from different authors, and having the peculiar merit of sounding well. It is that which makes the school a place where the child comes in contact with *realities* just such as appeal to his common sense, as when he roamed at pleasure in the fields,—and not a place for irksome idleness,—not a place where the most delightful word uttered by the teacher is “dismissed.” It is that which relieves the child’s task only by making it *intelligible* and *possible*, not by taking the burden from him. It bids him examine for himself, discriminate for himself, and express for himself,—the teacher, the while, standing by to give hints and suggestions,—not to relieve the labor. In short, it is that which addresses itself directly to the eye external or internal, which summons to its aid things present or things absent, things past or things to come, and bids them yield the lessons which they infold,—which deals with actual existence, and not with empty dreams—a living *realism* and not a fossil *dogmatism*. It is to be introduced in a systematic way, if it can be done,—without much form where system is impracticable; but introduced it should be in some way every where. It will aid any teacher in correcting dogmatic tendencies, by enlivening his lessons, and giving zest to his instructions. He will draw from the heavens above, and from the earth beneath, or from the waters under the earth, from the world without, and from the world within. He will not measure his lessons by pages, nor progress by fluency of utterance. He will dwell in living thought, surrounded by living thinkers,—leaving at every point the impress of an objective and a subjective reality. Thoughtful himself, he will be thought-stirring in all his teaching. In fact, his very presence, with his thought-inspiring methods, gives tone to his whole school. Virtue issues unconsciously from his every look and every act. He himself becomes a model of what his pupils should be. To him an exercise in geography will not be a stupid verbatim recitation of descriptive paragraphs, but a stretching out of the mental vision to see in living picture ocean and continent, mountain and valley, river and lake, not on a level plane, but rounded up to conform to the curvature of a vast globe. The description of a prairie on fire, by the aid of the imagination, will be wrought up into a brilliant object lesson. A reading lesson descriptive of a thunder storm on Mount Washington will be something more than a mere conformity to the rules of the elocutionist. It will be accompanied with a conception wrought into the child’s mind, outstripped in grandeur only by the scene itself. The mind’s eye will see the old mountain itself, with its surroundings of gorge and cliff, of woodland and barren rock, of

deep ravine and craggy peak. It will see the majestic thunder-cloud moving up, with its snow-white summits resting on walls as black as midnight darkness. The ear will almost hear the peals of muttering thunder as they reverberate from hill to hill.

A proper care on the part of the teacher may make such a scene an all-absorbing lesson. It is an object lesson—at least, a quasi-object lesson—just such as should be daily mingled with those on external realities. To give such lessons requires, on the part of the teacher, a quickened spirit—a kind of intellectual regeneration. Let him but try it faithfully and honestly, and he will soon find himself emerging from the dark forms of Judaism into the clear light of a new dispensation. Indeed, this allusion contains more than a resemblance. The founder of the new dispensation was called, by way of eminence, “The Master.” In him was embodied and set forth the art of teaching. He was the “teacher come from God” to reveal in his own person and practice God’s ideal of teaching. And did he not invariably descend to the concrete even with his adult disciples? Hence it was that the common people heard him gladly. Whoever will study the lessons given by him will see with what unparalleled skill he passed from concrete forms up to abstract truths. He seldom commenced with the abstract. “A sower went forth to sow;” “A certain man had two sons;” “I am the vine, ye are the branches,” are specimens of the way he would open a lesson to unfold some important abstract truth. The best treatise on object teaching extant is the four Gospels. Commencing as if he discovered an interior fitness in the object itself, he would lay under contribution the wheat, the tares, the grass, the lilies, the water, the bread, the harvest, the cloud, or the passing event, and that to give some important lesson to his disciples.

The abstract we must teach, but our *teaching* need not be abstract. We may approach the abstract through the concrete. We must do it in many cases. And the methods of our Saviour are the divine methods informally expressed in his life. Let us reverently study them, and enter into the spirit with which they were employed. Such, in brief, are the fundamental uses of objects; such the adaptation of the human mind in its development to external Nature; such its growth and ever increasing capacity to interpret the revelations of her myriad forms; and such the wonderful power of language.

Let us now commence at the period when it is proper for a child to enter school. What is to engross his attention now? In any system of teaching, all concede that one of his first employments should be to learn the new language—the language of *printed sym-*



*bolds* addressed, not to the ear, but to the eye. And here commence the most divergent paths. The more common method is to drop entirely all that has hitherto occupied the child's attention, present him with the alphabet, point out the several letters, and bid him echo their names in response to the teacher's voice. By far the greatest portion of his time is passed in a species of confinement and inactivity, which ill comports with his former restless habits. Usually occupied in his school work but twice—and then for a few moments only—during each session, he advances from necessity slowly, and this imprisonment becomes irksome and offensive. To one who is not blinded by this custom, which has the sanction of a remote antiquity, the inquiry naturally forces itself upon his attention,—Is all this necessary? Must the child, because he is learning a new language, forget the old? May he not be allowed to speak at times, even in school, and utter the vital thoughts that once filled his mind with delight? May he not have some occupation that shall not only satisfy the restless activities of his nature, but also shall gratify his earnest desire for knowledge? Must he be made to feel that the new language of printed letters has no relation to the old? Does he reach the goal of his school work, as too often seems the case, when he can pronounce words by looking at their printed forms? Why not recognize in the printed word the same vital connection between the word and the thought as before? Why not follow the dictates of a sound philosophy—the simple suggestions of common sense—and recognize the fact that the child comes fresh from the school of Nature, where actual scenes and real objects have engrossed his whole attention, and have been the source of all that has made his life so happy? If so, then why not let him draw freely from this source while learning to read; nay, as far as possible, make the very act of learning to read tributary to the same end, and, at the earliest possible time, make it appear that the new acquisition is but a delightful ally of his present power to speak? The transition from his free and happy life at home to the confinement of the school-room will be less painful to him, and at the same time it will be apparent that the school is not a place to check but to encourage investigation.

Such inquiries as these have occupied the minds of intelligent educators who have ventured to question the wisdom of past methods. And they have led to the introduction of methods designed to occupy the time, and give interesting employment to the children. They have led to the introduction of objects familiar and interesting. Lessons are drawn from them which give the same im-

ession of *practicalness* and *reality* as the children received before the restraints of school life commenced. They lead to direct and animated conversation between the teacher and the pupils. They are thus instrumental in revealing to the teacher the defective and scanty *language* of the children. At the same time they furnish the best means for cultivating the use of words. Lessons on objects do vastly more. By means of these the teacher soon learns that the children have not used their *perceptive faculties* to good advantage. Their observations have been careless and negligent. Their conceptions are consequently faulty. He has it in his power now to quicken this faculty, and correct defective conceptions. More than this, he has a plan for the future. The very points which he wishes the children to observe now are to become hereafter the basis of scientific knowledge. Thus form and color, weights and measures, part and qualities, are carefully observed.

So, again, the very acquisition of the printed language becomes a kind of object lesson. The sound of a familiar word is given, its meaning is known and recognized,—its elementary parts are drawn out and given both by the teacher and the pupils,—the characters or letters are applied and placed upon the blackboard. The sounds are combined into the spoken word, the letters into the printed, and the word, whether printed or spoken, is instantly associated with the idea.

Work for the slate is now prepared; the letters are to be made by the children, the words to be formed, the meaning to be made out. Reading from the slate or the blackboard is soon commenced, and it must have the peculiar merit of uttering thoughts familiar to the child. Any child can read understandingly what he has himself developed and written with his own hand. The teacher develops new thoughts; but they are thoughts drawn directly from present objects, and recorded upon the board or the slate. They can not be tortured by that blundering, drawling utterance which the school-room usually engenders and tolerates. Language can be cultivated from a new point of view. The spoken and written word can be compared. The errors of home and street life are more readily corrected.

These several processes of developing and writing or printing keep all the children at work. Instead of having seven-eighths of their time devoted to irksome idleness, the children have something *to do*, all of which contributes efficiently to, at least, three distinct ends—learning to read more rapidly and more intelligently,—advancing in useful knowledge for present purposes,—laying the founda-

tion for future growth by a correct acquisition of the elements of knowledge.

The habit which children thus early acquire of *putting on record* what they learn or develop can not be too highly valued. In the ordinary methods of teaching, they look upon all attempts at composition with a sort of dread from which they seldom recover through their whole school life. But in this way, from the beginning, they grow up to the daily habit of composing their own real thoughts under the guidance of the teacher.

But the chief and highest advantage of giving these lessons lies not so much in any one, or perhaps in all of these, as in its direct influence upon the *teacher himself*. It can not be pursued even tolerably well without making it manifest to any one that the great object of teaching is to deal with *ideas* rather than to crowd the memory with words. He who can give an object lesson well is capable of giving any lesson well, because he has learned that it is the *reality* and not the expression of it that is the chief object to be gained. He who makes it his first, second, and last aim to teach *realities*, will soon discover two essential conditions. He must know the present capacity and attainments of the child, and then *what* realities are suited to them. If it were not for one fact, our Primary Schools would be filled with a cabinet of natural objects as varied as those that fill halls of our highest institutions, and that is the simple fact that children *can* remember words *as words*, without associating them with any idea whatever. They can use words which mean much, yet with them they mean nothing. They can repeat them fluently,—give emphasis to them in imitation of the teacher's voice. They can use them *as though* they really meant something. Yet more—they can see that the teacher accepts them as though all was right. Now here is a double evil. The teacher is a stranger to the child's real condition, and the child supposes he is actually learning something.

One reason why so many are opposed to Object Teaching—or Reality Teaching it should be called—is the simple fact that they can not readily free themselves from the impression that their knowledge of the subjects to be taught is somehow necessarily connected with the language of the text-book. They have never tried to disengage it from the particular forms into which some author has molded it. They use technical terms—and the worst of technical terms—because they know no other. There is an almost servile dependence upon the use of certain terms. And if the whole truth were known, it might appear that the idea is not sufficiently mas-

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tered to disengage it from the term. How can such a teacher do otherwise than cling to authority?

Yet the very essence of teaching lies in a living apprehension of the subject itself—such an apprehension as will enable the teacher to adapt his instruction to the child's real wants—just what a text-book, if good, can not do. "*Teach realities*" is the true teacher's motto. To this he commits himself;—nay, crosses the river and burns the bridge. He is ashamed of his teaching if it is any thing short of this. Hence, his ingenuity, his aptness, his versatility, his varied resorts in an emergency. He can teach with a text-book, or without it. A text-book in his hand becomes *alive*. It must be understood.

Would you *really* know whether a candidate for the teacher's office is a good teacher or not? You need not examine him with difficult questions in Arithmetic, in Algebra, in Geography, or in History. You need not examine him at all. But put him into the school-room, take from it every printed page for the use of the teacher or pupil. Give him blackboards,—give them slates. Let him have ears of corn, pine cones, shells, and as many other objects as he chooses to collect, and then require him to give lessons in reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and the English language. If the children come home full of curious questions,—if they love to talk of what they do at school, if at the end of a week you find them thinking earnestly of their occupation at school,—deeply interested,—intent upon their school exercises,—then employ him,—employ him at any price, though he may not have graduated at the University, the Academy, or even the Normal School. Whenever needed, allow him or the children books. You are sure of a good school.

How much is the spirit of that teacher improved who leads his pupil *directly* to the fountain of truth, and pays willing homage to it as truth! Teachers may be divided in this respect into three classes. The first are those who are servilely bound to a text-book; who are scarcely able to conceive a truth apart from the ancient term employed to express it; who never see it in its freshness; sticklers for exact verbal recitations; formalists, not to say dogmatists; inveterate advocates for authority, and firm defenders of what they regard as a healthful conservatism in education.

The second are those who have so far broken away from the trammels of methods and forms as to investigate the truth for themselves; who taste its vivifying power, draw from its pure sources, but who are anxious to promulgate and perpetuate, not so much

the truth, *as truth*, as their own opinions of it; who would make themselves the head of a party or school, having followers who think as they think, believe as they believe, employ terms as they employ terms, defend methods and forms as they defend them; influential they are and must be. They do good; they are lights in the profession.

The third class are those who are anxious,—not that their pupils should see the truth just as they see it, but that they should *see* and *experience* the truth itself;—solicitous, not to propagate views, but living truth; not the Rabbi who would reject the audible voice from above, if not uttered first to the priest and through him to the people, but rather Eli bidding the young prophet elect, about to succeed him in office, to enter the audience chamber of the Almighty to hear the voice for himself;—nay, Eli directing the *boy*, his own *pupil*, to return with a faithful *report* of what he hears.

These are they who rise to the true dignity of the teacher's profession; who lead their pupils into communion with nature, because she unfolds the thoughts of the Eternal One; who reverence *truth*, rather than the dogmas of any sect or party; who aim rather to render their own services unnecessary, than to restrain, for any selfish end, a free access to the truth.

Such are some of the uses of Object Teaching in the broad and true sense of the term. That any faultless system can be devised to carry it out we may not hope. That all persons will be equally successful in practicing it is too much to expect. That something called Object Teaching has been tried and failed as, with the methods employed, it ought to do, no one denies. That some have pursued a kind of Object Teaching, and have met with indifferent success, is also conceded. It should never be the only exercise of the school-room. It should never displace regular work, but rather become a part of it. It should give life and zest to it. It should never be made a hobby, or carried to an extreme. It should never be used as an end. On this point Mr. Pickard, a member of the committee, says:—

(1.) I fear that Object Teaching, as generally conducted, looks rather to immediate than to less showy, but more valuable, results.

(2.) Its tendency, unless very carefully checked, is to make of children passive recipients, while teachers *talk* more than they *instruct*.

(3.) Carefully used, it will awaken to new thought, and will encourage to the mastery of difficulties suggested or rather thrown in the way of pupils. But only master minds can so use it. Not every school teacher has the power of Agassiz.

(4.) And yet the nature of the child demands such teaching, and will not be satisfied without it, though not by any means, as I conceive, to the exclusion of other methods of teaching. Object Teaching is very good; but if it have no object, it is thenceforth good for nothing but to be trodden under foot of men.

Again, object lessons should not be allowed to fall into a mere routine, or to follow implicitly the models of some text-book, and not the leadings of the subject in question, gathering inspiration from some incidental circumstance which may change the shape of the lesson. They may often be made more apt and opportune by some occurrence, as a thunder-storm, or the presence of some impressive scene. They should be varied with every varying occasion, varied in form, varied in matter, varied in the manner of giving them, and cease as formal exercises whenever the pupil can draw thoughts skillfully and successfully from the abstract statements of a text-book.

There remains yet one subject to be considered. Shall children never begin with the abstract? Shall they never commit to memory forms which are beyond their comprehension? These are fair questions, and should be candidly and fairly answered.

We will not say, that in no case should such matter be committed to memory. It has been the practice for ages. Able and distinguished educators have advocated it. The custom of requiring simple memoriter recitations prevails in many of our schools. Shall it continue? Or shall all intelligent and earnest educators enter upon an important reform in this direction?

The most strenuous advocates of this kind of teaching do not claim that for intellectual purposes abstract statements are of any material value till explained or illustrated, or till the mind of the learner has grown up to them. They readily admit that, while borne in mind by mere force of memory *as words*, they can yield no immediate fruit. But they claim—

1. That such work furnishes the children something to do in the way of *private* or *solitary* study between the hours of recitation, and does much towards establishing early *habits* of study.
2. That the very act of committing to memory is a good discipline for that faculty.
3. That the terse and well-considered statements of a good text-book are better than any that the learner can substitute, and are, therefore, good models of the use of language.
4. That, if held in the memory sufficiently long, these statements will at length yield up their meaning, at first faintly, later along more clearly, and finally with their full significance and breadth of meaning.
5. That they are ever furnishing the child, ready at hand, subjects for an intellectual struggle, being results which minds more mature than his have reached by processes of thought to which he should always aspire.



6. That the power to utter forms of thought at present not comprehended inspires in the learner a most salutary habit of paying due deference to authority; of looking with veneration—even reverence—upon the productions of the gifted minds both of our own times and of the distant past, and that there can be no better cure for flippancy and self-conceit.

To consider these points, which we hope have been fairly stated, and to which we are inclined to give due weight, let us resume the subject of conceptions or concepts, partially examined in a previous part of this report.

When all the parts, attributes, marks, or qualities, etc., which make up an individual object, are brought together into one whole, we have a concept only in its depth or intention. If we give it a name—which for the present shall apply to this *one* object alone—the name calls up the conception, and we realize it by its *form* and *image*. Let us call it a *concrete* concept. At an earlier period the faculty of *comparison* is called into exercise. The understanding begins to elaborate the material which the perceptive faculty has received. The *terrier* with which the child has played so often resembles others which he meets, in so many particulars, that he instinctively applies the term *terrier* to each and all which bear the characteristic marks of this species. But to do this he has sacrificed so many individual characteristics, such as *form*, *size*, *color*, etc., that the concept thus extended has lost its power of presenting to the eye of the mind any *individual* of the species, and must continue so until to some *one* of the class the mind restores all the marks, qualities, or characteristics which have been *taken away*—that is, *abstracted*—from it. It extends to *many* individuals, but has deprived each of *many* characteristic marks. The concept or conception, thus considered, may be called *abstract*, and can not be realized by *form* or *image* as before.

But the work of abstraction does not stop here. Deprive this concept of a few of its marks, do the same with that of the *spaniel*, the *hound*, the *mastiff*, the *pointer*, etc., and the remaining marks unite in one higher concept, embracing each species directly and each individual indirectly, and thus we have the one concept of concepts, called *dog*. In a similar manner we rise to the higher concept *carnivora*; still higher to *mammalia*; and so on to *animal*; till at length we end in *thing* or *being*. And here we have an abstract concept of the highest order. Now it is perfectly obvious that, at every stage of advancement in this hierarchy of concepts, what is gained in one direction is lost in the other. At every stage

the concept is more difficult to be realized. Almost any child would shrink from the attempt to ascend the scale. And yet how often children must use such terms as *being*, *science*, *art*, etc., if they learn the definitions contained in books!

Now in the judgment of mature minds it is the peculiar merit of a text-book or treatise, that it is *comprehensive*; that is, that its terms are so *abstract* as so embrace the *whole* subject. And to a thoroughly disciplined mind, the test of an author's skill is his nice adjustment of these abstract terms. Hence you hear the commendation, "I admire the comprehensiveness of his rules and definitions." This is a commendation for any text-book. And that which makes it so good for the scholar is what makes it so bad for the child. He commits the beautifully comprehensive terms to the memory, but nothing to the understanding, simply because he has never been able to ascend the lofty scale of abstractions sufficiently high to reach the meaning.

All philosophy unites in condemning the practice of descending with children so deep into concrete forms as to draw out distinctions and terms which belong to science. Such work should be postponed.

What philosophy is that which would bid a child pass to the other extreme, and bear in his memory for years the names of conceptions which can be realized only by ascending through a continued series of abstractions?

The true philosophy would seem to be to begin with the concrete forms around us, and while we should be careful on the one hand not to penetrate too deep in our search of individual attributes and characteristics, we should be equally careful, on the other hand, not to rise too high into the regions of abstract thought, but advance in both directions as the growing capacities of the learner will admit.

With this aspect of our conceptions, let us examine the several arguments for committing to memory abstract statements as yet not understood.

That the committing to memory of such statements does furnish employment for the children all will admit. That the employment is a *good* one is not so clear. Yet it is better than none—always preferable to unmitigated idleness. Ragged and hungry children had better be employed in providing food and clothing for their prospective wants at the period of maturity rather than be allowed to roam the streets without occupation. But in looking upon their present pressing needs, you could but exclaim at the misfortune of their lot, when all around them the most attracting fields, with

rewards for present use, were inviting them to labor. So it is in school. Children may be fully occupied upon concrete forms which are fitted for present use, will contribute to their intellectual growth, and will give zest and enjoyment at the same time, and aid them in rising to the simpler abstractions.

As to the second argument, that the act of committing to memory even words is an exercise of the memory. We admit it, but can not call it a *good* one. How much better the exercise would be if at the same time thoughts were understood; how much more readily the memory would retain the expressions themselves; how much more philosophical and natural the associations; how much more healthful the habits which would ensue; and how needless the practice when the children can just as well be required to commit what they understand!

In respect to the cultivation of language enough has already been said. No more unphilosophical or ineffectual method could be adopted than to force upon the memory even the choicest expressions if they convey no thought.

It is true that mere expressions may be retained in the memory,—and it is also true that they may, after a time, yield their appropriate meaning,—but admitting this, how much better it would be for children to commit to memory what they can understand, what will administer to their present growth! Besides, the habits of retaining in the mind undigested expressions has, in one respect, a most pernicious effect. The mind becomes *hardened* into a state of intellectual indifference as to the meaning of words—a kind of mental dyspepsia which it is extremely difficult to eradicate. Then, again, instead of faint glimmerings of the true meaning, children are quite as apt to attach to abstract expressions fanciful, inappropriate, or absurd significations, which haunt and annoy them up to mature life. In all this we refer to expressions wholly beyond their capacity.

The time will come when children must deal with abstract thought presented in text-books; when instead of passing from objects to terms, from verities to statements, the order must be reversed; they must interpret terms, verify statements; in other words, draw thoughts from books. And this is an important part of school training. If wisely arranged, their studies will lie within their reach. The thoughts, though abstract, will not be found so high in the scale of conceptions as to be wholly beyond their capacity,—though higher, it may be, than they have as yet ascended. Shall they commit the statements of such thoughts to memory? That is, in preparing their lessons from books, if some passages shall not be



understood at the time, shall they, notwithstanding, be learned for discussion at the time of recitation ?

In many cases we should most certainly say yes ; not because, intrinsically, it is always the best thing for the learner, but from the necessities of the case, and because the struggle for possible thought, with the assurance that ultimate victory is near at hand, is always salutary. And here the skillful teacher will hold the problem before the learner in such a way that the relief itself shall be the reward of effort ; and this leads directly to the answer of the fifth point. The struggle will be healthful only when the thought is within the pupil's reach. Otherwise it will lead to discouragement or utter prostration.

We come now to consider a point which is strongly urged, especially by those of a conservative tendency,—namely, that the masterly thoughts of gifted minds, even though not understood, have the beneficial effect of inspiring reverence for standard authority, and in checking shallowness and conceit. Be it so. These are qualities that should receive the teacher's attention ; the one to be cultivated, the other suppressed. Every teacher should watch with jealous care all *moral* developments. But in a question of *intellectual* culture, let us not suffer any incidental issue to turn our thoughts from the main question.

Children and adults will, on all sides, come in contact with both the uncomprehended and incomprehensible. Providence has placed us in the midst of the vast and the sublimely great. We can not avoid being awe-struck and humbled. If, nevertheless, the young will persist in their conceits, administer whole pages of Butler's Analogy, but do it, just as a physician administers colchicum, for the purpose of depletion,—not to promote physical growth. In the processes of teaching the young to *comprehend* thought, we should never sacrifice time and strength by beginning with the highly abstract and difficult. The principles on this point have already been laid down.

We come now to the final question :—Does the plan pursued at Oswego conform to these general principles ?

We answer unhesitatingly—in the main it does. It may not be right in all its philosophy, or in all its practice. Whether the practice is better than the philosophy, or the philosophy than the practice, we will not pretend to say. Neither is it our object or purpose to appear as champions of the system, to defend it against attacks, or to cover up what is faulty. We simply appear to report it, and our opinions upon it, so far as the examinations of one week will enable us to do.

## OSWEGO SYSTEM OF OBJECT TEACHING.

But what is the Oswego system? The schools of the city—a city of some twenty-three thousand inhabitants—are divided into four grades—Primary, Junior, Senior, and High—corresponding to the Primary, Secondary or Intermediate, Grammar, and High schools of other cities. Besides these grades, there is an unclassified school continued through the year, to meet the wants of pupils who are not well adapted to the graded schools; and yet another kept in winter, to accommodate those who can attend only during that season. Each grade is subdivided into classes named in the order of rank from the lowest, C, B, A. Something like the object system was introduced in 1859. But in 1861 these peculiar features were more fully developed. Previous to the last date the schools were in session six hours per day. Since that time the daily sessions have been shortened one hour in all the schools.

The peculiar system called the “object system” was introduced at first into only the Primary grade. In 1861 it had gained so much favor with the School Board, that a Training School was established under the direction of Miss Jones, from the Home and Colonial Institution, London. At present the system has reached the Junior schools, and now prevails throughout the two lower grades.

The Training School, which forms a prominent feature of the system, is at present established in the Fourth Ward school building. Besides the Training School, this building contains a city Primary with its classes A, B, C,—a Junior A, B, C, and a Senior A, B, C. Each Primary and each Junior school throughout the city is provided with a permanent principal and permanent assistant for each of the classes. In the Fourth Ward schools, however, only one assistant is permanently appointed. The place of the second assistant is supplied from the Training School. The exercises in these two grades are the same throughout the city,—except in the building of the Training School, where additional exercises, hereafter to be described, are introduced. In this building, then, we shall find the ordinary lessons in “Object Teaching,” as well as the peculiar lessons of the Training School. Let us enter any Primary school at the beginning of the year, with the C class at the age of five, fresh from home life, for the first time to enter upon school duties. They come with their slates and pencils—and this is all. Their first exercise is not to face the alphabet arranged in vertical or horizontal column, and echo the names of the letters after the

teacher in response to the question,—“What is that?”—a question the teacher knows they can not answer, and, therefore, ought not to ask. But some familiar object—one of the boys of the class, it may be—is placed before them, and called upon to raise his hand—the class do the same. This is beginning with the known. Then he is called upon to raise his right hand. This may be an advance into the obscurely known; the class do the same if they can make the proper distinction; if not, the first lesson marks *clearly* the distinction between the right hand and the left. Something *real* and *tangible* is done. The children can now distinguish between the right ear and the left ear, the right eye and the left eye. Here is acquired knowledge *applied*.

But what of their slates? The teacher may first give a lesson—*practical*, of course—on the use of the slate and pencil. Standing at the blackboard, she utters the sound represented by some letter, as *t*. The class utters it. They repeat it till the sound becomes a distinct object to the ear. She then prints upon the board the letter *t*. This becomes an object to the eye. She points to it and gives the sound—they repeat the sound. She points again—they repeat. She gives the sound—they point. Two objects are *associated*. Now in their seats the letter *t* is to be made upon their slates till the next lesson is given. In this second lesson an advance is made upon the parts of the human body, or another sound,—as the short sound of *a* is given, then the character as before. Now the two sounds are put together,—then the two letters. Two objects are *combined*, and we have the word *at*. But before this lesson is given the children go through with a series of physical exercises. Perhaps, next, the whole class is sent to the sides of the room. Here is a narrow shelf answering both as a table and a ledge to the blackboard. Under this are apartments containing beans. The children take them one by one and count. They arrange them in sets of two or three, etc. They unite one and one—that is, bean to bean—one and two, etc. They take away one from two, one from three, and so on. They now return to their seats and make marks upon their slates to take the place of the beans. In short, this Primary room is a busy workshop—not one idle moment.

One year is passed in this manner. The children have learned many useful lessons; have mastered a set of Reading Cards;—have learned to spell many words involving the short sounds of the vowels and most of the consonants. They have lessons on form and color; on place and size; on drawing, or moral conduct; and these are changed once in two weeks.



They are now promoted to the B class. They commence reading from the primer. They can write upon their slates and form tables. They have object lessons more difficult and more interesting. They can read the statement of the facts developed as they are drawn off upon the board. They can write them themselves. They now learn to make their own record of facts upon their slates. Their written work is examined and criticised. They read their own statements, and do it with ease and naturalness, because the thoughts are their own. They learn to represent numbers with figures. They make out numerical tables for addition and subtraction, not by copying, but by actual combinations with beans or otherwise. They thus *realize* these tables. In short, a mingling of object lessons with writing, spelling, reading, singing, physical exercise, adding, subtracting, multiplying, dividing, elementary geography, and natural history, occupies their attention through the first three years. All the lessons are given objectively. The children *realize* what they learn; and this is not the mere theory of the system—it is, in the main, the *actual* working of the plan. The schools are not all equally good. The teachers are not all equally imbued with the spirit of the system. There were failures. There were misconceptions of the objects aimed at, and misconceptions of the method of reaching it. There were given lessons which were superior,—even brilliant. Others were fair,—perhaps moderate.

In the Junior grade similar but more advanced lessons are given, until the pupils are prepared for the Senior schools, where these peculiar characteristics cease. As to the time occupied by these peculiar lessons,—or general exercises,—it should be said that two exercises per day are given of from fifteen to thirty minutes each in the Primary schools, and one only in the Junior. And yet be it remembered that all the exercises in the ordinary school work are intended to be true object lessons.

Let us now pass to the Training School. Here, it should be borne in mind, are regular Primary and Junior schools under permanent teachers, who act the part both of model teachers and critics before the members of the Normal School—or Training class. The members of this class become alternately pupils and teachers, known under the name of pupil-teachers. At the beginning of the term they are assigned to act as assistants one half-day and as pupils the other, alternating with each other during the term, so that each may go through every exercise. The regular teacher gives a lesson to the class. The assistants observe and mark the methods as models for imitation both as respects the steps in the lesson, and

the management of the class under instruction. One of the assistants—a pupil-teacher—next gives a lesson. She is now under a double criticism; first, from her equals—the other pupil-teachers present; and second, from the regular teacher. She is not doing *fictitious*, but *real* teaching. She has not first to imagine that a class of adults is a class of children, and then she is to give a specimen lesson. Nor has she a class of specimen children. She has a class of children sent to school for *real* purposes, by parents who entertain other views than to have their sons and daughters made mere subjects for experimenting.

There is work under the feeling of responsibility, with all the natural desire to succeed—nay, to excel. Under these circumstances, the merits or demerits of her lesson will be pretty surely made known to her.

The superiority of this plan over any other for Normal training is obvious. Some of these pupil-teachers evinced great presence of mind and no little skill.

But now the scene changes; these pupil-teachers return to the room of the Training class, and their places are supplied by the retiring set. In this room the theory of teaching is discussed, and exemplified by practical lessons given by the Normal teachers to small classes of children brought in from the Primary or Junior grades. These lessons are to be drawn off by the class and examined as illustrations of the theory. Then, again, a pupil is called upon to give a lesson to a similar class,—while both the Training class and teacher act as critics. The points of excellence and of defect are freely discussed, and practical hints as to the method of the lesson, its effect upon the class, etc., etc., are freely given. Under this kind of training a most efficient corps of teachers is prepared to fill all vacancies, and give increased vitality to the schools throughout the city.

The system has been modified from time to time as new suggestions have come up, or as theoretic plans have been tested. Farther experience will undoubtedly result in other changes.

The lessons in the English language had some points of great merit.

The habit of *writing* exercises by all the pupils every hour of the day can not fail to secure ease of expression with the pen. And with the incessant care that is practiced at the outset by the teachers to secure neatness and order in the writing, correctness in the use of capitals and punctuation marks, accuracy of expression and faultless spelling, is laying a most excellent foundation for a high order of scholarship.

The opportunity for cultivating correct habits of conversation, which is afforded during the object lessons, does more than any other one thing to promote a good use of language in speaking. The children are uttering living thought and not text-book language. Their own habits of using words come out conspicuously, and are made subjects of cultivation.

The more formal lessons in language were, in the main, admirably conducted. Here the teacher made use of objects present, or the conceptions of familiar objects absent, and accepted for the time any or all of the various expressions employed by the pupils to enumerate their ideas of the same action or event. Then came the question of a final choice among them all. A box was moved along the table, and the children gave—"The box *moves*, is *pushed*, is *shoved*, *slides*, etc." A very large majority chose the expression "*slides*."

Occasionally the sentences and forms of expression had a bookish aspect, and lacked spontaneousness; and there were enough of these, if captiously seized upon, to make the method appear ridiculous. So again expressions and terms were sometimes evolved, which would not be out of place in a scientific treatise. These were accepted of course. But if used too frequently, they would seem like the coat of a young man placed upon a mere boy. These, however, at most were but spots on the face of the sun. The whole plan was admirable in theory and in practice.

The spelling exercises were multiplied and varied. The children had regular spelling lessons. They wrote words upon the slate. They wrote on the board. They spelled orally for the teacher when she wrote, and they spelled on all occasions.

On the whole, the view which Mr. Camp, the Superintendent of Public Schools for the State of Connecticut, a member of this Committee, gives of his observations on Object Teaching, were fully confirmed here. He says:—"Having had an opportunity to observe the methods pursued in Object Teaching in Boston, Mass., Oswego, N. Y., Patterson, N. J., and at Toronto and Montreal, Canada, and in connection with other methods in some other places, I will, at your request, give the results as they appeared to me. Whenever this system has been confined to elementary instruction, and has been employed by skillful, thorough teachers, in unfolding and disciplining the faculties, in fixing the attention, and awakening thought, it has been successful. Pupils trained under this system have evinced more of quickness and accuracy of perception, careful observation, and a correctness of judgment which results from accurate



discrimination and proper comparisons. They have seemed much better acquainted with the works of nature, and better able to understand allusions to nature, art, and social life, as found in books. But when 'Object Lessons' have been made to supplant the use of books in higher instruction, or when scientific knowledge has been the principal object sought in these lessons, the system has not been successful, so far as I have been able to observe the results."

In conclusion it should be said, that it is no small commendation of the system, that all the ground formerly gone over in the two lower grades is accomplished now in the same time, and that in daily sessions of five hours instead of six. The plan renders school life to the little children far less irksome than before. The teachers generally, who have adopted and practiced it, give it their unqualified approval. The Board of Education and their intelligent and indefatigable Superintendent see no cause to return to the old methods, but, on the contrary, are more and more pleased with its practical working. That the citizens of a town, in former years not specially noted for literary or educational progress, should from year to year sustain and encourage it, nay, take an honest pride in increasing the facilities for carrying it forward, is proof positive that it has intrinsic merit. And finally, that the State of New York should make ample provision to support its Training School, shows that the thinking men of the State see in the system something more than mere tinsel and outward show.

## OBJECT TEACHING.

BY E. A. SHELDON, OSWEGO, N. Y.

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IN opening the discussion on this occasion, on what is sometimes technically called "Object Teaching," I propose first very briefly to state the principles upon which the methods thus indicated are based. Secondly to consider some of the difficulties that lie in the way of the progress of these reformed methods of teaching, and the best way of removing them; and lastly consider the true aim and limit of these methods as applied to the development of the early faculties of childhood.

We assume first that education should embrace the united, harmonious development of the *whole being*, the *moral*, the *physical*, and the *intellectual*; and that no one of these should be urged forward to the neglect or at the expense of the other. We likewise assume that there is a natural order in the evolution of the human faculties, and also of appliances for their development, a knowledge of which is essential to the highest success in education; that the perceptive faculties are the first and most strongly developed and upon them are based all future acquirements; that just in proportion as they are quick and accurate in receiving impressions, will all the future processes of education and outgrowing attainments be easy and rapid, and ever prove unfailing sources of delight; and hence they should be the first to receive distinctive and special culture. To this we may add that childhood has certain marked and distinctive characteristics which should never be lost sight of in all our dealings with children. Among the more prominent of these are activity, love of sympathy, and a desire for constant variety. In the natural order of subjects we recognize as first, mathematics, including a consideration of form, size, and number; second, physics, including objects in nature, their sensible qualities and properties, and third, language, including oral and written expression, reading and spelling.

We have thus stated, as concisely as possible, the very first steps in this natural order, upon which must be based all successful educational efforts; for the limited time allotted to this paper reminds

us of the necessity of confining ourselves closely to the point under discussion.

It would be not a little interesting to trace the natural relation of these two orders throughout a complete educational course, nor would it be entirely foreign to our subject; but this would lead us into too broad a field of investigation, and be liable to divert the discussion from the point particularly before us. We will not stop now to consider in detail the method best adapted to the development of the infant faculties, but will advert to them after considering briefly a few of the more prominent obstacles that lie in the way of the most successful progress of these improved methods of teaching. And in this connection we remark first, that the very title by which these methods are popularly designated is open to serious objection. It is true that the term "Object Teaching" is, to a certain extent, suggestive of the real character of these early processes, in that we are continually dealing with tangible objects and illustrations, but it is liable to be taken in a too limited sense. Instead of embracing a large number of subjects, and covering the entire field of the early culture of the faculties, many have taken it to mean nothing more than miscellaneous lessons on objects. These lessons often clumsily given by those who have no knowledge of correct principles, and who therefore continually violate them, have led many to condemn the whole system, and thus in certain quarters to bring it into disrepute.

Again, book speculators are continually making use of the term as a catch word, for the purpose of disposing of their wares; thus imposing upon the uninitiated, and bringing into discredit methods of which these books are the farthest possible from being the representatives. In this way old books have received new title pages, and new books with old methods have been christened with the catch word, "Object Lessons," or "On the Object Plan;" and what is lamentable, multitudes know not the difference between the *name* and the *thing*. In this way much mischief has already been done, and much more is yet to be experienced.

Realizing these objections, some have proposed to change the name, substituting a term more comprehensive and less liable to objection. But this change of names will only subject publishers to an additional expense of new title pages, and will not wholly obviate the evils referred to. Our plan would be to drop all specific names, and speak of all improved, natural or philosophical methods of teaching as such, and let the great effort be to infuse right principles into the minds of teachers, to lead them to study the mental



moral and physical constitution of children, and the best method of bringing this treble nature out in harmonious development. In this lies our only hope of any substantial improvement in educational processes.

This leads me to consider secondly, as a serious obstacle lying in the way of the proposed reformation, the ignorance of teachers upon the points just referred to, and their disposition to study *methods* rather than *principles*. Now, any proper system of education must be based upon philosophical principles, upon a knowledge of the natural order of development of the being to be educated, in his mental, moral and physical constitution, and the corresponding appliances for promoting such growth; and no one can hope for success who does not clearly comprehend these principles. The first effort then on the part of teachers should be to study *principles*, and then the *mode* of applying them. The reverse of this is the course now being pursued in this country. Teachers are endeavoring to imitate models from books, rather than making themselves first familiar with the principles upon which these methods are based, and then using these models as aids in applying them. The only remedy for this evil, as it seems to us, is the establishment of Training Schools for the *professional* education of teachers. Not schools in which the branches are taught, but where the whole aim and effort shall be to impart a *practical* knowledge of the science of education and the art of applying it. In these schools should be exhibited the highest excellence in the art of teaching. There should also be schools of practice where the students shall have abundant opportunity for applying the instruction they receive, and the methods they observe.

Who would think of employing a man who never had any practice in carpentry to build the house he designed as a permanent home for himself and his children, although he might be perfectly familiar with all the books ever written on this subject? We require that our mechanics have not only the rules of their trades, but the practice also, before we presume to employ them, and this too even in the more unimportant arts. They must serve an apprenticeship—a term that implies years of careful observation, study and practice.

They must not only become familiar with all the tools used in their trade, and the exact use to be made of each, but they must also become skilled in using them. And not only must the apprentice know his tools, and know how to use them, before he is entrusted with any important work away from the eye of his master,

but must also have a thorough and exact knowledge of the character and composition of the materials used in his art; their strength, durability, and solidity, that he may know how always to adapt them to the exact place they are to occupy. Without this knowledge the sculptor with a wrong tool, or the wrong use of the right one, a little too heavy a blow of the mallet, or the artist with a wrong pigment, or a wrong stroke of the pencil, may ruin his subject. The mechanic by the omission of a single brace, or the use of a wrong timber, or one composed of weak, perishable material, or by the putting together of materials composed of different powers of contraction and expansion, may ruin his edifice and endanger many lives, or much valuable property. In view of these facts we are all agreed as to the importance of a thorough apprenticeship in all the mechanic arts and trades. In the professions too, in law, medicine, surgery, a special professional education is deemed indispensable. What intelligent person would employ a quack to tamper with his own life or the lives and health of his family, or entrust a case involving large interests in the hands of an unread and unskilled lawyer? Who would entrust the amputation of a limb to the hands of one not conversant with the anatomy of the human frame, or unskilled in the use of the knife? If then so much importance is attached to the careful preparation of the various artisans and men of other professions, for their work, (and no one can say that its importance is over-estimated,) what shall be said of the wickedness and folly of employing both *ignorant* and *unskilled* hands to form and fashion this noblest of all God's creations—the immortal mind! Is it that the mind is less intricate, or of less importance than the body, that we have been in the habit of entrusting its cultivation to the uneducated and untrained? This certainly can not be the reason. The one is like the grass that springeth up in the morning, and in the evening is cut down, while the other is immortal and is freighted with interests of the most momentous character—interests linked with the destinies of mankind for time and for eternity. The human mind is composed of elements the most subtle and complicated, yet capable of being analyzed, and each assigned its appropriate place and function, as also the order and method of its evolution. These faculties do not, like the mineral, grow by accretion, but by their natural use; and ill-timed, or under exercise, or a neglect of the proper use at the proper time, are alike prejudicial; and no one has any right to undertake the work of developing these faculties until he knows something of their real character, their functions, the order in which

they manifest themselves, and the appliances best calculated to develop them and give them strength.

No mistakes can be made here that are not serious in their character. As is a too heavy blow from the mallet, or a wrong use of the pencil, or the use of the wrong material to the statue, the painting or the edifice, so a mistake made here, an undue strain of a faculty yet weak, and but faintly developed, or the neglect of those still in full and active vigor, if not fatal in its consequences, is due only to the recuperative power of the mind to overcome injuries inflicted.

A common error committed in Object Teaching is in converting exercises that should be strictly for development, into instruction in abstract science. Now the aim of all these early lessons should be to quicken the perceptions, and give them accuracy, awaken thought and cultivate language. To this end the senses must be exercised on the sensible qualities and properties of objects; and when the consideration of these objects goes beyond the reach of the senses, then of course, the exercise ceases to be a development exercise, and becomes either an exercise of the memory or of some of the higher faculties. All these early lessons then should be confined to objects, their parts, qualities and properties that come clearly within the reach of the senses of the children, and no generalizations should include any thing more than such objects and their qualities. Definitions should in no case go beyond the mere description of the actual perceptions of the children. These points we regard of vital importance, and that we may be clearly understood, we will be a little more definite, and indicate just where we would begin, and how far we would go in carrying out the leading exercises employed. In the theory we have presented, these should consist of lessons on Form, Size and Number as belonging to mathematics; of lessons on Objects, Animals, Plants, Color, and Place or Geography, as belonging to Natural History, and lessons on language, including oral and written expression, reading and spelling.

And here I trust I shall be pardoned for presenting my views on these points in nearly the words of a report on this subject presented last week at the Annual meeting of the New York State Teachers' Association. In lessons in number the children should be held long and closely to the simple combination of objects, and hence must be confined to numbers that come fairly within the range of the perceptions.

The lessons on Form should be confined to the observation and description of some of the more simple and common forms in na-



ture. Here we must guard against abstractions; the mere memorizing of definitions that go beyond the observations of the children. As we have already said, definitions should be nothing more than mere descriptions, a remark that applies equally to all kindred subjects of instruction. The lessons on Size consist of nothing more than the actual measurement of various objects and distances, and the simple exercise of the judgment in the application of the knowledge thus gained.

In lessons in Color, the children may be led to observe, discriminate and name the leading colors and their tints and shades, and apply them to the description of objects in nature. This will add largely to their stock of language, and greatly aid them in their future lessons. It is worthy of remark just here, that the deficiency in terms to express in our language distinctions in color is one that is deeply felt, and any effort at improvement in this direction should receive our hearty encouragement. Beyond this the children may be indulged in mixing colors, to observe how the various colors are produced from the primaries, and finally their intuitive perceptions of the harmony of colors may be called out. Not that any attempt should be made to teach the scientific law underlying the harmony of colors, but they simply observe that "certain colors look well together."

In lessons on Place or Elementary Geography, the attention of the child is confined to a consideration of that part of the earth which he sees in his daily walks, its physical and industrial features, the various grouping and relation of objects to each other and himself, as a preparation for the consideration of what lies beyond his own immediate neighborhood. In lessons on animals and plants we begin by calling attention to the parts, position, and finally, uses of parts. At the next step, in lessons on animals, the children are led to consider something of characteristics and habits, and *finally* of adaptation of parts to habits. The children are continually exercised in close and accurate observation, by means of specimens or pictures, and to a limited extent from given or tangible facts and phenomena, to draw conclusions, thus calling forth the, as yet, feeble powers of reason. In some of these later lessons some little knowledge of the natural history of the animals considered, is also imparted. All these lessons are given on the more familiar quadrupeds and birds, either those inhabiting the immediate neighborhood, or of which they have been made acquainted by information. Some attention has also been given by the teacher to the order in which these lessons have been presented, grouping together, or rather giv-

ing in succession, lessons belonging to the same class or order. Thus far, however, the children have no realizing sense of any such design. After having gone over in this way with a few of the leading types of each order of mammals, they are led to associate in natural groups or orders the animals that have constituted the subjects of these lessons, aided by the knowledge they have acquired of their characteristic parts and habits. These systematic lessons, however, are confined to mammals and birds, as being more familiar to the children. For variety an occasional lesson may be given on a fish, an insect, a reptile, or a shell, those somewhat familiar to the children, but a large proportion of the animals belonging to these and the lower subdivisions of the animal kingdom are farther removed from the child's immediate sphere of observation, and therefore the basis of the classification is less apparent.

In "Lessons on Objects" proper, as distinct from "Lessons on Animals and Plants," the first lessons should be on objects of the most familiar character, and for a long time their attention should only be called to the simple parts and their position. This involves no use of difficult terms, but at the same time cultivates observation and the power of accurate expression. At the next step some of the more simple and common qualities are added. At a further step more occult qualities, requiring more close and careful observation, and such as are brought out by experiment, may be introduced; also, to a limited extent, the adaptation of qualities, material or structure, to use, may be considered. At a still more advanced stage, some information in regard to the objects considered may be brought in, as also a *simple classification* of the objects and qualities considered. In connection with all these lessons, the cultivation of language should be made one of the leading points; commencing with the simplest oral expressions, leading on to written reproductions, and finally to consecutive narrative.

This leads us directly to a consideration of *language*, the subject next in order. It was a favorite maxim of Pestalozzi, that "The *first* object in education must be to lead a child to *observe with accuracy*; the *second*, to *express with correctness* the result of his observations." Again, "*ideas first*, and language afterward." That there is a natural connection between thought and speech, observation and expression, there can be no reasonable doubt. Who has not observed that children always seek a name for every new object of discovery, and are never satisfied until they receive it? It is, in fact, out of this necessity of our nature, that language has grown up, expanded and enlarged, to keep pace with the growth of

ideas. Bacon has well said, "Men believe their reason to be lord over their words; but it often happens too, that words exercise a reciprocal and reactionary power over our intellect. Words, as a Tartar's bow, shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment."

Again, of what practical advantage would be the careful cultivation of observation, without a corresponding power of expression? Ideas unuttered are valueless to all but their possessor, but well expressed, they are a power to move the world. Like the ripple started on the surface of the placid lake, their influence is felt to the remotest shores of time. Now as observation is cultivated by careful and constant use, so is language by the frequent expression of ideas. But how is the child to acquire this power of language, or what is the process and order of this acquisition? This is an interesting question, and deserves an intelligent answer. Here, as in everything else, we must go back to nature, if we would make no mistakes. Observe then the child in his first utterances. His first efforts at speech are to articulate the names of those persons, objects and actions, bearing the most immediate relation to his desires and necessities; the names of pa and ma, the articles of food and drink, the different members of the household, and familiar objects about him. Next in order come action-words.

Neither name nor action-words are as yet qualified, but these quality words follow slowly along.

The third step is reached before the time of school life begins. However, when the transfer is made from the nursery to the school-room, this vocabulary must be enlarged to keep pace with the growth of ideas. Observing then the order already indicated, we begin with the names of objects, the wholes and their parts. Next come the names of the properties and qualities of objects, proceeding, of course, from the most simple to the more difficult. But is it asked to what extent are these terms to be given? We answer most unhesitatingly, *just so far as the child feels the necessity for their use, and has the power to apply them.* But it is objected that "The use of words can not be long kept up or remembered by the children, that are above the current language of the circle in which they move."

We can say with that assurance that springs from careful observation and experience, that they are governed quite as much in the application of these terms, and consequently in their familiarity with them, by the necessity they experience for their use in the description of objects about them, and in the expression of their per



ceptions, as by the language of the home circle, or immediate associates. To this may be added the fact that for five hours in the day, and five days in the week, and this for several successive years, they live in the atmosphere of the school-room, where these terms are "current language," and the children from the humblest homes readily incorporate them into their own dialect. Were not these *facts*, there would be poor encouragement for the teacher to labor to improve the diction, manners or morals of the poorer classes.

The success of every good school located in such unfortunate neighborhood, in elevating the children in all these points, is sufficient to substantiate this position. On what other principle can we account for the elevation of successive generations and races of men above their immediate ancestors? And how else can we account for the growth of language? We must depend upon the school to exert a refining, civilizing influence, and that too above and beyond the immediate "circle in which they move." Now in the language of the masses of the people there is a great dearth of terms descriptive of the properties and qualities of objects. How and where is this defect to be remedied? We answer emphatically, by the *cultivation of language in the schools*. We have already stated that language as the expression of ideas, bears an important relation to their development and growth, and therefore that the two should be carried on contemporaneously. We should, therefore, as we proceed with the exercises in developing ideas, give the terms expressive of those ideas, always using, however, those terms which are most simple, and at the same time expressive of the perceptions to be indicated. In all these exercises reference should be had to the mental status of the children; never giving any more than can be readily comprehended and appropriated. In these and all other school exercises, the answers of the children should be incorporated into full and complete expressions. As they advance they will take pleasure in reproducing their object lessons on their slates. This should always be encouraged, and should become a daily and regular exercise. Where this course is pursued the children will early acquire the power of easy and elegant diction, and readiness in composition.

The subject of reading is one surrounded with many difficulties. These, it is the business of the teacher to so divide and classify as to present but one difficulty at a time, and make the successive steps easy and pleasurable to the child. The difficulties that meet the young learner at the very threshold, are the number of different sounds represented by the same character, the number of different characters representing the same sound, the representation of the

same sound sometimes by one character and sometimes by another, and sometimes by a combination of characters, and the frequent use of silent letters. To obviate these difficulties he should not for a long time be confused with more than a single form to a single sound. With twenty-three characters and the same number of sounds a large amount of reading matter, consisting of easy simple words, may be given. It is better to commence with the small forms of the letters, as they are better adapted for general use. When the children become familiar with these, the capitals may be introduced. Gradually new sounds may be brought in, and with them new words. A few words may be learned as words, to enable us to fill up the reading matter. In connection with the Object Lessons, also, new words are being continually learned. By this process, in which the children are able to help themselves at every step of their progress, they ever find fresh delight. By a simple plan of classification, in which words of like anomalies are brought together, and which the children at first dictate themselves, the work of spelling is made one of the most pleasing, and animated exercises in the school-room. These words are both spelled orally and written upon the slate. The plan we have suggested, of which we have been able only to give the merest outline, we have found a very rapid and thorough one in teaching children to read and spell, and in its details strictly Pestalozzian.

We have thus briefly alluded to a few of the leading exercises, and the extent to which they should be employed in the development of the early faculties of childhood, that our position may be definitely understood, and for the reason that we believe them liable to much abuse.

# OBJECT SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION

AS PURSUED IN THE SCHOOLS OF OSWEGO.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

IN consenting to the publication of the following paper, read before the National Association of Teachers, at its last meeting, I am constrained, in justice to myself, to prefix a brief statement of the circumstances under which it was prepared.

Some two years since, I delivered an address before the New York State Teachers' Association. On that occasion I gave some account of my own peculiar work, the instruction of idiots. And as it seemed to me that my experience had some practical relations to the audience before me and to the topics just then somewhat prominent in the minds of American educators, I ventured to make the proper application. The "object system of instruction," so-called, was referred to at some length, and I indulged in some passing criticisms upon the peculiar methods of instruction adopted by the Home and Colonial Society of England, which some persons were laboring to introduce into this country.

That I was not a conservative in an obnoxious sense in my educational views, an outline of what was then said upon these two points will sufficiently show.

I attempted to set forth the doctrine, by implication rather than by any very distinct enunciation, that there were two kinds of knowledge, the one which may be styled natural and the other conventional. I remarked that the education related to the former began where instinct ceases, and consisted of a judicious ministering of the proper aliment to the intuitive powers. And I endeavored to point out the true function of the teacher, in respect to this natural education.

I then added that, as in point of time, so in harmony with the natural order of development of the human faculties, was it fit and proper that the acquisition of natural should precede that of conventional knowledge, and that the former was the best foundation for the superstructure of the latter. The summary statement of my argument upon the subject was, "that we should educate the senses and through the senses, the intelligence and will, and then apply and subordinate the engendered habits of accurate observation and the cultivated intellectual activity and power to a proper method of acquiring the elementary studies and their outgrowing attainments."

It seemed to me then that, if these views were correct, they had a twofold application. In the first place, that our system of primary school instruction, confining itself, as it had hitherto done, mainly to elementary studies of a conventional character, should be modified by the introduction of a preliminary class of exercises, designed especially to cultivate the faculties of observation. That the elementary branches should be taught in such a manner as not to blunt the perceptive faculties. Of course, the natural outgrowth of these two provisions would be, that the apparent acquirements of the school-room would represent the actual mental power and knowledge of the pupils.

In the second place, sympathizing, as I have before said, fully with the aims of those seeking reform in the principles and methods of elementary instruction, I yet could not fail to see or avoid making an application of the principles I had developed, to the correction of certain grievous errors some of these well disposed friends of education had fallen into.



I know how short is the usual school-attending period of the great mass of the children for whom our school system is framed. Avoiding, therefore, all educational scheming, I would have that system so sound in its principles, and so judicious in its methods, that it may leave these children, on the threshold of the apprentice stage of life, with all their natural endowments so brought into willing and active exercise by preliminary training, that nothing in the whole world of relation, designed for their improvement or pleasure, should be thereafter unappropriated; that by its thorough drill in the strictly elementary branches of learning, it should so furnish them with the keys to all educational knowledge, that their future attainments should be limited only by the necessities of their peculiar lot.

In noticing the English system of instruction mentioned, I dwelt mainly upon what I then regarded as its error in the introduction of science at too early a stage in the work of education, not only in the form of positive science, but in the scientific aspect in which the common matters of daily life and observation were treated, and also the abuse of language involved in their practice.

The errors into which I feared the over-zealous advocates of the "object system" might fall proved to be no chimeras. An evil, which, with the respect I felt for American teachers, I then deprecated as somewhat remote, has become more imminent. A foreign educational scheme, partial, bigoted, and unphilosophical, is now naturalized in the country, and its universal propagation demanded by zealous advocates. The "Oswego System" is the new impress that is to give it currency on this side the water.

To increase the deception, the very text-books of the English system have been brought over and (to the scandal of American publishers it must be confessed) with no alteration, save a little upsetting and a turning wrong end foremost of here and there a section, have been issued as of American authorship.

Impulsive friends of education have somewhat indiscreetly indorsed it, by speaking of Oswego as "the Mecca of American teachers;" and of the movement as "a reform which is welcomed by the best minds of the age, which has been prophesied and prayed for by the best lights of other years."

Even some persons, who should have been more discriminating, looking only at the motives of its partisans, have good naturedly given it a vague countenance, as ladies sometimes give a "character" to a stupid or shiftless domestic, who "means well."

Besides, in the State of New York, legislation has been successfully invoked to establish a school for training teachers in the methods of a foreign school society—of dubious reputation at home—outside of its Normal School, which is supposed to have been created for the very purpose of educating teachers in the most approved methods of instruction of every grade and wherever originating.

With these circumstances in view, when invited to prepare a paper for the last meeting of the National Association of Teachers, on the "Object System," a sense of duty constrained me to accept. And I ventured on a discussion of the subject which I knew must be inadequate, if for no other reasons, that I was precluded from presenting the most obvious objections to the system, inasmuch as I had done this on a previous occasion, and because also the invitation I received from the Executive Committee of the Association rather limited me to a half hour and which I endeavored not to transcend.

THE OSWEGO SYSTEM OF OBJECT INSTRUCTION.

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THE topic assigned me for the present half hour is the "Object System" of instruction. To avoid all misapprehension, I may say at the outset, that I shall confine myself mainly to some thoughts in connection with what is called in this country the "Oswego System." This is substantially a system of instruction transplanted from England, and known there as the Home and Colonial Society's system of instruction. The circumstances attending the adoption of this foreign system on this side of the water need not be stated, except in the most general terms. The zealous Superintendent of the public schools of Oswego, (whom I need not name,) in common with many holding similar relations to the schools of other cities, felt the need of some change in the methods of instruction prevailing in the primary departments. The want he felt he thought well supplied by the English system alluded to. With zeal and energy he set himself to the task of introducing it in his own proper field of labor. He has accomplished this—and more. We find the same system now urged upon the friends of education everywhere for a similar adoption. And so it comes fairly before a National Association of Teachers for discussion.

It hardly need be said to those who are familiar with the history of the educational reform, inaugurated in this country nearly forty years ago, that the new want I have spoken of, as being generally felt by a certain class, was not to be satisfied by the search for, or the finding of any new principles of education.

The new problem offered to those interested was, how shall we apply, in the earlier stages of school instruction, most wisely and most fruitfully, principles of education generally recognized and acknowledged in this country?

I say generally recognized and acknowledged in this country. This is not too much to say, for here more than elsewhere—almost only here—were sound principles and methods of instruction generally prevalent. The reasons are obvious. The American mind is unusually active upon educational subjects, for theoretically our republican form of government is based upon universal education, and an education not peculiar to a caste or rank in society. Again, the great majority of our educated men have been practical teachers for longer or shorter periods of their lives. Look for a moment at the history of education during the period mentioned, a history adorned

with the names of many eminent men. A history that furnishes abundant evidence of much thought in the elucidation of principles and in the devising of methods. Notice the machinery of the educational movement; the essays and discussions, the public addresses and the multiplied associations for mutual improvement; the Teachers' institutes and the Normal schools; the literature of the profession of the teacher embracing everything worthy of record, whether in the way of personal thought or individual experience, the world being tributary; not forgetting the periodical contributions from every quarter. Further, mark the resulting evidence of all this labor well performed in the general public interest, in the judicious legislation, and in the wonderful improvement in text-books. And again, notice the light incidentally furnished by special systems of education. The result of this general awakening in the public mind upon the subject of education, I hardly need to say, though reaching to the principles most fundamental, was not manifested by measures violent, hasty, or subversive. The reform kept step with the advance of an enlightened public sentiment, if at times it were one step in advance. It were well if the future waves of improvement in the same direction should roll as quietly and steadily forward on the shores of coming time.

But a graded system of school instruction brings out a new want. A large class of children are brought together, with little or no previous instruction, and almost too young for the continuous attention and thought required to master the elementary branches of the school-room, as taught in the ordinary way. They are deprived of those educational influences that so pervaded the atmosphere of the school-room of mixed grades and which insinuated themselves into every avenue to the active mind of childhood. They are now dependent for improvement upon the exercise of their own intuitive powers and upon the resources of the teacher.

We need not stop to discuss the question, whether, viewed in relation to the proper orderly and harmonious development of their faculties, these children should be in school at all, thus early, for in school they are. And so it happens, that under the new circumstances, that which should be the work of nature, is brought within the function of the teacher, and accordingly new topics and methods of instruction must be introduced. It hardly need be pointed out with what extreme diffidence we should approach any task that involves any interference with nature's methods, or how zealous should be the endeavor when such interference is necessitated to follow her analogous teachings, and how promptly we should cease our inter-



ference at the first moment practicable. The natural channels to the pupil's mind are first to be opened before they can be used for receiving or imparting instruction. Again, the natural avenues are to be used before what may be called the conventional ones are brought in requisition. And so the powers of observation and speech (or spoken language) are to be cultivated before any positive instruction in reading and writing is attempted. Cultivated it should be remembered for purposes and ends mainly practical and disciplinary. Has it occurred to those of you who have seen blind children spelling out with busy fingers and delighted faces the page of raised letters and thus receiving food for their active minds through a channel wrought out for them by the agency of a sense perverted from its legitimate function, that in teaching ordinary children to read from the printed, or written page, the same thing is substantially done; that is, the eye is made to perform the natural office of the ear—that a new gift is imparted.

One result of bringing together children of the same grade is, to bring out more distinctly the class mental peculiarities, the class educational needs, and so more obviously the proper modes of meeting those needs. I have elsewhere stated, in a summary way, my idea of the scope and aim of a proper elementary education, which I will venture to reproduce. "That we should educate the senses and through the senses, the intelligence and will, and then apply and subordinate the engendered habits of accurate observation and the cultivated intellectual activity and power, to proper methods of acquiring the elementary studies and their outgrowing attainments."

In seeking to accomplish the ends thus defined, the main reliance of the educator is upon a proper study and comprehension of the characteristics of childhood, the natural order, mode, and rate of development of the childish faculties. The proof of this is furnished by recalling any synoptical statement of the principles of education, and noticing how many of them relate to these very points. It is of importance to remember this because much time and labor have been lately wasted in devising methods of instruction based upon foundations merely speculative, and some injury done by attempting to put these methods in practice. I may illustrate this by citing two or three forms of theoretical error in this regard representing quite a diversity of opinion—all "idols of the cave."

The first of these is a method based upon a theory that every child must "rediscover for himself the truths and results to be acquired in each department of knowledge undertaken by the learner," and the corollary from this, "that no truth or knowledge which is

in its nature a consequent on some other truths or knowledge can by any possibility be in reality attained by any mind, until after that mind has first secured and rightly appreciated those antecedent truths or knowings." This involves, it will be observed, a form of instruction always absolutely synthetical. This is partially true—true as far as intuitive education is concerned and true no farther.

Another error, not unheard of by this Association, is a theory that there is a rational order of development in the course of the sciences, and that it ought to be followed in common education; for the reason that it is claimed that this order of succession in the sciences corresponds precisely to the order of evolution of the faculties. Now this is an assumption based upon the most fanciful analogies, but as I find it asserted with great emphasis, in a report to which my own name is signed, I leave it for others to deal with.

One other theory deserves a passing notice. It will be found elaborated by Herbert Spencer and cropping out quite generally in the essays and discussions that have since appeared upon educational topics. After admitting the distinction between education as relates to discipline and to the value of the knowledge acquired, he at once assumes that what is best for the one end is also best for the other. He then proceeds to develop a scheme for education based upon the relative and practical uses of knowledge. If his course of reasoning proves anything it proves that physiology should be the first study of childhood, then the means of getting a livelihood, then the treatment of offspring and the government of children, and finally the study of social science.

Let me now examine briefly the mode in which the Oswego System aims to accomplish the ends I have supposed. To be sure it claims to be more than a system of Primary School instruction. It claims to be the only correct system for any stage of education. "That if adopted, it will lead to a complete revolution in our methods of teaching in this country," (where it is asserted "we have never had any system based on sound philosophical principles,) as also in the profession of teaching itself, or rather it will *make teaching a profession*—a title it has yet to earn."

In making a somewhat hurried preparation for the part assigned me on this occasion, I have spent some time in the examination of the various manuals designed for the instruction of teachers in the new system. I confess the result has been somewhat discouraging. The principles laid down are somewhat contradictory in their character. They are wanting in definiteness, and, most of all, they are

so enveloped in the voluminous details of methods, that it is difficult to discover the distinctive features, and somewhat confusing to one attempting to discuss them.

Referring then to the Oswego manuals, I find first a statement of what are called Pestalozzian plans and principles. On examination, I find that some latitude has been used in applying the term Pestalozzian. Transmutation as well as translation will be seen in their treatment of the great reformer. It may be remarked of these generally, that whatever of them are sound have not the claim of novelty to American teachers, and what are new of no value, if not leading to positive error.

1. Activity is a law of childhood. Accustom the child to do—educate the hand.

2. Cultivate the faculties in their natural order—first form the mind, then furnish it.

3. Begin with the senses, and never tell a child what he can discover for himself.

4. Reduce every subject to its elements—one difficulty at a time is enough for a child.

5. Proceed step by step. Be thorough. The measure of information is not what the teacher can give, but what the child can receive.

6. Let every lesson have a point, except in junior schools, where more than one lesson is required before the point is reached, each successively tending towards it.

7. Develop the idea—then give the term—cultivate language.

8. Proceed from the known to the unknown—from the particular to the general—from the concrete to the abstract—from the simple to the more difficult.

9. First synthesis, then analysis—not the order of the subject, but the order of nature.

Let us examine these principles briefly.

“1st. Activity is a law of childhood. Accustom the child to do—educate the hand.”

It will be observed, first, that there is an implied restriction of this law of childhood to his physical system. Of the second clause—should it not rather be said, let the child do. Let him use not only his hands, but his physical system generally. The distinction between letting the child do and accustoming him to do, at this early stage, is an important one, and is related (if activity is a general law of childhood) not only to physical actions, but also to the senses and the faculties which act spontaneously on the presentation of their proper objects. Should not a system of so much pretension direct us wisely here on the very threshold?

“2d. Cultivate the faculties in their natural order—first form the mind, then furnish it.”

The truth enunciated here is older than Pestalozzi; and may be found in some form or another in half the works on education published in this country during the last thirty years. As to the second



clause, one might naturally ask, is it a corollary from the first? or only meant as a reiteration? or what?

"3d. Begin with the senses, and never tell a child what he can discover for himself."

What is the designed relation between the two clauses of this rule? Must we never tell a child what he can discover for himself?

"4th. Reduce every subject to its elements—one difficulty at a time is enough for a child."

This seems a harmless proposition. But the practical inferences in the way of method, that the manuals are full of, gives it another aspect.

"5th. Proceed step by step. Be thorough. The measure of information is not what the teacher can give, but what the child can receive."

Would not these directions indicate that the process of education is not always and strictly a development exercise, in which the child is the main actor?

"7th. Develop the idea—then give the term—cultivate language."

If this rule were designed only to enforce the truth that ideas should precede language, no comment would be necessary. But herewith is connected one of the most vicious methods of the Oswego System. In the light of their practical teachings it means that with the idea the term must be invariably connected; that the observation and language must be inseparably connected. And it is assumed that when the idea is mastered, there is no difficulty in retaining the appropriate term on the part of the pupil.

It is claimed that the peculiar phraseology of the summary is strictly a resultant of the workings of the class mind. And so we find in connection with each lesson, or series of observations, the W. B. (writing on the board) and the S. R (simultaneous repetition) to fix in the pupil's mind the set phrase and the stereotyped formula that the teacher furnishes as the summary of the particular class exercise.

But the partisans of the Oswego System, or their progenitors in England, were not the original sinners. It was precisely here where Pestalozzi went so grievously astray from his own early principles, as to draw from one of his cotemporaries the remark, that "he kicked over with his feet what he built up with his hands." And these very practices of his have been discarded by intelligent educators everywhere, even when professedly following the doctrines of the German school.

"Observation (said he) is the absolute basis of all knowledge.

The first object, then, in education must be, to lead a child to observe with accuracy; the second, to express with correctness the result of his observations." There is abundant evidence from his works that he did not mean by this, that observation should be the principal object of instruction at its earlier stage and language at a later period. The English and Oswego disciples have faithfully copied the defects of their master.

Now is it necessary to affirm in this presence, that language has absolutely nothing to do with observation as far as it concerns the pupil? That the observing powers are exercised for a long period in childhood before the gift of language is received, and that the child not only uses the senses, but discriminates, compares, reasons, judges, decides, and wills in connection with such use of the senses, and all this without the use of any language?

But the time comes when language is necessary for the expression of wants and ideas, and then it is given. In the roll of education the teacher avails himself of this natural gift, this child-language, to test the progress of the child, and so it is properly connected with observation and with the growth of ideas.

Again, a period comes when language which has been acquired intuitively, and without any conscious effort on the part of the child, may be properly a subject of positive instruction, by methods so wisely suggested in the opening address of the President of this Association; for when the higher and reflective powers of the mind are brought into active exercise, language precise and adequate becomes necessary as the means of thought.

Language (let me repeat again) which in the infancy of the individual, as well as that of the race, is a mere means of expressing the immediate wants of the individual or the race in its then condition; expands not only commensurately with increasing desires, but absolutely acquires another function; that is, as the instrument of higher, continuous, and abstract thought; and this fact, or the growth of language to meet social needs, suggests the principle that should guide in the introduction of language, as an exercise in the school-room. I have on another occasion referred to this topic and so I can only hint at the dangers of thus early and intimately connecting the study of language with the development of the faculties of observation. The thing signified is lost in the effort to remember the sign. Have you not all seen a bright boy in a class, who could and would answer almost intuitively a question in numbers like the following, hesitate and stammer, grow confused and fail, in attempting to cloak the fully comprehended truth in the long syllogistic formula required of him by the teacher? Thus—

If 2 bunches of matches cost 4 cents, what will 4 bunches cost? The pupil repeats the question and gives the solution.

If 2 bunches of matches cost 4 cents, what will 4 bunches cost? 1 bunch of matches will cost one-half as much as 2 bunches of matches. If 2 bunches of matches cost 4 cents, 1 bunch of matches will cost one-half of 4 cents, which are 2 cents. 4 bunches of matches will cost 4 times as much as 1 bunch of matches. If 1 bunch cost 2 cents, 4 bunches will cost 4 times 2 cents, which are 8 cents. Therefore, if 2 bunches of matches cost 4 cents, 4 bunches of matches will cost 8 cents.

The very tendency of formulated language is to routine. The foundations of the childish memory and the childish principle of association are upset, and the natural observation of childhood entirely devitalized. But an illustration, furnished by the same master-hand that gave us the Yorkshire boarding-school, will answer my purpose better.

No teacher before me, who has read Dickens' "Hard Times," will fail to recall the following scene:—

Mr. Gradgrind, the town magnate and school patron, is present in the model school of his own creation, where Mr. McChoakumchild surcharges the youthful Coke-townners with grim facts. After a preliminary address to the teachers in this vein—

"Now what I want is facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the mind of reasoning animals upon facts; nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle upon which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to facts, Sir!"

Having thus relieved himself, that his self-love may be gratified by witnessing the triumphs of his own educational scheming, he calls out, by an appropriate management and catechising, its distinctive features.

Sissy Jupe, Girl No. 20, the daughter of a strolling circus actor, whose life, no small share of it, has been passed under the canvass; whose knowledge of horse, generic and specific, extends back as far as memory reaches; familiar with the form and food, the powers and habits and everything relating to the horse; knowing it through several senses; Sissy Jupe has been asked to define horse. Astonished at hearing her father stigmatized as a veterinary surgeon, a farrier and horse-breaker; bewildered by the striking want of resemblance between the horse of her own conceptions and the prescribed formula that represents the animal in the books of the Home and Colonial Society, she dares not trust herself with the confusing description, and shrinks from it in silence and alarm.

"Girl No. 20 unable to define a horse," said Mr. Gradgrind. Girl No. 20 is declared possessed of no facts in reference to one of the commonest of animals, and appeal is made to one red-eyed Bitzer, who knows horse practically only as he has seen a picture of a horse, or as he has, perhaps, sometimes safely weathered the perils of a crowded street crossing.

"Bitzer," (said Thomas Gradgrind,) "your definition of a horse!"

"Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely: twenty-four grinders, four eye teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the Spring; in marshy countries sheds hoofs too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth." Thus (and much more) Bitzer.

"Now Girl No. 20," said Mr. Gradgrind, "you know what a horse is."

The features of a school system thus graphically described are the features of the Home and Colonial Society's system, and I regret to say that what is known in this country as the Oswego System is its lineal descendant.



That this is no misrepresentation (see lessons on objects, page 97.)

## LESSON TWENTY-THIRD.

*A Lady Bird.*

Ideas to be developed—hemispherical, fragile, jointed.

| <i>Parts.</i>               | <i>Qualities.</i>            |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| The head.....               | It is animal.                |
| " eyes.....                 | Natural.                     |
| " feelers or palpi.....     | Hemispherical.               |
| " horns or antennæ.....     | The wing cases are red.      |
| " wings.....                | Spotted.                     |
| " wing cases or elytra..... | Bright.                      |
| " thorax.....               | Hard.                        |
| " legs.....                 | The wing cases are brittle.  |
| " body.....                 | Opaque.                      |
| " back.....                 | Stiff.                       |
| " spots.....                | The outside is convex.       |
| " surface.....              | The inside is concave.       |
| " claws.....                | One margin straight.         |
|                             | The other curved.            |
|                             | The wings are membranaceous, |
|                             | " pliable,                   |
|                             | " thin,                      |
|                             | " transparent,               |
|                             | " fragile.                   |
|                             | The body is oval,            |
|                             | " black.                     |
|                             | The legs are jointed,        |
|                             | " short,                     |
|                             | " black.                     |

The lesson above cited is one of a large number sketched for the use of teachers; all models for still others of a similar character to be framed as they shall be needed, and designed to cover the whole period of school instruction. Is such endless repetition of obvious qualities a natural and nourishing food for the childish mind? Will it never tire of such thin gruel of utilitarianism? And looking at the real object of a public school system as our own, supported from the public treasury, designed to obviate the accidents of birth or fortune, by placing the keys of knowledge in every youthful hand, is such chaff a substitute for a thorough grounding in the elementary branches? is it a good preparation, even, for the same? But conceding that these exercises accomplish the end for which they were designed, is it not a cultivation of the perceptive faculties too exclusive, and at the expense of the other powers of the pupil?

It is claimed, however, that thus are laid the foundations for a future structure of science; that we ascend from form to geometry, from place to geography, &c., &c. Than this nothing can be more mistaken. Perceptions of form and color are quite distinct from geometry and chromatography. Language is one thing, and the science of grammar quite another.

That scientific and technical language is prematurely introduced in the methods adopted at Oswego, no one can question who visits the Oswego schools. One hears little children, not two weeks under instruction, taught that certain parts of a sheep (or the picture of a sheep) are "principal," others "secondary," and some "characteristic." One hears from infant mouths such terms as "graminiferous and chalybeate, iridescent and amorphous, serrated and foliaceous, imbricated and indigenous." Children there are taught not only to discriminate, with the eye, the various shades and hues of color, but loaded down with such terms as hyaline, watchet, lazuline, indigene, carneline, rosine, coralline, venetia, morone, salmonine, peachine, and magenta.

The 9th and last principle laid down is the following:—"First synthesis, then analysis—not the order of the subject, but the order of nature." I leave for others to discuss the first clause of the rule. I may venture this inquiry, however. If it be true "that all intelligent action whatever depends upon the discerning of distinctions among surrounding things," does not this principle require that analysis should be the first step in the work of education? And further, as one examines the specimen lessons in the Oswego textbooks, even, does it not appear that so far as the exercise of the observing faculties is properly conducted, it is pure analysis, while the mere framing of the definition or the formulated summary can only be called synthetical.

The last clause, ("not the order of the subject, but the order of nature,") whatever its supposed relation to the former, contains an important truth which I would thus interpret. All subjects should be presented to a child in view of the order in which his faculties are developed; in connection with his already existing ideas, as they may be indicated by the form in which his curiosity manifests itself, or otherwise, that they may be retained by some principle of association; and also in relation to their practical value and uses, as acquirements and discipline, for the time being. And contrariwise, they should not be presented in relation to any assumed order of knowledge or any scientific arrangement or classification. (I am speaking now especially of those subjects which, in the primary school-room and in the case of young children, should precede and furnish the foundation of what are ordinarily regarded as the elementary studies.) Scientific names, definitions and classification are designed for a special and practical purpose; and that purpose, manifestly, not related to the instruction of infants or the early history of our race. A young child (and for that matter the savage)

has no practical use for science and therefore does not need its technicalities. What he does need are words, figurative expressions, or a classification connected in a living way to his senses, his observation, his experience, the range of his reasoning powers, and by the use of which he can remember, reproduce, or communicate to another his sensations and ideas.

The scientific mode should be reserved for a later period of instruction, when science, as such, has, by the development of the pupil, acquired a practical value.

For modern science, be it remembered, (and herein it differs from the older forms,) is, from its very nature, far removed from the range of a child's observation, and has no obvious relations to the little, every-day world in which he lives and moves. It is based upon structure and organs, and unobvious, and to the child, unimportant properties, and includes, what Spencer has called, "completeness of prevision." And though there are certain external features which ordinarily indicate, to the eye of the expert, the peculiarities of internal structure, yet the connection can not be appreciated at an immature age.

So true is this, that I find a modern writer of great logical acuteness thus expressing himself:—

Science, as I shall afterwards have occasion to illustrate, is painful from the necessity of dis-associating appearances that go naturally and easily together, of renouncing the full and total aspect of an object by which it engages agreeably the various senses, and of settling upon some feature that has no interest to the common eye.\*

I have ventured to elaborate what seemed to me to be the truth contained in the clause under discussion. But that this is not the interpretation of it adopted by the advocates of the Oswego System may be seen by referring either to a single model lesson, or to the general method of treating a particular subject. Take, by way of illustration, almost the first lesson in the manual. It is a development exercise to cultivate the powers of observation. The children are first told that paper is artificial, that it is made of linen rags, that linen is made from the stem of a plant called flax. They then observe its obvious qualities; they are next supplied with the terms pliable, translucent, inflammable, &c.

But one must not stop upon individual lessons, but take subjects.

What I am now about to say is related also to principle No. 4—  
"Reduce every subject to its elements."

Take the method of teaching reading. If one takes up a printed page it may be resolved into lines, these lines into words, the words

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\* Bain. "The Senses and Intellect."



into letters, (to say nothing of points,) the letters into combination of forms, that may be further classified as straight lines and curved, perpendicular and horizontal. As related to the printer's art, this may be called reducing the subject to its elements, or following the order of the subject.

Again, the words on the page (which is speech represented to the eye) represent a variety of combinations of sounds, which may be resolved into their elementary sounds; these into classes as atonic, sub-tonic, &c.; and still further according to the position of the vocal organs in producing these elementary sounds. This may be called reducing the subject to its elements, or following its order.

If our language were strictly phonetic, these two classes of elements could be, in some degree, approximated, and thus the art of reading, as an art, could be acquired without any great waste of effort on the part of the learner, particularly an adult learner. But this is not true. The number of elementary characters does not correspond to the number of elementary sounds. The forms of the characters have no actual or symbolic relation to the sounds.

Custom has also sanctioned a variety of form in the same letters. These have each been provided with a name conventional and arbitrary, sometimes resembling its power in composition, and sometimes not.

Furthermore, to increase the perplexities, the same sounds are represented by different letters and combinations; and these last do not uniformly represent the same sound. So that our language is irregularity run wild. The rule is the exception and the exception is the rule.

Now the method of the Home and Colonial Society (and the Oswego plan is but little better) brings the child, face to face, with this mountain of difficulties, and on the plea of reducing every subject to its elements, picks up each individual difficulty, one at a time, and throws it a stumbling-stone at the feet of the pupil. With fatiguing exercise, perhaps, the whole ground may be at last stumbled over. Listen to the role and judge.

The pupils are first taught to distinguish by the eye all the Roman capitals; next, to distinguish clumsy imitations of these, as many as can be formed by combinations of straight lines; and then similar imitations of the remainder formed by straight lines and curved. A similar plan is now adopted in teaching the forms of the smaller letters. The pupils are practiced in repeating the forty, more or less, elementary sounds of the language. They are lead to notice the position of the organs of speech in making these sounds.

At this stage (First Step—pupils between four and five years of age) they are encumbered with the application of the terms, “tonic, atonic and sub-tonic,” &c., to the sounds in question.

They are taught to form uncouth imitations of the spurious capitals, before mentioned, with pieces of lath; then to print them on the slate. Then comes the learning of twenty-six arbitrary names of letters and connecting these with the same number of conventional forms. The same course is pursued with the small letters. The pupils are next exercised in the sounds of the vowels and diphthongs; not, however, their power in composition. They are taught to spell classes of words of one syllable. Only at this point do any proper exercises in reading (or in fact in learning to read) begin; and even then these are in accordance with a somewhat clumsy phonic method.

It is claimed for this plan, the stupidity of which no description can fully portray, that it “puts the child in possession of a key by which he is able to help himself—a very important principle in education.” A hundred such keys will leave a child groping and knocking at the door of our written language, in which the sound *too* is spelt three different ways and *ough* stands for half its vowel sounds.

All this is done, as it is supposed, to carry out a principle ascribed to Pestalozzi; that the work of the educator should be analytical and that of the learner synthetical.

This is what they propose to do theoretically. Meanwhile, however, the pupil, in spite of this attempt to hamper his feet with the intricacies and perplexities of our language, has been covertly making his way by a more direct, natural, and easy route to the same end. In this respect the child has shown himself wiser than the master. By the aid of a memory which can only be characterized as “adhesive” in the extreme, he has been quietly learning words as words, on the blackboard, on the lesson cards, and in the textbook of the school-room. He has been classifying words in accordance with his own principle of association, to assist his memory when its mere adhesiveness has failed; and now noting their resemblances and differences, he has analyzed them for himself into their elements and thus learned the powers of letters in composition. In short, he has grasped the idea of the sole object of learning to read, and directed his steps by the shortest route to that end.

Years ago I read in Emerson’s “Schoolmaster” that the best way of learning to read was to let children learn words first and afterwards the letters of which they are made; and why? because “this

is nature's method." I can not stop to outline this word-method by showing how completely it follows the order of nature.

I will call your attention now, briefly, to the Oswego method of teaching drawing. It commences from combinations with two straight lines, then with three, and so on up to seven or eight. Then combinations with four right and two acute angles, then with obtuse angles. Combinations with four rectangular triangles. Combinations with the various quadrangular figures. Then combinations with the various curves. This is all elementary to geometrical drawing. This doubtless has its uses. This is better than no instruction in drawing, perhaps.

But that this is not the way to teach drawing as an art, or for the practical and pleasurable uses which render its acquisition desirable, I think that the great mass of experts will agree. Spencer speaks of an elementary drawing-book, on a similar plan, as most vicious in principle, as only "a grammar of form with exercises." Ruskin is equally emphatic in recommending an entirely different course.

The same regard to the order of the subject and disregard of the order of nature is seen in the selection and arrangement of topics for the object lessons; in the scientific tone that pervades the whole series, and in the early introduction of science (distinctly) into their educational course; as if this were unavoidable in attempting to impart any useful knowledge to the child.

The late Archbishop Whately disposed of this opinion epigrammatically by asking, "Can not a child be taught that a nettle will sting without being taught the science of botany?"

That these are not unwarranted criticisms on the Oswego methods, let me appeal to the manuals in which they are embodied. The extracts illustrative of methods may be appropriately introduced by a few sentences selected either from preface or introduction, somewhat in the form of precepts.

"The design of this work is to present a definite course of elementary instruction adapted to philosophic views of the laws of childhood."

"It would seem too obvious to require an argument that every teacher"—(and for that matter, it might have been added, every superintendent of public schools and each school-book compiler) "should clearly comprehend the character of the infant mind and its mode of operation."

That a proper lesson "should equally avoid detailed information, on the one hand, and on the other, mere general notices, such as constitute a table of contents or heading of a chapter."

"That it is important, as far as possible, to give the children a good deal of latitude; and let the discoveries be their own, except as they may be guided in part by the teacher."

"Those who fall into a mechanical way of giving such instruction and do not perceive the principle involved, completely defeat its intention and *they had far better keep to old plans and old books.*" The italics are mine.

Turn now to "Lessons on objects," (page 132 and the following.)



It is the "fourth step," or designed for children of seven or eight years old. The subject is the metals. Seven pages are devoted to the general subject. The mode of their occurrence is given; their distinguishing "characters;" their properties as reflectors of light and heat, as conductors of heat and electricity. The specific gravity of ten are given in numbers to the third decimal. The weight of a cubic foot of the common metals is also given. They are told the number of tons that rods an inch square, of the common metals, will severally sustain without breaking. Detailed information upon the other general properties are likewise furnished by the teacher, to an extent that will suggest the thought that not only is "a good deal of latitude given the children," but some degree of longitude. Then follow eight model lessons on as many metals, in which the properties, qualities, uses, geographical and geological relations are given with almost encyclopedic particularity; though not always with the accuracy desirable in a text-book.

We will now open the other manual, "Elementary Instruction." As in the former case, take the "fourth step," the children of the same age as before. Under the head of "objects," (page 134,) "Sketches on the Bible." In another place it is stated "that the general aim of the teacher in a Bible lesson is to produce a religious impression." Let us see how this is done.

#### 10. SKETCHES ON THE BIBLE.

Having drawn from the class, by a few direct and simple questions, that the Bible was not always a printed book—was not first written in English—was not bestowed on mankind at once, complete from Genesis to Revelation, but in detached parts; and having told them to consider the successive portions in which it was given, the language in which it was first written, and the form in which it then appeared, the children ought to be in possession of most of the facts referred to; therefore, during the greater part of the lessons, the business of the teacher would be to lead them to collect and arrange what they already know.

##### I. *Scripture—in what portions given, and at what period.*

1st. Possessors of Scripture—the Hebrew nation. Not when we first recognize it in Egypt, but previous to the settlement in Canaan. Date of this event. At that time the Israelites had the writings of Moses, probably including one or two of the Psalms, and the book of Job. Thence to the first captivity they received successively the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, the writings of David, those of his son, a portion of the greater and most of the lesser prophets. After the return, the narratives of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, with the three last prophetic books. Date of the return.

2d. Books of the New Testament period. Also considered with respect to writers, titles, and oracles. Date of conclusion of Scripture. Text learned: Hebrews i, 1—"God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers of the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son."

##### II. *Language—that in which Scripture was first written—translations.*

1st. Every revelation prior to the date of the first captivity made in Hebrew. This accounted for. Books of Daniel and Ezra written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee. Lead the class to infer the probable reason of this, from consideration as to the subject of the portions written in Chaldee; principally such

as include original letters, decrees, &c., of the Babylonish and Persian governments. Scriptures posterior to the date of the captivity written in Chaldee, and all the earlier books translated into the same tongue. No sooner did the ancient Hebrew become a dead language, than the Scriptures were put into the vernacular tongue by men, such as Ezra, acting under the immediate inspiration of God. Conclusion drawn from this, and text learned, showing the importance of understanding the Word of God: 1 Cor. xiv, 19—"I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue."

2d. The coming of the time in which the Gentiles were to be led to a knowledge of the truth, marked by the dispersion of the Scriptures among them. Providence of God shown in this. Its design and effect. Give general account of various translations, and particular one on the Septuagint. Refer to, and prove the importance of, the last translation. Refer to prevalence of the Greek tongue in every part of the civilized world, as connected providentially with the publication of the Gospel in that language.

To connect this period with what follows, touch very briefly on the general professions of Christianity. Division of the Roman Empire and subsequent spread of the Greek and Roman Catholic churches. Progress of the latter. Extent of her power. Change with respect to the language of the Bible. Scripture written in Latin throughout all the countries of the Western Empire.

III. *Forms under which the Scriptures have been presented at different periods.*

1st. Derivation of the terms Bible and Scripture. Sacred words of the Jews' writings. Not books. Kind of materials chiefly used, either parchment or vellum. Scroll—when not in use, rolled up on a slender cylinder like a school map; hence, origin of the term *volume*. Refer to the Scribes. Their office. Importance and accuracy of their labors.

2d. Describe sacred records of Christians in the Middle Ages. Illuminated MSS. What they were. Why so called? Sometimes rolls, oftener books. Beauty and value of these copies. The copyists—what class of men they were. Their mode of life, position, and character, compared with that of the Jewish Scribes.

3d. Sacred records in the modern form. Class observe their own Bibles, and state how they differ externally from those before described. Why composed of many sheets bound together, not of one rolled up? Why made of paper rather than parchment? Why no longer MSS.? Give brief account of the invention of printing and its immediate consequence. The great multiplication of copies. Effect of the distribution of these all over the world. Specimens of Scriptural translations in one hundred and forty-eight languages were to be seen at the Great Exhibition. Compare God's present method of making known Himself and His will, to that He adopted in the Apostolic age. Then, supernatural gift of tongues, enabling the Apostles so to preach that all could understand. Why necessary then? Now, the same object effected without a miracle, by the translation of the Bible into different languages, so that the nations may still say, "We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God."—Acts ii, 11.

IV. *Unchangeableness of the inspired word—its influence.*

Bible to be regarded as a perfect whole. The New Testament not an abrogation, but a development of the principles contained in the Old. Text: Matthew v, 17, 18. This might be proved by reference to the nature of God, but is evidently seen by the invariable influence of the Scriptures on the condition of man in all ages and countries. Compare the mental and moral condition of the Jews prior to their first captivity, with that of the nations surrounding them. Refer to countries in which the Bible is unknown at this day; without exception, utterly barbarous and degraded. Refer to countries in which its doctrines are rejected, and yet, because the people have learned something of the historical events recorded in it, because its precepts (though their origin is not recognized) are interwoven with social laws, they take a far higher rank. Instance, Mohammedans. Refer to countries in which the Scriptures are held to be true, and the people do not read them, because the ecclesiastical power has put a seal on the book. These are better off than those before named, for they hear of the name, and know somewhat of the character of Jesus, and through the thick mists of tradition the light of the Word will sometimes shine.

Conclusion drawn—that the Bible is a great engine of civilization, as well as the source of spiritual knowledge. Effect of its free circulation throughout the land. Refer to the renovation now commenced in heathen lands, from the spread of Scriptures and spiritual teaching. Duty incumbent on us to place the Bible in the households of our own and other countries. We may anticipate the promised blessing, that they who water others shall themselves be watered.

Now imagine, if you please, a teacher of a public school standing in the presence of a class of pupils between the ages of seven and twelve, composed of such material as will be found in our cities and large towns, “talking like this book,” and tell me, will such themes, thus presented, conduce to any feelings worthy of the name of religious impressions? Is such instruction in accordance with “philosophic views of the laws of childhood?” Do you smile at the absurdity of the extracts I have given?—there is hardly a page in either of the two volumes of Oswego gospel but contains matter equally ridiculous. The fact is, this peculiar adaptation of Pestalozzianism could hardly be otherwise, for though fresh from an American press, it yet had its origin in what may be called the dark ages of educational history in England; that is, some thirty years ago.

[There is a difficulty attending the proper treatment of this subject. I mentioned at the outset the considerations which made it a suitable theme for discussion in even a national assemblage of teachers. But when one exposes the fallacy of any of the principles, the absurdity of any of the methods, up start the advocates of the system and repudiate the obnoxious features, or claim that these are but experiments, looking towards something to be perfected in the alembic of the future. And when the vicious tendencies of the system, as a whole, are pointed out, then these same parties fall back upon the quality of their motives.]

But the very exclusiveness of their theory forbids any hope of improvement with the best intentions that underlie it.

They are on record at the very outset in this wise. The system as presented to the American public is claimed to embody “the light and experience of the best schools of Europe, where these methods have been longest and most thoroughly tested.” That it is “a *definite course of elementary instruction* adapted to philosophic views of the laws of childhood,” &c., &c.

Furthermore, a legislative grant has been obtained, as has been already mentioned, not for experimental purposes, looking towards improvement in elementary instruction, but to train teachers in this particular system.

But the time allotted will not permit me to pass in review other features of the so-called Oswego System, equally objectionable.



The task I have already performed would have been a disagreeable one, even if, with more time and preparation, I could have flattered myself that it had been well done. It is still more so, conscious as I am of its imperfectness. But it is important that the work of primary instruction should be well conducted. And it is claimed for the Oswego System, by its advocates, that in no other way can this be accomplished than by the methods prescribed in the books from which I have quoted. The State of New York has given a legislative sanction to the justness of this claim, by appropriating money for the support of a training school for teachers, where these principles and methods are adopted and applied. The legislatures of other States will doubtless be invited to follow this example.

I regard the whole scheme as unwise and defective. A sense of duty has therefore constrained me to call the attention of the teachers of the country to the subject, that others more nearly related to our common school system, and otherwise more competent than myself, may hereafter more thoroughly expose its vicious tendencies.]

I would not, even now, be understood as discouraging, in the slightest degree, the addition to our present modes of primary school instruction of any new or desirable features, or the adoption of any new methods to meet new educational wants, from whatever source obtained.

I will venture to illustrate my idea. It was my good fortune not many months ago to visit, under favorable circumstances, the schools of a western city. I saw there the evidences of a most intelligent supervision, by one familiar with the whole subject of American education, and who had carefully studied the principles and methods of instruction in other lands. I saw a corps of teachers, from highest to lowest, intelligent, active, animated by a full sense of the importance of their work and imbued with the same spirit that controlled the supervision. I saw the usual elementary course in our common schools, preceded by, associated with, and supplemented by well selected oral lessons that made the whole a living form of education. Viewing the pupils as individuals, I saw that a natural and suitable aliment was so wisely spread before each mind as to insure the proper grasp and growth, and as a consequence, mental activity and strength. Looking at them as classes, I beheld each grade of pupils, in the school-rooms, responsive to every word and look and thought of the teacher.

REV. ROBERT HEBERT QUICK, late University Lecturer at Cambridge on the History of Education, in his *Essays on Educational Reformers* (Longmans, 1868 and 1885), treats with characteristic fairness and practicality, of Pestalozzi and his Principles and Methods of Teaching, in Essay vii, pp. 157-197, from which the following passages, with their citations mainly from Pestalozzi's *Letters on Early Education*," are taken:

Pestalozzi, it has been said, invented nothing new. Most assuredly he did not invent the principle that education is a developing of the faculties rather than an imparting of knowledge. But he did much to bring this truth to bear on early education, and to make it not only received but very widely acted on.

If we seek for the root of Pestalozzi's system, we shall find it, I think, in that which was the motive power of Pestalozzi's career, "the enthusiasm of humanity." Consumed with grief for the degradation of the Swiss peasantry, he never lost faith in their true dignity as men, and in the possibility of raising them to a condition worthy of it. He cast about for the best means of thus raising them, and decided that it could be effected, not by any improvement in their outward circumstances, but by an education which should make them what their Creator intended them to be, and should give them the use and the consciousness of all their inborn faculties.

From my youth up, I felt what a high and indispensable human duty it is to labor for the poor and miserable; . . . that he may attain to a consciousness of his own dignity through his feeling of the universal powers and endowments which he possesses awakened within him; that he may not only learn to gabble over by rote the religious maxim that man is created in the image of God, and is bound to live and die as a child of God," but may himself experience its truth by virtue of the divine power within him, so that he may be raised, not only above the plowing oxen, but also above the man in purple and silk who lives unworthily of his high destiny.

Again he says (and I quote at length on the point, as it is indeed the key to Pestalozzianism):

Why have I insisted so strongly on attention to early physical and intellectual education? Because I consider these as merely leading to a higher aim, to qualify the human being for the free and full use of all the faculties implanted by the Creator, and to direct all these faculties toward the perfection of the whole being of man, that he may be enabled to act in his peculiar station as an instrument of that All-wise and Almighty Power that has called him into life.

Believing in this high aim of education, Pestalozzi required a properly training for all alike.

Every human being has a claim to a judicious development of his faculties by those to whom the care of his infancy is confided.

Pestalozzi therefore most earnestly addressed himself to mothers, to convince them of the power placed in their hands, and to teach them how to use it.

The mother is qualified, and qualified by the Creator Himself, to become the principal agent in the development of her child; . . . and what is demanded of her is—a *thinking love*. . . God has given to

thy child all the faculties of our nature, but the grand point remains undecided—how shall this heart, this head, these hands, be employed? To whose service shall they be dedicated? A question the answer to which involves a futurity of happiness or misery to a life so dear to thee. . . . It is recorded that God opened the heavens to the patriarch of old, and showed him a ladder leading thither. This ladder is let down to every descendant of Adam; it is offered to thy child. But he must be taught to climb it. And let him not attempt it by the cold calculations of the head, or the mere impulse of the heart; but let all these powers combine, and the noble enterprise will be crowned with success. These powers are already bestowed on him, but to thee it is given to assist in calling them forth. Maternal love is the first agent in education. . . . Through it the child is led to love and trust his Creator and his Redeemer.

From the theory of development which lay at the root of Pestalozzi's views of education, it followed that the imparting of knowledge and the training for special pursuits held only a subordinate position in his scheme.

Education, instead of merely considering what is to be imparted to children, ought to consider first what they may be said already to possess, if not as a developed, at least as an involved faculty capable of development. Or if, instead of speaking thus in the abstract, we will but recollect that it is to the great Author of life that man owes the possession, and is responsible for the use, of his innate faculties, education should not only decide what is to be made of a child, but rather inquire, what it was intended that he should become? What is his destiny as a created and responsible being? What are his faculties as a rational and moral being? What are the means for their perfection, and the end held out as the highest object of their efforts by the Almighty Father of all, both in creation and in the page of revelation?

Education, then, must consist in a continual benevolent superintendence, with the object of calling forth all the faculties which Providence has implanted; and its province, thus enlarged, will yet be with less difficulty surveyed from one point of view, and will have more of a systematic and truly philosophical character, than an incoherent mass of exercises—arranged without unity of principle, and gone through without interest—which too often usurps its name.

An education of the latter description he denounced with the reformatory zeal of a Luther.

The present race of schoolmasters sacrifice the essence of true teaching to separate and disconnected teaching in a complete jumble of subjects. By dishing up fragments of all kinds of truths, they destroy the spirit of truth itself, and extinguish the power of self-dependence which, without that spirit, cannot exist.

With Pestalozzi teaching was not so much to be thought of as training. Training must be found for the child's heart, head, and hand, and the capacities of the heart and head must be developed by practice no less than those of the hand. The heart, as we have seen, is first influenced by the mother. At a later period Pestalozzi would have the charities of the family circle introduced into the school-room (rather ignoring the difference which the altered ratio of the young to the adults makes in the conditions of the problem), and would have the child taught virtue by his affections being exercised and his benevolence guided to action. There is an interesting instance on record of the way in which he himself applied this principle. When he was at Stanz, news arrived of the destruction of Altdorf. Pestalozzi depicted to his scholars the misery of the children there. "Hundreds," said he, "are at this moment wandering about as



you were last year, without a home, perhaps without food or clothing." He then asked them if they would not wish to receive some of these children among them? This, of course, they were eager to do. Pestalozzi then pointed out the sacrifices it would involve on their part, that they would have to share everything with the new comers, and to eat less and work more than before. Only when they promised to make these sacrifices ungrudgingly, he undertook to apply to Government that the children's wish might be granted. It was thus that Pestalozzi endeavored to develop the moral and religious life of the children, which is based on trust and love.

The child's thinking faculty is capable, according to Pestalozzi, of being exercised almost from the commencement of consciousness. Indeed, it has been objected against Pestalozzi's system that he cultivated the mere intellectual powers at the expense of the poetical and imaginative. All knowledge, he taught, is acquired by sensation and observation: sometimes it has been thought that he traces everything originally to the senses; but he seems to extend the word *Anschauung* to every experience of which the mind becomes conscious.

The child, then, must be made to observe accurately, and to reflect on its observations. The best subject-matter for the lessons will be the most ordinary things that can be found.

Not only is there not one of the little incidents in the life of a child, in his amusements and recreations, in his relation to his parents, and friends, and playfellows; but there is actually not anything within the reach of a child's attention, whether it belong to nature or to the employments and arts of life, that may not be made the object of a lesson by which some useful knowledge may be imparted, and, what is still more important, by which the child may not be familiarized with the habit of thinking on what he sees, and speaking after he has thought. The mode of doing this is not by any means to talk much to a child, but to enter into conversation with a child; not to address to him many words, however familiar and well chosen, but to bring him to express himself on the subject; not to exhaust the subject, but to question the child about it and to let him find out and correct the answers. It would be ridiculous to expect that the volatile spirits of a child could be brought to follow any lengthy explanations. The attention is deadened by long expositions, but roused by animated questions. Let these questions be short, clear, and intelligible. Let them not merely lead the child to repeat in the same, or in varied terms, what he has heard just before. Let them excite him to observe what is before him, to recollect what he has learned, and to muster his little stock of knowledge for materials for an answer. Show him a certain quality in one thing, and let him find out the same in others. Tell him that the shape of a ball is called *round*, and if, accordingly, you bring him to point out other objects to which the same property belongs, you have employed him more usefully than by the most perfect discourse on rotundity. In the one instance he would have had to listen and to recollect, in the other he has to observe and to think.

From observation and memory there is only one step to reflection. Though imperfect, this operation is often found among the early exercises of the infant mind. The powerful stimulus of inquisitiveness prompts to exertions which, if successful or encouraged by others, will lead to a habit of thought.

Words, which are the signs of things, must never be taught the child till he has grasped the idea of the thing signified.

When an object has been submitted to his senses, he must be led to the

consciousness of the impressions produced, and then must be taught the name of the object and of the qualities producing those impressions. Last of all, he must ascend to the definition of the object.

The object-lessons Pestalozzi divided into three great classes, under the heads of—(1) Form; (2) Number; (3) Speech. It was his constant endeavor to make his pupils distinguish between essentials and accidentals, and with his habit of constant analysis, which seems pushed to an extreme that to children would be repulsive, he sought to reduce Form, Number, and Speech to their elements. In his alphabet of Form everything was represented as having the square as its base. In Number all operations were traced back to  $1 + 1$ . In Speech the children, in their very cradles, were to be taught the elements of sound, as ba, ba, ba, da, da, da, ma, ma, ma, etc. This elementary teaching Pestalozzi considered of the greatest importance, and when he himself instructed he went over the ground very slowly. Buss tells us that when he first joined Pestalozzi the delay over the prime elements seemed to him a waste of time, but that afterward he was convinced of its being the right plan.

Not only have the first elements of knowledge in every subject the most important bearing on its complete outline, but the child's confidence and interest are gained by perfect attainment even in the lowest stage of instruction.

By his object-lessons Pestalozzi aimed at—1, enlarging gradually the sphere of a child's intuition, i. e., increasing the number of objects falling under his immediate perception; 2, impressing upon him those perceptions of which he had become conscious, with certainty, clearness, and precision; 3, imparting to him a comprehensive knowledge of language for the expression of whatever had become or was becoming an object of his consciousness, in consequence either of the spontaneous impulse of his own nature, or of the assistance of tuition.

Of all the instruction given at Yverdon, the most successful, in the opinion of those who visited the school, was the instruction in arithmetic. The children are described as performing with great rapidity very difficult tasks in head-calculation. Pestalozzi based his method here, as in other subjects, on the principle that the individual should be brought to knowledge by a road similar to that which the whole race had used in founding the science. Actual counting of things preceded the first Cocker, as actual measuring of land preceded the original Euclid. The child then must be taught to count things, and to find out the various processes experimentally in the concrete before he is given any abstract rule, or is put to any abstract exercises. This plan is now commonly adopted in German schools, and many ingenious contrivances have been introduced by which the combinations of things can be presented to the children's sight.

Next to the education of the affections and intellect come those exercises in which the body is more prominent. I do not know that there was anything distinctive in Pestalozzi's views and practices in physical education, although he attached the due importance to it which had previously been perceived only by Locke and Rousseau, and in Germany by Basedow and his colleagues of the Philanthropin.



Great pains should be taken with the cultivation of the senses, and finally the artistic faculty (*Kunstkraft*) should be developed, in which the power of the mind and that of the senses are united. Music and drawing played a leading part in Pestalozzi's schools. They were taught to all the children, even the youngest, and were not limited to the conventional two hours a week. It is natural to children to imitate; thus they acquire language, and thus, with proper direction and encouragement, they will find pleasure in attempting to sing the melodies they hear, and to draw the simple objects around them. By drawing, the eye is trained as well as the hand.

A person who is in the habit of drawing, especially from nature, will easily perceive many circumstances which are commonly overlooked, and will form a much more correct impression, even of such objects as he does not stop to examine minutely, than one who has never been taught to look upon what he sees with an intention of reproducing a likeness of it. The attention to the exact shape of the whole, and the proportion of the parts, which is requisite for the taking of an adequate sketch, is converted into a habit and becomes both instructive and amusing.

Besides drawing, Pestalozzi recommended modeling, a hint which was afterward worked out by Fröbel in his *Kindergärten*.

Differing from Locke and Bæsedow, Pestalozzi was no friend to the notion of giving instruction always in the guise of amusement.

I am convinced that such a notion will forever preclude solidity of knowledge, and, from want of sufficient exertions on the part of the pupils, will lead to that very result which I wish to avoid by my principle of a constant employment of the thinking powers. A child must very early in life be taught the lesson that exertion is indispensable for the attainment of knowledge.

But a child should not be taught to look upon exertion as an evil. He should be encouraged, not frightened into it.

An interest in study is the first thing which a teacher should endeavor to excite and keep alive. There are scarcely any circumstances in which a want of application in children does not proceed from a want of interest; and there are perhaps none in which the want of interest does not originate in the mode of teaching adopted by the teacher. I would go so far as to lay it down as a rule, that whenever children are inattentive and apparently take no interest in a lesson, the teacher should always first look to himself for the reason. . . . Could we conceive the indescribable tedium which must oppress the young mind while the weary hours are slowly passing away one after another in occupations which it can neither relish nor understand, could we remember the like scenes which our own childhood has passed through, we should no longer be surprised at the remissness of the schoolboy, "creeping like snail unwillingly to school." . . . To change all this, we must adopt a better mode of instruction, by which the children are less left to themselves, less thrown upon the unwelcome employment of passive listening, less harshly treated for little excusable failings; but more roused by questions, animated by illustrations, interested and won by kindness.

There is a most remarkable reciprocal action between the interest which the teacher takes and that which he communicates to his pupils. If he is not with his whole mind present at the subject, if he does not care whether he is understood or not, whether his manner is liked or not, he will alienate the affections of his pupils, and render them indifferent to what he says. But real interest taken in the task of instruction—kind words and kinder feelings—the very expression of the features, and the glance of the eye, are never lost upon children.



OSCAR BROWNING, Assistant Master at Eton College and Senior Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge, in his *Introduction to the History of Educational Theories* (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1881), devotes a chapter (X) to Pestalozzi's Life, Theories, and Influence, from which we take the following summary and estimate:

According to Pestalozzi—

The end of education is the harmonious development of all the natural powers. If we provide for this harmonious development we shall have given the education which we desire. There is a certain order determined for us which our development should follow, there are certain laws which it should observe, there are impulses and tendencies implanted in us which cannot be extinguished or subdued. The natural course of our development comes from these impulses. A man wishes to do everything which he feels himself strong enough to do, and in virtue of this indwelling impulse he wills to do this. The feeling of this inward strength is the expression of the everlasting, inextinguishable, unalterable laws which lie at the bottom of a man's nature. These laws are different for different individuals, but they have a certain harmony and continuity for the human race. Now that alone can be considered of educative power for a man which grapples with all the faculties of his nature,—with heart, mind, and body. On the other hand, any one-sided influence which deals only with one of these faculties by itself, undermines and destroys the equilibrium of our forces, and leads to an education which is contrary to nature. If we wish to raise and ennoble ourselves we must accept, as the true foundation for this effort, the unity of all our human powers. What God has joined together let not man put asunder.

Pestalozzi finds the best, and only natural means of elementary instruction, in intuitional object teaching, viz.: in making clear and intelligible to the child, by his own experience, reflection, and expression, the object which comes before his eyes or his consciousness—by enabling him to distinguish in language, spoken or written, or represent by drawing, the individual thing or conception, and then to apply this same method to music, geography, history, and natural phenomena.

Beyond these simple parts of instruction—reading, writing, and arithmetic—Pestalozzi does not go; but there is no doubt that his influence over education was enormous. Poor, and without learning, he tried to reform the science of the world. He was enthusiastically supported and scornfully abused. His place among educationalists is now no longer a matter of doubt, and it has grown year by year since his death. His methods of teaching words, forms, and numbers were accepted. Speaking was taught by pictures, arithmetic was reformed; methods of geometry, of natural history, of geography, of singing and drawing were composed after Pestalozzi's example. Still greater was the influence which he exerted over the general theory and practice of education. It is due to him that we have accepted as a truth that the foundation of education lies in the development of the powers of each individual. The method which begins by educating the senses, and which through them works on the intellect, must be considered as derived from his teaching. The kindergarten of Fröbel is only the particular development of a portion of his general scheme. His example also gave a strong impulse to the teaching of the poor and destitute.

We live so completely in the system which Pestalozzi helped to form, that it is difficult for us to realize how great a man he was. He may have had many faults as an organizer and an instructor, but he gave his life for the lambs of the flock. He was the first teacher who inculcated unbounded faith in the power of human love and sympathy. He divested himself of everything, and spent the whole of a long life in the service of the poor and lowly, subduing himself to those whom he taught, and entering into the secrets of their minds and hearts. He loved much, and many shortcomings may be forgiven him.

PROFESSOR JAMES LEITCH, principal of the Church of Scotland Normal School at Glasgow, in his *Practical Educationists and Their Systems of Teaching* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1876), devotes a chapter to Pestalozzi, from which the following passages are taken:

In spite of his ungainly appearance, however, the personal influence of the man was very great; as there was a spirit and a power in his very look which was quite irresistible. To this fact Ramsauer testifies—

"In Burgdorf, an active and entirely new mode of life opened to me; there reigned so much love and simplicity in the institution; the life was so genial—I could almost say patriarchal; not much was learned, it is true, but Pestalozzi was the father, and the teachers were the friends of the pupils; his morning and evening prayers had such a fervour and simplicity, that they carried away every one who took part in them; he prayed fervently, read and explained Gellert's hymns impressively, exhorted each of the pupils individually to private prayer, and saw that some pupils said aloud in the bedrooms every evening the prayers which they had learned at home, while he explained at the same time that the mere repeating of prayers by rote was worthless, and that every one should rather pray from his own heart."

Pestalozzi enumerates the following pedagogical principles:

(1) The foundation of teaching is *showing* (demonstration). (2) In every branch, teaching should begin with the simplest elements, and should proceed from these by steps suited to the child's development, observing in regard to this the laws of psychology. (3) The teacher should dwell on each point till the matter of instruction becomes the free mental possession of the pupil. (4) The acquisition of knowledge and skill is not the chief end of elementary teaching, but the development and strengthening of the mental powers. (5) The relation between pupil and teacher, especially also the school discipline; should be based on and be regulated by *love*. (6) Teaching should keep in view the purpose of education.

The following is Pestalozzi's estimate of what a teacher should be:—  
 "The schoolmaster should at least be an open-hearted, cheerful, affectionate, and kind man, who would be as a father to the children; a man made on purpose to open children's hearts and their mouths, and to draw forth their understandings, as it were, from the hindermost corner. In most schools, however, it is just the contrary. The schoolmaster seems as if he were made on purpose to shut up children's mouths and hearts, and to bury their good understandings ever so deep under ground. That is the reason why healthy and cheerful children, whose hearts are full of joy and gladness, hardly ever like school." And his opinion of the duty of teachers to interest: "An interest in study is the first thing which a teacher should endeavor to excite and keep alive. There are scarcely any circumstances in which a want of application in children does not proceed from a want of interest; and there are perhaps none in which the want of interest does not originate in the mode of teaching adopted by the teacher. I would go so far as to lay it down as a rule, that wherever children are inattentive, and apparently take no interest in a lesson, the teacher should always first look to himself for the reason. There is a most remarkable reciprocal action between the interest which the teacher takes, and that which he communicates to his pupils. If he is not with his whole mind present at the subject, if he does not care whether he is understood or not, whether his manner is liked or not, he will alienate the affections of his pupils, and render them indifferent to what he says. But real interest taken in the task of instruction—kind words and kinder feelings—the very expression of the features, and the glance of the eye, are never lost upon children."

Prof. Leitch thus characterizes Pestalozzi and Fellenberg:

Experience had brought both to the conclusion that society was to be purified only by an improved and extended education for all classes, particularly for the poor; and with this object in view, they each



founded and personally conducted educational institutions, which they intended to serve as models for general imitation. They agreed in many of their opinions on educational method, Fellenberg having adopted several principles directly from Pestalozzi, who was his senior by a quarter of a century. They resembled each other also in possessing, in a high degree, the qualities of enthusiasm, energy, perseverance, and moral courage. They had each to encounter much opposition, and to overcome many difficulties; but nothing could turn them from their purpose, or abate their ardor. Here the parallel ends, and the points of difference begin. Pestalozzi was the greater man in that he had genius, sensibility, and imagination, in addition to the qualities which were common to both. His literary works prove that he combined many of the highest qualities of the philosopher and the poet. Fellenberg, on the other hand, had no literary powers, but he possessed a class of qualities in which Pestalozzi was singularly deficient, and which are indispensable to the success of practical undertakings on a large scale. He had a thoroughly disciplined mind, great firmness of will, a sound judgment, remarkable sagacity, keen powers of calculation, foresight, inventive skill, governing tact—in short, all the qualifications which constitute a successful administrator. Thus it happened that while Pestalozzi's undertakings frequently failed, Fellenberg's generally succeeded. Pestalozzi brought ruin and misery upon himself and his family; Fellenberg enriched himself. The life of Pestalozzi was sorely troubled by unseemly contentions among his assistants; around Fellenberg everything worked harmoniously. Pestalozzi often contradicted his theory in attempting to apply it to practice; with Fellenberg theory and practice always went hand in hand. Pestalozzi allowed his enthusiasm and his genial temper to lead him into all sorts of extravagancies; Fellenberg, though a man of strong passions, rarely acted impulsively. This remarkable dissimilarity between the two men was no doubt owing, in a great measure, to a difference in their natural endowment, but it was also the result of a difference of education. Fellenberg had enjoyed the counsel, control, and example of a well-educated father, who carefully trained him for the duties of active life. Pestalozzi was early deprived of the blessings of a father's influence, which no other person can well supply. In the stirring politics of the times in which they lived, the two men took opposite sides—Pestalozzi, sprung from the middle classes, and indignant at the harsh and oppressive rule of the aristocracy, was an adherent of the reforming party, and welcomed the French Revolution; Fellenberg, by birth a member of the aristocracy, was one of the most active in resisting the French invasion, and had to flee for his life. He did not approve, however, of the exclusive pretensions of his order, whom he advised to win back the alienated affections of the peasantry by showing a noble zeal for the safety of their country. The main difference between the educational views of the two men was this, Pestalozzi taught that the object of national education should be to develop the mental and moral faculties of every individual member of society, without distinction of rank. This cultivation of the general intelligence of the children of the nation, he maintained, should be the foundation for the special education needed to qualify them for any particular rank or pursuit. Fellenberg adopted this principle in the main, but held that Pestalozzi carried it too far. He maintained that the general culture should apply only to the earliest period of a child's education, which should be limited in its duration by the capacity and circumstances in life of each individual; and that this preliminary training should be followed by one chiefly devoted to the acquisition of such positive knowledge as would fit him for the discharge of his duties as a member of society. This principle of adapting the education of the pupil to the requirements of his probable station and occupation in after-life commends itself at once to practical minds as a sound and important one; nor is it at all at variance with the Pestalozzian principle of general development, for the teaching of almost any branch of knowledge may be so conducted as to have a highly educative influence on the mind of the learner.



Prof. JAMES TILLEARD, one of the teachers selected by Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell to inaugurate the Battersea Training School, writes of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg in "*The Museum*" (a Quarterly Journal of Education), for July, 1861, as follows:

Their experience led them both, at an early period of their lives, to the conviction that the amelioration of society was to be hoped for only from an improved and extended education of all classes, particularly for the poor. To the furtherance of this object they both resolved to devote their lives, and they kept their resolve. They each founded and personally conducted educational institutions which they intended to serve as models for general imitation. They each promulgated their views on the objects and methods of education. They influenced, and still continue to influence the education of the whole world. They agreed in many of their opinions of educational methods. Fellenberg, indeed, adopted many principles directly from Pestalozzi, who was his senior by a quarter of a century.

Pestalozzi taught that instead of making the child the passive recipient of the ideas of others, as most teachers before his time had done,\* it was the duty of the teacher to develop his faculties and form his character, so as to enable him to think and act for himself. In developing the faculties Pestalozzi thought that the order of Nature should be followed. He held, with Locke, that all our ideas originate in the knowledge derived through our perceptive faculties, and this cultivation should be made the foundation of education. To use his own forcible expression, he turned the European educational vessel round and put it on a new track. These, and others of his opinions, were adopted by Fellenberg, who has, therefore, not incorrectly been called his disciple.

They resemble each other, also, in possessing, in a high degree, the qualities of enthusiasm, energy, perseverance, and moral courage. They each had to encounter much opposition, and to overcome many difficulties; but nothing could turn them from their purpose, or abate the ardor of their zeal.

The main difference between the educational views of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg was this: Pestalozzi taught as a fundamental principle that the object of the national education should be to develop the mental and moral faculties of every individual member of society, without distinction of rank. This cultivation of the general intelligence of the pupils, he maintained, should be the foundation for the special education needed to qualify them for any particular rank or pursuit. Such a view of national education was a legitimate corollary of his opinions as a political reformer.

Fellenberg (one of the governing class at that date, in Berne), with a degree of liberality and moral courage that it is difficult now to estimate justly, adopted this principle in the main. But his practical mind saw that it was carried by Pestalozzi beyond the just limits of its application at that date, in Switzerland. He maintained that it applied more particularly to the earliest period of education, the duration of which should vary with the capacity and circumstances in the life of the individual pupil; and that this period should be followed by one chiefly devoted to the acquisition of such positive knowledge as would fit him for the discharge of his duties as a member of society. This principle of adapting the education of the pupil to the requirements of his probable station and occupation in after life commends itself at once to practical minds as sound and important; nor is it at all at variance with the Pestalozzian principle of general development.

\* The majority (before Pestalozzi) only attempted to pour into the mind a vast amount of knowledge of every kind, and thought an intelligent man must be the result. Learned fools, rather—with mind neither for the present or the future; who like finite beings, in another sense, are continuously created, but never able to create; heirs of all ideas, but originators of none; they are indeed samples of their education, but no proofs of its excellence.—Richter's *Levana*, Eng. ed., p. 416.

JOHN GILL, Professor of Education in the Normal School at Cheltenham, in his *Systems of Education advocated by Eminent Educationists* (Longman, 1876), gives the following summary of the Principles and Methods of Pestalozzi as interpreted by Rev. Charles Mayo in a lecture before the Royal Institution in 1826, and applied by him in his Pestalozzian School at Cheam:

The basis of all sound knowledge is the accurate observation of things acting on the outward senses. Unless physical conceptions be formed with distinctness, our abstractions will be vague, and our judgments and reasoning unstable. The first object then in education must be to lead a child to observe with accuracy; the second, to express with correctness the result of his observation. The practice of embodying in language the conceptions we form gives permanence to the impressions; and the habit of expressing ourselves with the utmost precision of which we are capable, mainly assists the faculty of thinking with accuracy and remembering with fidelity.

This being the leading idea of his method, the following are the principles by which it should be pursued.

Education should be essentially *religious*. Its end and aim should be to lead a creature, born for immortality, to that conformity to the image of God in which the glory and happiness of immortality consists. In pursuing this end, the instructor must regard himself as standing in God's stead to the child; and as by the revelation of God's love is the spiritual transformation of man accomplished, so must the earthly teacher build all his moral agencies on the manifestation of his own love towards the pupil. Then, as "we love God because He first loved us," so will the affections of the pupil be awakened towards his instructor, when he feels himself the object of that instructor's regard. Again, as love to God generates conformity to His will, so will obedience to the instructor be the consequence of awakened affection.

Education should be essentially *moral*. The principles and standard of its morality should be derived from the precepts of the gospel, as illustrated by the example of the Redeemer. Moral instruction, to be availing, must be the purified and elevated expression of moral life actually pervading the scene of education. In carrying on the business of the school-room, or in watching over the diversions of the playground, the motives and restraints of the purest morality, and those only, must be employed. Moral diseases are not to be counteracted by moral poisons; nor is intellectual attainment to be furthered at the expense of moral good.

Education should be essentially *organic*. A stone increases in size by the mechanical deposition of matter on its external surface; a plant, on the other hand, grows by continual expansion of those organs which lie folded up in its germ. Elementary education, as ordinarily carried on, is a mechanical inculcation of knowledge: in the Pestalozzian system it is an organic development of the human faculties, moral, intellectual, and physical. Moral education does not consist in preventing immoral actions in the pupil, but in cultivating dispositions, forming principles, and establishing habits. Nor does intellectual education attain its end by the mere communication of intellectual truths, but rather in the development of those faculties by which truth is recognized and discovered. And, lastly, physical education, instead of confining itself to instruction in particular arts, must be directed to the improvement of the outward senses, and the increase of activity and strength.

*Activity* is the great means of development, for *action* is the parent of *power*. The sentiments of the heart, the faculties of the mind, the powers of the body, advance to their maturity through a succession of acting in conformity to their nature. Opportunities for the exercise of moral



virtue should be carefully sought out, or, at least, diligently applied. To cultivate benevolent dispositions, the pupil should be invited to relieve the indigent; to overcome his selfishness, he should be induced to share or to part with the objects of his own desire. In intellectual culture every branch of instruction should be so presented to the pupil's mind, as to bring into the highest activity the faculties most legitimately employed upon it.

That these may be that action that leads to development, there must be liberty. It may be possible by a system of coercion, to produce a negative exterior morality, which shall endure as long as the circumstances on which it is built remain in force; but no interior moral power, that shall survive a change of outward circumstances, can be formed, unless such moral liberty be enjoyed as leaves to the judgment room for discerning between good and evil; to the moral choice the adoption of the one, and the rejection of the other; to the conscience the approval and rewarding of right, the condemnation and punishment of wrong. Restraint is useful to check the career of passion, to arrest the progress and diffusion of moral mischief, to remove the incentives to evil, and to restore to that position in which the moral principle may again exert its influence. Still it is only a negative, not a positive means. All the real development of man, moral, intellectual, and physical, arises from moral, intellectual, and physical liberty.

This liberty must be directed by an influence essentially parental; where there is no mother there can be no child, is as true morally as it is physically. It is the order of providence that maternal affection and maternal wisdom should call forth the dawning powers of childhood; and that the wisdom and firmness of a father should build up and consolidate the fabric which reposes on a mother's love. The Pestalozzian instructor must combine the character of each relation, but exhibit them in different proportions according to the age and disposition of his pupil.

The development of the faculties should be *harmonious*. In some cases the intellectual, or moral, or both, are sacrificed to the physical; in some, the moral, or physical, or both, to the intellectual. A Pestalozzian educator respects the rights of each. He fortifies the body by gymnastic exercises, while he cultivates the understanding, and trains the sentiments. He endeavors to preserve the equipoise in each, as well as between each of the three departments, to mingle firmness with sweetness, judgment with taste, activity with strength. His object will be, not to develop a disproportionate strength in one faculty, but to produce that general harmony of mind and character which is the most conducive to the happiness and usefulness of the individual.

Development should be essentially *progressive*. The sentiments should be gradually led to take a higher direction and a wider range. The motives of well-doing must be by degrees elevated and purified in their character; the duty which was discharged at first in obedience to an earthly father must be set forth as the requirements of a heavenly one; the charities of life must be exercised towards those in immediate contact; by degrees an interest may be cultivated in operations embracing a wider or distant sphere of usefulness.

In every branch of study, the *point de depart* is sought in the actual experience of the child; and from that point where he intellectually is, he is progressively led to that point where the instructor wishes him to be. Thus he proceeds from the known to the unknown, by a process that connects the latter with the former, and, instead of being abruptly placed in contact with the abstract elements of a science, he is led by a course of analytical investigations of the knowledge actually possessed, to form for himself those intellectual abstractions which are in general presented as the primary truths.

These principles are recognized in the Aims and Methods of the Normal and Model Schools of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society established in 1836.



DR. BIBER, who had the best opportunity to form an intelligent opinion of Pestalozzi's personal character, and influence on assistants and pupils, in his "Life of Pestalozzi," in 1831, remarks:

At the opening of his school at Stantz he had no plan of lessons, no method, no school book, except one, and even this he scarcely used at all. Nor did he attempt to form a plan, to sketch out a method, or to compose a book. The only object of his attention was to find out at each moment what instruction his children stood peculiarly in need of, and what was the best manner of connecting it with the knowledge they already possessed, or deducing it from the observations which they had an opportunity of making within the sphere of their daily life. Nothing could be more unsystematic than his proceeding; the meanest school-master would have thought it beneath him to assist in the management of a school which was kept together, as it were, on the spur of the moment. But though there was in it little or no method, the children felt attracted, interested, stimulated. They had no tasks to get, but they had always something to investigate or to think about; they gained little positive knowledge, but they gained daily in the love of knowledge and in the power of acquiring it; they might have been at a loss if called upon to quote texts in support of any particular doctrine of Christianity, but in the practice of its virtues they were perpetually exercised. The whole tendency of Pestalozzi's instruction was not to initiate his children into the use of those phrases which form the currency of the scientific, literary, political, and religious world, nor to habituate them to any sort of routine for the future purposes of business, but to raise their state intellectually and morally, by a treatment conformable to the laws of God in human nature. To discover this law, and to learn by experience the bearing which it had upon the development of the child, was the great object of his present exertions, he had thrown off the fetters by which human society generally disqualifies man for the higher freedom in which God would lead him on; whenever he saw a landmark of truth he steered his course towards it, and the result was that when the events of the war had banished him from Stantz, before the expiration of a twelve month, he left it with a distinct view of the nature of his task, and with a thousand floating ideas of the means by which it might best be accomplished.

Of the Institution at Yverdun in its earliest days, before dissension had broken out among his assistants, Dr. Biber writes:

Never, perhaps, has the idea of domestic life, in the highest sense of the word, been more beautifully realized; never the effect of a family spirit been more fully illustrated, than it was in the flourishing times of the establishment at Yverdun, in which persons of all ages, of all ranks, of all nations, persons of the most different gifts and abilities, and of the most opposite characters, were united together by that unaffected love which Pestalozzi, in years a man verging to the grave, but in heart and mind a genuine child, seemed to breathe out continually, and to impart to all that came within his circle. His children forgot that they had any other home; his teachers, that there was any world beside the Institution. Even the oldest members of this great family, men who had attained all the maturity of manhood, venerated Pestalozzi with all the reverence of true filial affection, and cherished towards each other, and toward the younger teachers and pupils, a genuine brotherly feeling, such as has, perhaps, never existed on earth since the days of the pristine Christian Church. There was no man that claimed any privileges for himself, none that sought anything apart from the others. All the goods of the earth, and all the gifts of immortality, by whomsoever they might be possessed, were enjoyed in common by all; every individual, with all that he had, and all that he could command, devoted himself to the happiness and the improvement of all. There were not times and places set apart for duty, and times and places left without duty; in every place, and in every moment, there was a claim of duty upon the conscience of every individual; the discharge of that duty was not a toilsome drudgery, but a true delight.

GABRIEL COMPAYRÉ, born in 1843, a pupil of the Lycée Louis le Grand, and holding a diploma of graduation from the Superior Normal School at Paris in 1865, and Professor of Pedagogy in the Normal School of Fontenay-aux-Roses, in his *History of Education in France since the 16th Century* (Paris, 1879, 2 vols.), thus characterizes Pestalozzi :

It is not for us here to describe in detail the attractive characteristics of that grand teacher, the Rollin of primary education, who might well be proud to say, what he often repeated so simply, "I am only a school master." During twenty-four years of his long and arduous life he was in turn, director of Elementary Schools, chief of an agricultural and charitable institution, the organizer of a college for special and applied education, the author of educational romances such as "Leonard and Gertrude," at Neuhof, at Stanz, at Berthoud, and at Yverdun ; and through all this period and in all these relations Pestalozzi never ceased to love the children and to work for them. War and the want of the good wishes and sympathy of his countrymen well nigh destroyed his schools, but he rebuilt them at a greater distance, and never despaired ; always ready to listen to new theories, always picking up orphans and vagabonds like an abductor of children on a new plan ; forgetting that he was poor when he would be charitable and that he was ill when he must teach ; in fine, pursuing with an indomitable energy that overcame all obstacles to his apostleship of pedagogy. "Success or death !" he cried ; "my zeal to accomplish the dream of my life would take me through fire and water, even to the highest peak of the Alps."

Compayré closes his interesting chapter on Pestalozzi, in his *History of Pedagogy*, translated by Prof. Payne [Boston, Heath & Co., 1886], with the following remarks of his own and citations from Morf, Pestalozzi's latest biographer, and Vulliemen, a bright pupil of his at Yverdun.

The teaching of Pestalozzi was in reality a long groping in unexplored ways — a ceaseless search after the best methods. Following his pedagogic instinct, his loving desire to please and develop the child's mind, and availing himself of the immediate practical skill of such assistants as were at his command (most of them young, and pupil-teachers who had come to study his system), he never worked out his own theories to complete satisfaction or clearly formulated them in manuals for the guidance of others. He made many important innovations on the old routine of school work, and set many logical minds in the right track of psychological inquiry, and through them settled definitely the aims and processes of elementary instruction in all countries, and primarily in Germany, and particularly in Prussia and Wurtemberg.

Vulliemen thus summarizes the essential principles and processes of Pestalozzi as applied by himself at Yverdun : —

Instruction was addressed to the intelligence rather than to the memory. "Attempt, said Pestalozzi to his colleagues, to *develop* the child, and not to *train* him as one trains a dog."

Language was taught us by the aid of intuition ; we learned to see correctly, and through this very process to form for ourselves a correct idea of the relations of things. What we had conceived clearly we had no difficulty in expressing clearly.

The first elements of geography were taught us on the spot. . . .



Then we reproduced in relief with clay the valley of which we had just made a study.

We were made to invent geometry by having marked out for us the end to reach, and by being put on the route. The same course was followed in arithmetic; our computations were made in the head and *viva voce*, without the aid of paper.

There was neither book nor copy-book in the schools of Berthoud.

The children had nothing to learn by heart. They had to repeat all at once and in accord the instructions of the master. Each lesson lasted but an hour, and was followed by a short interval devoted to recreation.

Manual labor, making paper boxes, working in the garden, gymnastics, were associated with mental labor. The last hour of each day was devoted to optional labor. The pupils said, "We are working for ourselves." A few hours a week were devoted to military exercises.

Pestalozzi in his first letter to Gessner adopts Fischer's formula as expressing the five essential principles his own system:—

1. To give the mind an intensive culture, and not simply extensive: to form the mind, and not to content one's self with furnishing it;
2. To connect all instruction with the study of language;
3. To furnish the mind for all its operations with fundamental data, mother ideas;
4. To simplify the mechanism of instruction and study;
5. To popularize science.

Morf, the latest biographer of Pestalozzi, condenses into a few maxims the pedagogy of the great master:—

1. Intuition is the basis of instruction;
2. Language ought to be associated with intuition;
3. The time to learn is not that of judging and of criticizing;
4. In each branch, instruction ought to begin with the simplest elements, and to progress by degrees while following the development of the child, that is to say, through a series of steps psychologically connected;
5. We should dwell long enough on each part of the instruction for the pupil to gain a complete mastery of it;
6. Instruction ought to follow the order of natural development, and not that of synthetic exposition;
7. The individuality of the child is sacred;
8. The principal end of elementary instruction is not to cause the child to acquire knowledge and talents, but to develop and increase the forces of his intelligence;
9. To wisdom there must be joined power; to theoretical knowledge, practical skill;
10. The relations between master and pupil ought to be based on love;
11. Instruction proper ought to be made subordinate to the higher purpose of education.

The processes of the teacher are as follows:—

The child should know how to speak before learning to read.

For reading, use should be made of movable letters glued on paste-board. Before writing, the pupil should draw. The first exercises in writing should be upon slates.

In the study of language, the evolution of nature should be followed, first studying nouns, then qualificatives, and finally prepositions.

The elements of computation shall be taught by the aid of material objects taken as units, or at least by means of strokes drawn on a board. Oral computation shall be the most employed.

The pupil ought, in order to form an accurate and exact idea of numbers, to conceive them always as a collection of strokes or of concrete things, and not as abstract figures. A small table divided into squares in which points are represented, serves to teach addition, subtraction, etc.



The great superiority of Pestalozzi over Rousseau is that he worked for the people, that he applied to a great number of children the principles which Rousseau embodied only in an individual and privileged education. Emile after all is an aristocrat. He is rich and of good ancestry; and is endowed with all the gifts of nature and fortune. Real pupils do not offer, in general, to the action of teachers, material as docile and complaisant. Pestalozzi had to do only with children of the common people, who have everything to learn at school, because they have found at home, with busy or careless parents, neither encouragement nor example,—because their early years have been only a long intellectual slumber. For these benumbed natures, many exercises are necessary, which would properly be regarded as useless if it were a question of instructing children of another condition. . . . The real organizer of the education of childhood and of the people, Pestalozzi has a right to the plaudits of all those who are interested in the future of the masses of mankind.

Whatever degree of approval we extend to the fundamental doctrine and processes of the Kindergarten and the Infant School, may be justly claimed for Pestalozzi who recognized the play spirit, the spontaneous and pleasurable activity of the child as the solid basis of human culture.

Frébel was avowedly a loving pupil and disciple of Pestalozzi, and followed in his own kindergarten the principles and spirit of the methods of the Master. Gréard thus states the needs of the child-aims and processes of Frébel's child-culture:—

1. The taste for observation:—

"All the senses of the child are on the alert; all the objects which his sight or his hand encounters attract him, interest him, delight him."

2. The need of activity, the taste for construction:—

"It is not enough that we show him objects; it is necessary that he touch them, that he handle them, that he appropriate them to himself. . . . He takes delight in constructing; he is naturally a geometrician and artist."

3. Finally, the sentiment of personality:—

"He wishes to have his own place, his own occupation, his own teacher."

Now Frébel's method has precisely for its object the satisfaction of these different instincts.

"To place the child before a common table," says Gréard, "but with his own chair and a place that belongs to him, so that he feels that he is the owner of his little domain; to excite at the very beginning his good will by the promise of an interesting game; to develop in succession under his very eyes the marvels of the five gifts; to teach him in the first place from concrete objects exposed to his sight, balls of colored worsted and geometrical solids, to distinguish color, form, material, the different parts of a body, so as to accustom him to *see*, that is, to seize the aspects, the figures, the resemblances, the differences, the relations of things; then to place the objects in his hands, and to teach him to make with the balls of colored worsted combinations of colors agreeable to the eye, to arrange, with matches united by balls of cork, squares, angles, triangles of all sorts, to set up little cubes in the form of crosses, pyramids, etc.;—then either by means of strips of colored paper placed in different directions, interlaced into one another, braided as a weaver would make a fabric, or with the crayon to drill him in reproducing, in creating, designs representing all the geometrical forms, so that to the habit of observation is gradually joined that of invention; finally, while his hand is busy in concert with his intelligence, and while his need of activity is satisfied, to take advantage of this awakened and satisfied attention to fix in his mind by appropriate questions some notions of the properties and uses of forms, by relating them to some great principle of general order, simple and fruitful, to mingle the practical lesson with moral observations, drawn in particular from the incidents of the school—this, in its natural progress and its normal development is the method of Frébel."



PESTALOZZI

## SELECTIONS FROM THE PUBLICATIONS OF PESTALOZZI.

[Translated or Revised for the American Journal of Education.]

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THE choice of selections from the works of Pestalozzi is rendered difficult by the character of the mind that produced them. Taken as a whole, they display remarkable powers of observation, considerable insight into the operations of the mind and feelings, great appreciation of character, and a graphic and forcible style. But to select from their whole extent portions which shall give a connected view of his principles, is almost impossible, from the fact that his mind was strongly intuitional in tendency and habit, and rapid and impulsive in action, and that his powers of reflection, combination, and logical expression were not correspondingly great. Thus he often said too much or too little; was contradictory or inconsistent; and has nowhere, even where expressly undertaking to do it, as in "*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*," given an adequate presentation of his principles or practice.

"*Leonard and Gertrude*" is presented as the book which, more than any other one work, was the foundation of Pestalozzi's fame, and as in itself to the present generation a new and interesting picture of life in the German Swiss villages of the last half of the last century. It has also additional value as containing many of the author's views on educational and social questions, although diffused throughout the work.

A brief extract from "*Christopher and Alice*" is given, sufficient to exhibit the mode of treatment of the subject. The work was comparatively a failure, and has moreover little interest to readers in this country and this age, being closely and exclusively local in aim.

"*The Evening Hour of a Hermit*" is termed by Karl von Raumer "the key of Pestalozzi's educational views." And Pestalozzi himself observed, in his old age, that even at the early date of its composition, he had already arrived at the fundamental principles which controlled the labors and expositions of all his subsequent life.

The various addresses from which extracts are next given are interesting as affording a view of one mode of communication between Pestalozzi and his associates. They are doubtless freer and more spontaneous expressions of his peculiar modes of thought and feeling than his more formal expositions.

"*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*" was intended by Pestalozzi to give a logical and connected view of his methods of instruction, in



## PREFACE.

some detail. The extracts presented embody the most important portion of the work, and exhibit also some of his characteristic defects in arrangement and exposition.

The extracts from the "*Paternal Instructions*" are valuable as a specimen of a mode of combining instruction in language with sound lessons in morals; upon a principle which Pestalozzi carried very far in theory, and to a great extent in practice; namely, that of teaching through one and the same vehicle, if possible, in the departments both of intellect and morals.

The London translation of "*Leonard and Gertrude*," with corrections, has been followed in that work, except in the extracts added from the subsequently written part of the book. The liberty has been taken of extracting from Dr. Biber's valuable biography of Pestalozzi, his translation from "*Christopher and Alice*," and from the "*Paternal Instructions*." The "*Evening Hour of a Hermit*," the extracts from the second part of "*Leonard and Gertrude*," and from "*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*," and the several addresses of Pestalozzi, were translated by FREDERICK B. PERKINS, Esq., of Hartford, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society; and are from Cotta's edition of Pestalozzi's works, Von Raumer's "*History of Education*," or Christoffel's "*Life and Views*."

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LEONARD AND GERTRUDE

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WILLIAM PETERSON



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# LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

READER—In the following pages I have attempted, through the medium of a tale, to communicate some important truths to the people, in the way most likely to make an impression upon their understandings and their feelings.

It has also been my endeavor, to ground both the tale and the instructions derived from it, upon the most careful imitation of nature, and upon the simple description of what is every where to be found.

In what is here related, (the greatest part of which I have, in the course of an active life, myself observed,) I have been careful never to set down my own opinions, instead of what I have seen and heard the people themselves feel, judge, say, and attempt.

If my observations be just, and if I have been successful in my endeavor to give them with the simplicity of truth, they will be well received by all those, before whose eyes the things which I relate are continually passing. If they be false, if they be the creatures of my imagination, the trifles of my own brain, they will, like other Sunday discourses, be forgotten on the Monday.

I will say no more, except to add two passages which appear calculated to illustrate my opinions as to the means to be adopted for a wise instruction of the people.

The first is from a work of our immortal Luther; every line of whose pen breathes humanity, insight into the character of the people, and a desire to instruct them. He says:—

“The holy scriptures are so graciously adapted to our wants, that they do not tell us merely of the great deeds of holy men, but also relate their common discourse, and disclose to us the inmost motives and principles of their hearts.”

The second is from the writings of a Jewish Rabbi, and, according to a Latin translation, is as follows:—

“There were amongst the heathen nations, who dwelt round about the inheritance of Abraham, men full of wisdom, whose equals were not to be found far or near. These said: ‘Let us go to the kings and to their great men, and teach them how to make the people happy upon the earth.’

“And the wise men went out, and learned the language of the houses of the kings and of their great men, and spoke to the kings and to their great men, in their own language.

“And the kings and the great men praised the wise men, and gave them gold, and silk, and frankincense; *but treated the people as before*. And the wise men were blinded by the gold, and the silk, and the frankincense, and no longer saw that the kings and the great men behaved ill and foolishly to all the people who lived upon the earth.

“But a man of our nation reproved the wise men of the heathens, and was kind to the beggar upon the highway; and took the children of the thief, of the



what a mother's heart, almost without means or help, can do for her children. It is equally false to say that mothers have no time to attend to the first formation of the minds and feelings of their children. Most of them, particularly those who live at home, have their children with them a great part of the day; and why can not they, whilst they are at work, as well behave to them, and talk to them, in a way which will instruct and improve them, as in one which will do neither? A mother's instruction requires no art. It is nothing but to excite the child to an active observation of the things which surround it. It is nothing but a regular exercise of the senses, of the warm feelings of the heart, of the powers of speech, and of the natural activity of the body. All that is necessary is to second the feelings of mothers, and their already prepared, and, as I may say, instinctively simple and upright understandings, and to place in their power the necessary means, so prepared as they may best use them.

Good mothers! let it not be unjustly said, any longer, that you have not understanding and strength for what, in your circumstances, is your highest and holiest duty. If you once go so far as to weep in the stillness of your chambers, because the good Gertrude did more for her children than you have hitherto done for yours, I am sure you will then try whether it be not possible to do what she did; and it is when you are arrived at this point, that I wish to offer you my elementary books.

My heart here bids me be silent; but one word more! Whoever wishes to do his duty to God, to posterity, to public right, and public order, and to the security of family happiness, must, in one way or other, accord with the spirit of my book, and seek the same object. This is my comfort. When these truths are ripened, as ripen they must, they will bear fruit; when they are become fitted for the poor and desolate, they will be enjoyed by them. Many good men and women, who have hitherto been unable, notwithstanding the best inclinations, to give a good piece of advice to a neighbor, will become the fathers and mothers of the poor and desolate. It is to this strength and greatness that I seek to elevate the minds and hearts of the nobles, and of the people, of my native country. After my death, may men of matured powers proceed in this great object of my life; and, before I close my eyes, may I enjoy the happiness of seeing both my object and the means which I employ to attain it, no longer misunderstood.

Alas! this misunderstanding prevents the happiness of thousands, who, but for it, would every where find wise and powerful assistance.

PESTALOZZI.

BURGDORF, *November, 1808.*

## LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

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### CHAPTER I.—A KIND-HEARTED MAN, WHO YET MAKES HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN VERY UNHAPPY.

THERE lived in Bonnal, a mason. He was called Leonard, and his wife, Gertrude. He had seven children and some property, but he had this fault; that he often let himself be tempted to the tavern. When he was once seated there, he behaved like a madman;—and there are in our village, cunning, good-for-nothing rogues, whose sole employment and business it is, to take in honest and simple people, and seize every opportunity of getting hold of their money. These were acquainted with poor Leonard, and often led him on from drinking to gaming, and thus cheated him of the produce of his labor. Whenever this had happened over-night, Leonard repented in the morning, and it went to his heart when he saw Gertrude and his children wanting bread, so that he trembled, wept, and cast down his eyes to conceal his tears.

Gertrude was the best wife in the village; but she and her blooming children were in danger of being robbed of their father, and driven from their home, and of sinking into the greatest misery, because Leonard could not let wine alone.

Gertrude saw the approaching danger, and felt it most keenly. When she fetched grass from the meadow, when she took hay from the loft, when she set away the milk in her clean pans, whatever she was doing, she was tormented by the thought that her meadow, her haystack, and her little hut, might soon be taken away from her; and when her children were standing around her, or sitting in her lap, her anguish was still greater, and the tears streamed down her cheeks.

Hitherto, however, she had been able to conceal this silent weeping from her children; but on Wednesday, before last Easter, when she had waited long and her husband did not come home, her grief overcame her, and the children observed her tears. "Oh mother," exclaimed they all with one voice, "you are weeping," and pressed themselves closer to her. Sorrow and anxiety were on every countenance—anxious sobs, heavy, downcast looks, and silent tears, surrounded the mother, and even the baby in her arms, betrayed a feeling of pain hitherto unknown—his first expression of care and sorrow, his staring eyes which, for the first time, were fixed upon her without a smile—all this quite broke her heart. Her anguish burst out in a loud cry, and all the children and the baby wept with their mother, and there was a dreadful sound of lamentation just as Leonard opened the door.

Gertrude lay with her face on the bed; heard not the opening of the door, and saw not the entrance of the father; neither did the children perceive him. They saw only their weeping mother, and hung on her arm and round her neck, and by her clothes. Thus did Leonard find them.

God in heaven sees the tears of the wretched, and puts a limit to their grief. Gertrude found in her tears the mercy of God. The mercy of God brought

Leonard to witness this scene, which pierced through his soul, so that his limbs trembled. The paleness of death was upon his countenance, and he could scarcely articulate, with a hasty and broken voice: "Lord Jesus! what is this?" Then the mother saw him for the first time, the children looked up, and their loud exclamations of grief were hushed. "O mother! here is our father," said the children all at once, and even the baby sobbed no longer.

As a torrent, or a raging flame, did their wild anguish subside into quiet, thoughtful anxiety. Gertrude loved Leonard, and in her deepest distress his presence was always a comfort. Leonard's horror also was now less overwhelming than at first.

"Tell me, Gertrude," said he, "what is this dreadful trouble in which I find thee?"

"O my dear," answered Gertrude, "heavy cares press upon my heart, and when thou art away sorrow preys more keenly upon me."

"Gertrude," said Leonard, "I know why thou weepest, wretch that I am!"

Then Gertrude sent away the children, and Leonard hid his face on her neck, and could not speak.

Gertrude too was silent for a few moments, and leaned sorrowfully against her husband, who wept and sobbed on her neck.

At last she collected all her strength, and took courage to urge him not to bring any further trouble and misery upon his children.

Gertrude was pious, and trusted in God; and before she spoke, she prayed silently for her husband and for her children; and her heart was evidently comforted as she said, "Leonard! trust in the mercy of God, and take courage to do nothing but what is right."

"O Gertrude, Gertrude!" exclaimed Leonard, and wept, and his tears fell in torrents.

"O my love! take courage and trust in thy Father in heaven, and all will be better with thee. It goes to my heart to make thee weep. My love, I would gladly keep every trouble from thee. Thou knowest that, by thy side, I could be content with bread and water, and the still midnight is often to me an hour of cheerful labor, for thee and my children. But, if I concealed my anxiety from thee, lest I be separated from thee and these dear little ones, I should be no mother to my children, nor true to thee. Our children are yet full of gratitude and love toward us,—but, my Leonard, if we do not continue to act as parents, their love and tenderness, to which I trust so much, must needs decrease, and think too what thou wilt feel, when thy Nicholas has no longer a home of his own, and must go out to service. He who now talks with so much delight of freedom and his own little flock. Leonard! if he, and all these dear children, should become poor through our fault, should cease to thank us in their hearts, and begin to weep for us their parents—Leonard! couldst thou bear to see thy Nicholas, thy Jonas, thy Liseli, and thy little Anneli, driven out of doors to seek their bread at another's table? Oh! it would kill me to see it." So spoke Gertrude, and the tears fell down her cheeks.

And Leonard was not less affected. "What shall I do, miserable creature—that I am? What can I do? I am yet more wretched than thou knowest of—O Gertrude! Gertrude!" Then he was again silent, wrung his hands and wept in extreme misery.

"Oh, my dear husband, do not mistrust God's mercy! Whatever it be, speak that we may consult together, and comfort each other."



CHAPTER II.—A WOMAN WHO FORMS A RESOLUTION, ACTS UP TO IT, AND FINDS  
A LORD OF THE MANOR, WHO HAS THE HEART OF A FATHER TOWARD  
HIS DEPENDENTS.

"OH Gertrude, Gertrude! it breaks my heart to tell thee my distress and add to thy anxieties; and yet I must do it. I owe Hummel, the bailiff, thirty florins; and he is a hound to those who are in debt to him, and not a man. I wish I had never seen his face! If I do not go to his house, he threatens me with law; and if I do go, the wages of my labor are in his claws. This, Gertrude, this is the source of our misfortunes."

"My dear husband," replied Gertrude, "canst thou not go to Arner, the father of the country? Thou knowest how all the widows and orphans praise him. I think he would give thee counsel and protection against this man."

"O Gertrude," said Leonard, "I can not, I dare not. What could I say against the bailiff? He would bring up a thousand different things against me! He is bold and cunning, and has a hundred ways and means of crying down a poor man before a magistrate, so that he may not be heard."

*Gertrude.* Dear husband, I never yet spoke to a magistrate, but if necessity and want carried me to him, I am sure I could speak the truth to any man. O do not be afraid; think of me, and of thy children, and go.

"Gertrude," said Leonard, "I can not, I dare not. I am not free from fault. The bailiff will coolly take the whole village to witness that I am a drunkard. O Gertrude, I am not blameless. What can I say? Nobody will stand up against him and say that he enticed me to it all. O Gertrude, if I could, if I durst, how gladly would I go; but if ventured, and did not succeed, think how he would revenge himself"

*Gertrude.* But even if thou art silent he will nevertheless bring thee to ruin, without a chance of escape. Leonard, think of thy children, and go. This anxiety of heart must have an end. Go,—or I will go myself.

*Leonard.* Gertrude, I dare not. If thou darest, for God's sake, go directly to Arner, and tell him all.

"I will go," said Gertrude; and she did not sleep one hour that night; but she prayed during that sleepless night, and was more and more resolved to go to Arner, the lord of the manor.

Early in the morning she took her baby, which bloomed like a rose, and went six miles, to the hall.

Arner was sitting under his lime-trees, before the door of his house, as Gertrude approached; he saw her, he saw the baby in her arms, and upon her countenance sorrow and suffering, and the traces of tears. "What do you want my good woman? Who are you?" said he, so kindly that she took courage to speak.

"I am Gertrude," said she, "the wife of Leonard, the mason of Bonnal."

"You are an excellent woman," said Arner. "I have observed your children more than all the rest in the village; they are more modest and better behaved than any of the others; and they appear better fed. And yet I hear you are very poor. Tell me what you wish for."

"O gracious sir, my husband has, for some time past, owed Urias Hummel, the bailiff, thirty florins; and he is a hard man. He entices him to gaming, and all kinds of waste; and because he is afraid of him, he dare not keep away from his tavern, though it costs him, almost every day, his wages and his children's

bread. Honored sir! he has seven young children, and without help and counsel against the bailiff it is impossible that we should escape beggary. I know that you have compassion upon the widow and the orphan, and therefore I have made bold to come to you, and tell you our misfortunes. I have brought with me all my children's savings, to leave them with you, if I might venture to beg you to make some agreement for us, so that the bailiff, till he is paid, may not oppress and injure us any more."

Arner had long had suspicions of the bailiff. He perceived, therefore, immediately, the truth of this complaint, and the wisdom of what she asked. He took a cup of tea which stood before him, and said—"You are tired, Gertrude; drink this tea, and give your pretty child some of this milk."

Gertrude stood blushing; and this paternal kindness went to her heart, so that she could not restrain her tears. And Arner encouraged her to tell him what the bailiff and his companions had done, and the wants and cares of many years. He listened attentively, and then asked her, "How have you been able, Gertrude, through all this distress to keep your children's money?"

Then Gertrude answered:—"It was difficult indeed, gracious sir, to do so; but I always looked upon the money as not my own, as if some dying man had given it me on his death-bed to keep for his children. I considered it almost in this light; and if ever, in the time of our greatest need, I was obliged to buy the children bread with it, I never rested till I had made it up again for them by night labor."

"Was that always possible, Gertrude?" said Arner.

"O gracious sir, if we have once set our hearts upon any thing, we can do more than we could imagine possible, and God always helps us in our greatest need, if we are really doing our best to get what is absolutely necessary. O gracious sir, he helps us more than you in your magnificence can know or imagine."

Arner was deeply affected by the innocence and goodness of this poor woman; he made still further inquiries; and said, "Gertrude, where is this money?"

Then Gertrude laid down seven neat parcels upon Arner's table; and to every parcel was fastened a ticket, saying whose it was, and when Gertrude had taken any thing away from it, and how she had replaced it.

Arner read the tickets over attentively. Gertrude saw it, and blushed: "I ought to have taken away these tickets, gracious sir."

Arner smiled, and read on; but Gertrude stood there abashed, and her heart throbbed on account of these tickets; for she was modest, and troubled at the least appearance of vanity.

Arner saw her uneasiness because she had not taken off the tickets, and felt the simple dignity of innocence, as she stood ashamed that her goodness and prudence were noticed; and he resolved to befriend her more than she asked or hoped for; for he felt her worth, and that no woman was like her among a thousand. He added something to each of the parcels, and said "Take back your children's money, Gertrude, and I will lay down thirty florins for the bailiff, till he is paid. Go home, now, Gertrude; to-morrow I shall be in the village, and I will settle matters between you and Hummel."

Gertrude could not speak for joy; scarcely could she stammer out a broken sobbing—"Heaven reward you, gracious sir!" and then she went with her baby and with the comfort she had obtained, to her husband. As she went, she

prayed and thanked God all the way, and wept tears of gratitude and hope, till she came to her cottage.

Leonard saw her coming, and saw the joy of her heart in her countenance.

"Art thou here again so soon?" said she, going to meet her. "Thou hast been successful with Arner."

"How dost thou know that already?" said Gertrude.

"I see it in thy face, thou excellent creature, thou canst not conceal it."

"That can I not," said Gertrude, "and I would not, if I could, keep the good news a moment from thee, Leonard." Then she related to him Arner's kindness; how he had believed her words, and how he had promised to help them. And she gave the children Arner's present, and kissed them all, more fondly and cheerfully than she had done for a long time past; and said to them: "Pray every day for Arner, my children, as you pray for your father and me. Arner cares for the welfare of all the country; he cares for your welfare; and if you are good and well-behaved, and industrious, you will be dear to him, as you are dear to me and to your father."

From that time forward the mason's children, every morning and evening, when they prayed for their father and mother, prayed also for Arner, the father of the country.

Gertrude and Leonard made fresh resolutions to look after the management of the house, and to bring up their children in every good way; and this day was a festival to them. Leonard's courage was renewed, and in the evening Gertrude prepared for him a supper that he was fond of; and they rejoiced together over the coming morning, the assistance of Arner, and the mercy of their God.

Arner, too, longed for the next morning, that he might do a deed, such as he did by thousands, to make his existence useful.

### CHAPTER III.—A BRUTE APPEARS.

AND when his bailiff came to him, that evening, to receive his orders, he said to him, "I am coming myself to Bonnal, to-morrow. I am determined to have the building of the church begun at last." The bailiff replied: "Gracious sir, is your grace's master-builder at liberty now?" "No," answered Arner, "but there is a mason in the village, of the name of Leonard, whom I shall be glad to employ in this affair. Why have you never recommended him to me before as a workman?"

The bailiff made a low bow, and said: "I durst not have employed the poor mason in any of your magnificence's buildings."

Arner. "Is he a trusty man, bailiff, upon whom I can depend?"

Bailiff. "Yes—your grace may depend upon him; he is a very honest fellow."

"They say he has an excellent wife; is she not a talker?" said Arner emphatically.

"No, indeed," replied the bailiff, "she is a hard-working, quiet woman."

"Very well," said Arner, "be at the church-yard to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock. I will meet you there myself."

The bailiff went away, well pleased with this conversation; for he thought within himself, this is a fresh cow for my stall; and he already turned over in his mind the tricks by which he should get from the mason, the money he might gain by this building of the church. He went straight home, and then to the mason's cottage.



It was already dark, as he knocked impatiently at the door.

Leonard and Gertrude were sitting by the table. The remains of the supper were still before them. Leonard knew the voice of the envious bailiff, started, and pushed the food into a corner.

Gertrude encouraged him not to be afraid, and to trust in Arner; but he turned pale as he opened the door for the bailiff.

The latter smelt out the concealed supper as quick as a hungry hound, but he behaved civilly, and said, though with a smile; "You are well off, good people; it is easy to do without the tavern at this rate. Is it not, Leonard?"

The poor man cast down his eyes and was silent; but Gertrude was bolder, and said: "What are the bailiff's commands? It is seldom that he comes further than to the window of such a poor house as this."

Hummel concealed his anger, laughed, and said: "It is very true that I should not have expected to find such good cooking here; or perhaps I might have invited myself."

This vexed Gertrude. "Bailiff," said she, "you smell our supper, and grudge it us. When a poor man is enjoying a supper he likes, and which perhaps he does not get three times in a year, you should be ashamed to come in and spoil it."

"I had no such wicked intention," said the bailiff, still laughing. But soon afterward, he added more seriously, "You are too insolent, Gertrude; it does not become poor people. You should remember that we may have something to do with each other yet. But I will not begin upon this at present. I am always kindly disposed toward your husband; and whenever I can, I serve him. Of this I can give proof."

*Gertrude.* "Bailiff, my husband is enticed away, every day, to drink and game in your tavern, and then must I and my children, at home, suffer every possible misery. This is the service we have to thank you for."

*Hummel.* "You do me wrong, Gertrude. It is true that your husband is somewhat inclined to drinking. I have often told him so. But in my tavern, I can not refuse any man what he asks for, to eat and drink. Every body does the same."

*Ger.* "Yes; but every body does not threaten a poor unfortunate man with law, if he does not double his reckoning every year."

Here the bailiff could restrain himself no longer; he turned in a rage to Leonard: "Are you such a pitiful fellow, Leonard, as to tell these tales of me? Must I have it thrown into my very beard, what you ragamuffins are going to bring upon the credit and good name of an old man like me? Did I not reckon with you a short time ago, before the overseer? It is well that all the tickets are in my hands. Will you deny my claims, Leonard?"

"That is not the question," said Leonard. "Gertrude only wants me to make no fresh debts."

The bailiff considered a little, lowered his tone, and said: "There is nothing so much amiss in that. But you are the master—she does not wish to tie you up in leading-strings?"

*Ger.* "Far from it, bailiff. I only wish to get him out of the leading-strings in which he is now fast—and that is your book, bailiff, and those beautiful tickets."

*Hum.* "He has only to pay me, and then he will be out of the leading-strings, as you call them, in a twinkling."

*Ger.* "He will well be able to do that, if he makes no fresh debts."

*Hum.* "You are proud, Gertrude—we shall see. Confess the truth, Gertrude! you would rather sit junketing with him alone at home, than let him enjoy a glass of wine with me."

*Ger.* "You are a mean fellow, bailiff; but your speeches do me no harm."

Hummel could not continue this conversation any longer. He felt that something must have happened to make this woman so bold. Therefore he durst not indulge his anger, and took his leave.

"Have you any further commands?" said Gertrude.

"None if this is to be the way;" answered Hummel.

"What way?" replied Gertrude, smiling, and looking steadily in his face. This put the bailiff still more out of countenance, so that he knew not how to behave.

He went out, muttering to himself down the steps; what can be the meaning of all this?

Leonard was not easy about the business, and the bailiff was still less so.

#### CHAPTER IV.—HE IS WITH HIS OWN SET, AND IT IS THERE THAT ROGUES SHOW THEMSELVES.

It was now near midnight, and as soon as he got home, he sent for two of Leonard's neighbours, to come to him directly.

They were in bed when he sent, but got up again, without delay, and went to him through the dark night.

And he inquired about every thing which Leonard and Gertrude had done for some days past. But as they could tell him nothing which threw any light upon the subject, he turned his rage against them.

"You hounds, if one wants any thing from you, you are never ready with it. I don't know why I should always be your fool. Whenever you trespass in the woods, or steal fodder,—I am to take no notice of it.—When you turn cattle into the squire's pastures and destroy the hedges—I must not say a word"—

"You, Buller! more than a third part of thy reckoning was false, and I was silent about it. Dost thou think that bit of mouldy hay was enough to content me? but the year is not yet passed over. And you, Krue! Thy half meadow belongs to thy brother's children. You old thief! what good hast thou done to me, that I should not give thee up to the hangman, whose property thou art?"

These speeches frightened the neighbors.

"What can we do? What must we do, Mr. Bailiff? By night or by day, we are always ready to do what you ask us."

"You dogs! You can do nothing—you know nothing—I am half mad with rage. I must know what the mason's people have been about this week—what is hidden in that poke." Thus he went on.

In the mean time Krue recollected himself.

"Hold, bailiff, I have just thought of something. Gertrude went over the fields this morning; and this evening, her Liseli was praising the squire at the well. She must surely have been to the hall. The evening before, there was a great lamentation in the cottage; nobody knew why. To-day they are all cheerful again."

The bailiff was now convinced that Gertrude had been to the hall. Anger and alarm raged still more fiercely in his soul.

He uttered horrible curses, abused Arner violently for listening to every beg-

garly wretch; and swore to have revenge upon Leonard and Gertrude. "But you must say nothing about it, neighbors. I will treat these people civilly, till all is ripe. Look carefully after what they do, and bring me word—I will be your man when you want help."

Then he took Buller aside, and said, "Dost thou know any thing of the stolen flower-pots? Thou wert seen, yesterday, going over the borders with a laden ass. What wert thou carrying off?"

Buller started. "I—I—had—" "Come, come," said the bailiff "be faithful to me, and I will help thee at a pinch."

Then the neighbors went away, but it was already near dawn.

And Hummel threw himself on his bed for about an hour—started, thought of vengeance, gnashed his teeth in uneasy slumber, and kicked with his feet—till the clear day called him from his bed.

He resolved to see Leonard once more, to master himself, and to tell him that Arner had appointed him to build the church. He summoned all his powers of deceiving, and went to him.

Gertrude and Leonard had slept more peacefully this night than they had done for a long time past; and at the dawn of morning they prayed for a blessing upon the day. They hoped also for prompt help from Father Arner. This hope spread tranquillity of soul, and unwonted delightful serenity around them.

Thus did Hummel find them. He saw how it was, and Satan entered into his heart, so that he was more than ever inflated with rage; but he commanded himself, wished them civilly good morning, and said:

"Leonard, we parted in anger with each other last night; but this must not last. I have some good news for thee. I am come from our gracious master; he has been speaking of building the church, and inquired about thee. I said thou wert equal to the work, and I think he will give it thee. This is the way neighbors can serve one another—we must not be so easily vexed."

*Leonard.* "He has agreed with his master-builder to build the church. You told the whole village so, long ago."

*Hummel.* "I thought it was so; but it proves a mistake. The master-builder has only made an estimate of it, and thou mayest easily believe he has not forgotten his own profit. If thou undertakest it according to this reckoning, thou mayst gather up gold like leaves. Leonard, see now how well I mean by thee."

The mason was overcome by the hope of having the work, and thanked him cordially. But Gertrude saw that the bailiff was white with smothered rage, and that bitter wrath was concealed under his smiles; and she could not yet rejoice. The bailiff retired, and as he went, he added, "Within an hour Arner will be here." And Leonard's daughter Lise, who was standing by her father, said to the bailiff,

"We have known that ever since yesterday."

Hummel started at these words, but pretended not to hear them.

And Gertrude, who saw that the bailiff was lying in wait for the money, which might be gained by the building of the church, was very uneasy about it.

#### CHAPTER V.—HE FINDS HIS MASTER.

In the mean time Arner came to the churchyard, and many people collected together from the village to see the good squire.

"Are you so idle, or is this a holiday, that you have so much time to be gossiping here?" said the bailiff to some who stood too near him; for he always took care



that nobody should hear the orders he received. But Arner observed it and said aloud: "Bailiff, I like my children to remain in the churchyard, and to hear, themselves, how I will arrange about the building. Why do you drive them away?"

Hummel bowed down to the ground, and called aloud to the neighbors: "Come back again! his grace will allow it."

*Arner.* "Have you seen the estimate for the building of the church?"

*Bailiff.* "Yes, gracious sir."

*Arner.* "Do you think Leonard can make the building good and durable, at this price?"

"Yes, gracious sir," answered the bailiff; and he added in a lower tone, "I think, as he lives on the spot, he might perhaps undertake it for something less."

But Arner said aloud, "As much as I would have given to my master-builder, so much will I give him. Call him here, and take care that he has as much from the wood and from the magazine as the master-builder would have had."

A few moments before Arner sent to call him, Leonard had gone to the upper village, and Gertrude resolved to go back herself to the churchyard with the messenger, and tell Arner her anxieties.

When the bailiff saw Gertrude coming back with the messenger instead of Leonard, he turned pale.

Arner observed it, and said, "What is the matter, bailiff?"

*Bailiff.* "Nothing, gracious sir! nothing at all; only I did not sleep well last night."

"One may tell that by your looks," said Arner, looking steadily into his inflamed eyes. Then he turned to Gertrude, spoke to her kindly, and said, "Is your husband not with you? You must tell him to come to me. I will intrust the building of this church to him."

Gertrude stood for a few moments silent, and durst not say a word before so many people.

*Arner.* "Why do you not speak, Gertrude? I will give your husband the work, upon the same terms on which my master-builder would have had it. This ought to please you, Gertrude."

Gertrude had now recovered herself, and said, "Gracious sir, the church is so near the tavern."

All the people began to smile; and as most of them wished to conceal this from the bailiff, they turned away from him toward Arner.

The bailiff, who clearly saw that Arner had perceived it all, got up in a passion, went toward Gertrude, and said, "What have you to say against my tavern?"

Arner quickly interrupted him and said, "Is this your affair, bailiff, that you interfere about it?" Then he turned again to Gertrude, and said, "What do you mean? Why is the church too near the tavern?"

*Ger.* "Gracious sir, my husband is easily enticed away by wine; and if he works every day so near the tavern, I am afraid he will not be able to resist."

*Arner.* "But can not he avoid the tavern, if it is so dangerous to him?"

*Ger.* "Gracious sir, when people are working hard, and get heated, it makes them very thirsty; and if he has always before his eyes people drinking together, and trying to entice him by every kind of joviality, and jesting, and buying wine, and laying wagers, oh! how will he be able to resist? and if he once gets ever so little into debt again, he is fast. Gracious sir, if you only knew how

one single evening, in such houses, can bring poor people into slavery and snares, out of which it is scarcely possible to escape again!"

*Arner.* "I do know it, Gertrude! and I am angry about what you told me yesterday; and therefore, before your eyes, and before the eyes of all these people, I will show that I will not have the poor oppressed and ill-used. Then he turned to the bailiff, and said, with a solemn voice, and a look which thrilled through his bones and marrow: "Bailiff! is it true, that poor people are oppressed, and misled, and cheated in your house?"

Confused, and pale as death, the bailiff answered: "Gracious sir, such a thing never happened to me before in my life,—and so long as I live, and am bailiff"—; he wiped the perspiration from his face—coughed—cleared his throat, and began again. "It is dreadful"—.

*Arner.* "You are disturbed, bailiff! The question is a simple one. Is it true, that you oppress the poor, and lay snares for them in your tavern, so as to make their homes unhappy?"

*Bailiff.* "No, certainly not, gracious sir! This is the reward one gets for serving such beggarly folks. I might have foreseen it. One always gets such thanks instead of payment."

*Arner.* "Trouble not yourself about payment now. The question is, whether this woman lies."

*Bailiff.* "Yes, certainly, gracious sir! I will prove it a thousand fold."

*Arner.* "Once is enough, bailiff! but take care. You said yesterday, that Gertrude was a good, quiet, hard-working woman, and no talker."

"I don't know—I—I—thought—you have—I thought—her so——," said the gasping bailiff.

*Arner.* "You are so troubled, bailiff, that there is no speaking to you now. It will be better for me to find it out from these neighbors here; and immediately he turned to two old men who stood by quietly, and with interest, observing what passed, and said to them, 'Is it true, good neighbors? are the people led away to evil, and oppressed in the tavern?' The two men looked at each other, and durst not speak."

But Arner encouraged them kindly. "Do not be afraid! Tell me the plain truth!"

"It is but too true, gracious sir; but how can we poor people venture to complain against the bailiff?" said the elder of the two at last, but in so low a voice, that only Arner could hear it.

"It is enough, old man," said Arner; and then turned to the bailiff.

"I can not, at present, inquire fully into this complaint; but certainly I will have my poor people secure against all oppression; and I have long thought that no bailiff should keep tavern. But I will defer this till Monday. Gertrude, tell your husband to come to me; and be easy, on his account, about the tavern."

Then Arner transacted some other business; and when he had done, he went into the forest hard by; and it was late when he arrived at home. The bailiff, too, who was obliged to follow him into the forest, did not get back to the village till it was night.

When he came to his house, and saw no light in the room, and heard no voices, he foreboded some misfortune; for usually the house was full every evening, and all the windows were lighted up by the candles which stood upon the tables; and the shouts of those who were drinking, always sounded through

the still night, so that you might have heard them at the bottom of the street, though it is a long one, and the bailiff's house stands at the top.

The bailiff was very much startled by this unusual silence. He opened his door impatiently, and said, "What is this? what is this? Why is nobody here?"

His wife was sobbing in a corner. "Oh husband! Art thou come back? Oh what a misfortune has befallen us! There is a jubilee of thy enemies in the village, and no man dares come and drink a single glass of wine with us. They all say thou hast been taken through the forest to Arnburg."

As an imprisoned wild boar foams in the trap, opens his jaws, rolls about his eyes, and roars with anger; so did Hummel rage. He stamped, and was full of fury, plotted revenge against Arner, and cursed him for his goodness. Then he spoke to himself:

"Is this the way to have justice done in the country? He will take away my license from me, and be the only person to hang up a sign in the manor. In the memory of man, the bailiffs have all been landlords. All affairs have gone through our hands. But this man thrusts himself into every thing, like a village schoolmaster. Therefore every knave is become insolent to the constables, and says he can speak to Arner himself. Thus the law loses all its credit, and we sit still under it and are silent, pitiful creatures as we are, whilst he thus wrongs and alters the rights of the land."

Thus did the old rogue misrepresent to himself the good and wise actions of his excellent master, raged and plotted revenge, till he fell asleep.

#### CHAPTER VI.—CONVERSATION AMONGST COUNTRY PEOPLE.

In the morning he rose early, and sang and whistled at his window, that people might think he was perfectly easy about what had happened yesterday. But Fritz, his neighbor, called to him across the street: "Hast thou customers so early, that thou art so merry?" and he smiled to himself as he said it.

"They will be coming soon, Fritz! Hopsasa and Heisasa! Plums are not figs," said the bailiff; and he held a glass of brandy out of the window, and said: "Wilt thou pledge me, Fritz?"

"It is too soon for me," answered Fritz, "I will wait till there is more company."

"Thou wert always a wag," said the bailiff, "but, depend upon it, yesterday's business will not turn out so ill. No bird flies so high that it never comes down again."

"I know not," answered Fritz. "The bird I am thinking of, has had a long flight of it; but perhaps we are not speaking of the same bird, Mr. Bailiff? They are calling me to breakfast!" and with this, Fritz shut down his window.

"Short leave-taking," murmured the bailiff to himself, and shook his head until his hair and his cheeks shook. "I shall have the devil to pay, to get this cursed business of yesterday out of these people's heads." Having said this to himself, he poured out some brandy, drank it off, and said again: "Courage! time brings counsel! This is Saturday. These simpletons will be going to be shaved. I will away to the barber's, and give them each a glass of wine. The fellows always believe me ten times before they would half believe the pastor once." So said the bailiff to himself; and then added to his wife: "Fill my box with tobacco: not with my own, but with that strong sort—it suits such fel-



lows. And if the barber's boy comes for wine, give him that brimstoned three times over, and put into each can a glass of brandy."

He went out; but whilst he was in the street, and not far from home, he recollected himself, turned back, and said to his wife, "There may be knaves drinking with me. I must be upon my guard. Get me some yellow-colored water; and when I send for the La Côte, bring it thyself." He then went out again.

But before he arrived at the barber's, and under the lime-trees near the school he met Nickel Spitz and Jogli Rubel.

"Whither away, in thy Sunday clothes, Mr. Bailiff?" asked Nickel Spitz.

*Bailiff.* "I am going to get shaved."

*Nickel.* "It's odd thou hast time for it, on a Saturday morning."

*Bailiff.* "That's true. It is not so the year through."

*Nick.* "No! It is not long since thou camest always on a Sunday, between morning prayers, to the barber."

*Bailiff.* "Yes, a time or two."

*Nick.* "A time or two! The two last, I think. Since the pastor had thy dog driven out of the church, thou hast never been within his premises."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art a fool, Nickel, to talk so. We must forgive and forget; the driving the dog away, has long been out of my head."

*Nick.* "I would not trust to that, if I were the pastor."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art a simpleton, Nickel; why should he not? But come into the room, there will be some drinking ere long."

*Nick.* "Thou wouldst look sharp after the barber, if he had any drinking going on in his house."

*Bailiff.* "I am not half so jealous as that comes to. They are for taking away my license; but Nickel, we are not come to that yet. At all events, we shall have six weeks and three days, before that time arrives."

*Nick.* "So I suppose. But it is no good thing for thee, that the young squire does not follow his grandfather's creed."

*Bailiff.* "Truly, he does not believe quite as his grandfather did."

*Nick.* "I suspect they differ about every article of the twelve."

*Bailiff.* "It may be so. But the old man's belief was the best, to my fancy."

*Nick.* "No doubt! The first article of his creed was: I believe in thee, my bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art facetious, Nickel! but what was the next?"

*Nick.* "I don't know exactly. I think it was: I believe in no man but thee, my bailiff, not a single word."

*Bailiff.* "Thou shouldst have been a pastor, Nickel: thou couldst not only have explained the catechism, but put a new one in its place."

*Nick.* "They would not let me do that. If they did, I should make it so clear and plain, that the children would understand it without the pastor, and then he would naturally be of no use."

*Bailiff.* "We will keep to the old, Nickel. It is the same about the catechism as about every thing else to my mind. We shall not better ourselves by changing."

*Nick.* "That is a maxim which is sometimes true, and sometimes not. It seems to suit thee now with the new squire."

*Bailiff.* "It will suit others too, if we wait patiently, and for my own part, I am not so much afraid of the new squire. Every man finds his master."

*Nick.* "Very true: but there was an end of the old times for thee, last summer."

*Bailiff.* "At all events, Nickel, I have had my share of them. Let others try now."

*Nick.* "True, thou hast had thy share, and a very good one it was; but, how could it miss? The secretary, the attorney, and the late pastor's assistant, all owed thee money."

*Bailiff.* "People said so, but it was not true."

*Nick.* "Thou mayst say so now; but thou hadst an action brought against two of them, because the money did not come back."

*Bailiff.* "Thou fool, thou knowest every thing."

*Nick.* "I know a great deal more than that. I know thy tricks with Rudi's father, and how I caught thee by the dog-kennel, under the heap of straw, lying on thy face, close to Rudi's window; his attorney was with him. Till two o'clock in the morning, didst thou listen to what they were saying in the room. I was watchman that night, and had wine gratis at thy house, for a week after, for my silence."

*Bailiff.* "Thou heretic: there is not a word of truth in what thou sayest. It would be pretty work for thee, if thou wert made to prove it."

*Nick.* "I was not talking about proving it, but thou knowest whether it be true or not."

*Bailiff.* "Thou hadst better take back thy words."

*Nick.* "The devil put it into thy head to listen under the straw, in the night. Thou couldst hear every word, and then easily twist thy evidence with the attorney."

*Bailiff.* "How thou talkest!"

*Nick.* "How I talk? If the attorney had not wrested thy evidence before the court, Rudi would have had his meadow now, and Wast and Kaibacker needed not have taken their fine oaths."

*Bailiff.* "Truly, thou understandest the business, as well as the schoolmaster does Hebrew."

*Nick.* "Whether I understand it or not, I learned it from thee. More than twenty times thou hast laughed with me, at thy obedient servant, Mr. attorney."

*Bailiff.* "Yes, so I have; but he did not do what thou sayest. It is true, he was a cunning devil. God forgive him. It will be ten years, next Michaelmas, since he was laid in his grave."

*Nick.* "Since he was sent to hell, thou shouldst say."

*Bailiff.* "That is not right. We should not speak ill of the dead."

*Nick.* "Very true; or else I could tell how he cheated Roppi's children."

*Bailiff.* "He might have confessed himself to thee, on his death-bed, thou knowest it all so well."

*Nick.* "I know it, at any rate."

*Bailiff.* "The best part of it is, that I gained the action: if thou hadst known that I had lost it, it would have troubled me."

*Nick.* "Nay, I know that thou didst gain it, but I also know how."

*Bailiff.* "Perhaps; perhaps not."

*Nick.* "God keep all poor folks from law."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art right there. Only gentle-folks and people well off in the world, should go to law. That would certainly be a good thing; but so would many other things, Nickel. Well, well, we must be content with things as they are."

*Nick.* "Bailiff, that wise saying of thine puts me in mind of a fable I heard

from a pilgrim. He came out of Alsace, and told it before a whole room full of people. A hermit had described the world in a book of fables, and he could repeat it almost from beginning to end. We asked him to tell us some of these fables, and he related that which thou remindest me of."

*Bailiff.* "Well, what was it, prater?"

*Nick.* "By good luck, I think I remember it. 'A sheep was complaining and lamenting that the wolf, the dog, the fox, and the butcher, tormented her terribly. A fox, that was standing near the fold, heard the complaint, and said to the sheep: we must always be content with the wise regulations of the world. If there were any change it would be for the worse.

That may be true, when the fold is shut, answered the sheep; but if it were open, I, for one, should not agree with you.

It is right enough that there should be wolves, foxes, and wild beasts; but it is also right, that the fold should be carefully looked after, and that poor weak animals should have watchful shepherds and dogs, to protect them from wild beasts.'

'Heaven preserve us,' added the pilgrim; 'there are everywhere plenty of wild beasts, and but few good shepherds.'

'Great God, thou knowest wherefore it is so, and we must submit silently.' His comrades added: 'yes, we must submit silently; and holy virgin, pray for us now, and in the hour of our death.'

We were all affected when the pilgrim spoke so feelingly, and we could not go on chattering our nonsense as usual."

*Bailiff.* "It's fine talking about such silly fancies of the sheep; according to which, wolves, foxes, and other wild beasts must die of hunger."

*Nick.* "It would be no great harm if they did."

*Bailiff.* "Art thou sure of that?"

*Nick.* "Nay, I spoke foolishly; they need not die of hunger: they might always find carrion and wild creatures, and these belong to them, and not tame animals, which must be brought up, and kept with labor and cost."

*Bailiff.* "Thou wouldst not then have them altogether die of hunger. That is a great deal for such a friend of tame animals to allow; but I am starved, come into the room."

*Nick.* "I can not, I must go on."

*Bailiff.* "Good-bye then, neighbors;" and he went away. Rubel and Nickel looked at each other for a moment, and Rubel said, "Thou hast salted his meat for him."

*Nick.* "I wish it had been peppered too, and so that it might have burnt his tongue till to-morrow."

*Rubel.* "A week ago, thou durst not thus have spoken to him."

*Nick.* "And a week ago he would not have answered as he did."

*Rubel.* "That is true. He is grown as tame as my dog, the first day it had its muzzle on."

*Nick.* "When the cup is full it will run over. That has been true of many a man, and it will be true of the bailiff."

*Rubel.* "Heaven keep us from officers! I would not be a bailiff, with his two courts."

*Nick.* "But if anybody offered thee half of one, and the office of bailiff, what wouldst thou do?"

*Rubel.* "Thou fool!"



*Nick.* "Thou wise man! what wouldst thou do? come, confess; thou wouldst quickly consent, wrap the cloak of two colors around thee, and be bailiff."

*Rubel.* "Dost thou think so?"

*Nick.* "Yes, I do think so."

*Rubel.* "We are losing time chattering here. Good-bye, Nickel."

*Nick.* "Good-bye, Rubel."

#### CHAPTER VII.—THE BAILIFF BEGINS SOME BAILIFF'S BUSINESS.

As soon as the bailiff entered the barber's room, he saluted him, and his wife, and the company, before he seated himself, or made any bustle. Formerly, he used to make a great spitting and coughing first, and took no notice of anybody, till he had seated himself.

The country people answered, smilingly, and put their hats on again, much sooner than they usually did, when the bailiff spoke to them. He began the conversation by saying, "Always good pay, Mr. Barber, and so much custom; I wonder how you manage to get through it, with one pair of hands."

The barber was a quiet man, and not in the habit of replying to such speeches; but the bailiff had been teasing him with these jests for several months past, and every Sunday morning in sermon-time; and as it happened, he took it into his head to answer him for once, and said:

"Mr. Bailiff, you need not wonder how people manage to work hard, with one pair of hands, and get little; but it is, indeed, a wonder how some people manage to sit with their hands before them, doing nothing at all, and yet get a great deal."

*Bailiff.* "True enough, barber; but thou shouldst try. The thing is, to keep the hands still, in the right way: then, money showers down like rain."

The barber made another attempt, and said: "Nay, bailiff, the way is, to wrap one's self up in a two-colored cloak, and say these three words: *It is so*, on my oath, *It is so*. If the time be well chosen, one may then put two fingers up, three down—*abracadabra!* and behold a bag full of gold."

This put the bailiff into a passion, and he answered, "Thou art a conjuror, barber! but there is no wonder in that. People of thy trade always understand witchcraft and conjuring."

This was too sharp for the good barber, and he repented having meddled with the bailiff; so he held his peace, and let the others talk, and began quietly lathering a man who was sitting before him. The bailiff continued, maliciously: "The barber is quite a fine gentleman, he will not answer one again. He wears smart stockings, town-made shoes, and ruffles on a Sunday. He has hands as smooth as a squire's, and his legs are like a town-clerk's."

The country people liked the barber, had heard this before, and did not laugh at the bailiff's wit.

Only young Galli, who was being shaved, could not help smiling at the idea of the town-clerk's legs; for he was just come from the office, where the jest had begun; but when his face moved, the barber's razor cut his upper lip.

This vexed the people; they shook their heads, and old Uli took his pipe out of his mouth, and said:

"Bailiff, it is not right to disturb the barber in this way."

And when the others saw that old Uli was not afraid, and said this boldly, they murmured still more loudly, and said: "Galli is bleeding, nobody can be shaved at this rate."

"I am sorry for what has happened," said the bailiff, "but I will set all to-rights again."

"Boy! fetch three flasks of good wine, which heals wounds without needing to be warmed."

The moment the bailiff spoke of wine, the first murmur subsided.

Some did not believe that he was in earnest; but Lenk, who was sitting in a corner, solved the riddle, saying: "The bailiff's wine was tapped yesterday, in the church-yard."

The bailiff, taking his tobacco-box out of his pocket, laid it on the table, and Christian, the ballad-singer, asked him for a pipe-full. He gave it him; then more followed his example, and the room was soon full of the smoke of this strong tobacco, but the bailiff smoked a better kind himself.

Meantime the barber and the other neighbors kept quiet, and made light of it.

This disturbed Master Urias. He went up and down the room, with his finger on his nose, as he always did, when he could not get rid of his vexation.

"It is devilish cold in this room; I can never smoke when it is so cold," said he. So he went out of the room, gave the maid a kreuzer to make a larger fire, and it was soon warm enough.

#### CHAPTER VIII.—WHEN THE WHEELS ARE GREASED THE WAGON GOES.

Now came the brimstoned wine. "Glasses, glasses here, Mr. Barber," said the bailiff. And the wife and the boy soon brought plenty.

All the neighbors drew near the wine flasks, and the bailiff poured out for them.

Now were old Uli, and all the rest, content again; and young Galli's wound was not worth mentioning. "If the simpleton had only sat still, the barber would not have cut him."

By degrees they all grew talkative, and loud sounds of merriment arose.

All praised the bailiff; and the mason, Leonard, was at one table abused for a lout, and at the other for a beggar.

One told how he got drunk every day, and now played the saint; another said, "He knew well why pretty Gertrude went, instead of the mason, to the squire at the hall:" and another, "That he dreamed, last night, that the bailiff would soon serve the mason according to his deserts."

As an unclean bird buries its beak in the ditch, and feeds upon rotten garbage, so did Hummel satiate his wicked heart on the conversation of the neighbors. Yet it was with great caution and watchfulness that he mingled in the wild uproar of the chattering drunkards.

"Neighbor Richter," said he, giving him a glass, "you were yourself at the last reckoning, and are a qualified man. You know that the mason owed me thirty florins. It is now half a year since, and he has not paid me any part of it. I have never once asked him for the money, nor given him a hard word, and yet it is likely enough that I shall lose every farthing of it."

"That is clear enough," swore the farmers, "thou wilt never see another farthing of thy money;" and they poured out more wine.

But the bailiff took out of his pocket book the mason's promissory note, laid it on the table, and said, "There you may see whether it be true, or not."

The countrymen looked over the writing, as if they could read it, and said, "He is a rogue, that mason."

And Christian, the ballad-singer, who, till now, had been quietly swallowing down the wine, wiped his mouth with his coat sleeve, got up, raised his glass, and shouted out,

Long life to the bailiff, and away with all firebrands;" so saying, he drank off the glass, held it to be filled, drank again, and sang:

"He who digs another's grave,  
Into it, himself may slip;  
Who ne'er lifts a hand to save,  
Should be careful not to trip.

"Be he lifted e'er so high,  
And cunning as the deuce withal,  
He who will still in ambush lie,  
Is sure, at last, himself to fall—  
Himself to fall.  
Juhe, mason! juhe!"

#### CHAPTER IX.—ON THE RIGHTS OF THE COUNTRY.

"Not so riotous, Christian," said the bailiff; "that is of no use. I should be very sorry if any ill luck happened to the mason. I forgive him freely. He did it from poverty. Still it is hard that the country must lose its rights."

The neighbors opened their ears when he spoke of the country's rights.

Some put down their glasses, when they heard of the country's rights, and listened.

"I am an old man, neighbors, and it can not signify much to me. I have no children, and it is almost over with me. But you have sons, neighbors; to you, your rights are of great consequence."

"Ay! our rights!" called out the men. "You are our bailiff. Do not let us lose a hair of our rights."

*Bailiff.* "Yes, neighbors. The landlord's license is a parish concern, and a valuable one. We must defend ourselves."

Some few of the men shook their heads, and whispered to each other, "He never looked after the parish before—he wants to draw us into the mud where he is sticking,"

But the majority shouted louder and louder, stormed, and cursed, and swore that to-morrow there must be a parish meeting.

The wiser amongst them were silent, and only said, quietly, to each other, "We shall see what they do when the wine is out of their heads."

Meantime the bailiff kept prudently drinking of the colored water, and began again to rouse up the people about their rights.

"You all know," said he, "how our forefather, Ruppli, two hundred years ago, had to fight with the cruel ancestors of this squire. This old Ruppli, (my grandfather has told me of it a thousand times,) had a favorite saying, 'When the squires welcome beggars at the hall, God help the country people.' They do it only to make mischief amongst them, and then to be masters themselves. Neighbors, we are thus always to be the fools in the game."

*Countrymen.* "Nothing is clearer. We are thus always to be the fools in the game."

*Bailiff.* "When your lawyers can be of no more use, you are as ill off as soldiers, who have their retreat cut off. The new squire is as sharp and cunning as the devil. No man can see through him; and certainly he gives no one a good word for nothing. If you knew but half as much as I do, there would be no need for me to say another word to you. But you are not quite blockheads; you will take heed, and be on your guard."

Abi, to whom the bailiff was speaking, and to whom he made a sign, answered,



"Do you think, bailiff, that we do not perceive his drift? He wants to take the landlord's license into his own hands."

*Bailiff.* "You see through it, do you?"

*Countrymen.* "Ay, by G——! but we will not allow it. Our children shall have a free tavern, as we have had."

*Abi.* "He may choose to make us pay a ducat for a measure of wine; and we should be false to our own children."

*Bailiff.* "That is going too far, Abi. He can never make you pay a ducat for a measure of wine."

*Abi.* "I don't know. The smith and the cartwright are raising their prices shamefully; and even wood is dearer than it has been these fifty years. What say you, bailiff? As the twig is bent, so grows the tree. How can you tell how high a measure of wine may get, when nobody can sell it but the squire? It is devilish dear already, on account of the duty."

*Bailiff.* "So it is. There is always some new plague and difficulty, and that makes every thing dearer."

"Yes, yes, if we will submit to it!" said the men, shouting and roaring, and threatening. Their conversation became, at last, the wild uproar of a set of drunkards, which I can describe no further.

CHAPTER X.—THE BARBER'S DOG DRINKS UP WATER AT AN UNLUCKY MOMENT,  
AND PLAYS THE BAILIFF A SAD TRICK.

MOST of them were, by this time, pretty well intoxicated, particularly Christian the ballad-singer, who sat next the bailiff; and, in one of his drunken huzzas, knocked over the jug of water.

The bailiff, alarmed, wiped the colored water off the table as quickly as he could, that nobody might detect the cheat. But the barber's dog, under the table, was thirsty, and lapped the water from the ground; and, unluckily, one of the neighbors, who was looking sorrowfully after the good wine under the table, observed that Hector licked it up.

"Wonder and marks, bailiff" said he, "how long have dogs drank wine?"

"You fool, long enough!" answered the bailiff, and made signs to him with his hands and head, and pushed him, with his foot, under the table, to be silent. He kicked the dog, at the same time, to drive him away. But Hector did not understand him, for he belonged to the barber. He barked, snarled, and lapped up the colored water a little further off. The bailiff turned pale at this; for many of the others now began to look under the table, and lay their heads together, and point to the dog. The barber's wife took up the fragments of the broken pitcher, and smelt at them, and perceiving that it was only water, shook her head, and said, aloud, "This is not right."

The men murmured all round; "There's something hidden under this;" and the barber told the bailiff, to his face, "Bailiff, your fine wine is nothing but colored water."

"Is it not, indeed?" exclaimed the men.

"What the devil is the meaning of this, bailiff? Why do you drink water?"

The bailiff, confused, answered, "I am not very well; I am obliged to spare myself."

But the men did not believe the answer; and right and left they murmured more and more; "There is something wrong in this."

And now some began to complain that the wine had got into their heads, which such a small quantity should not have done.

The two wisest amongst them got up, paid the barber, and said, "good-bye, neighbors," and went toward the door.

"So soon, gentlemen! Why do you leave the company so soon?" said the bailiff.

"We have something else to do," answered the men, and went out.

The barber accompanied them out of the room, and said, "I wish the bailiff had gone instead of you. He has had no good intention, either with the wine or the water."

"So we think, or we would have staid," answered the men.

*Barber.* "And I can not endure this drunken rioting."

*Men.* There is no reason why thou shouldst; and it may bring thee into difficulties. "If I were in thy place, I would put an end to it," said the elder of the two.

"I dare not do that," replied the barber.

"Things are not as they were, and thou art master in thy own house," said the men.

"I will follow your advice," said the barber, and went back into the room.

"What is the matter with these gentlemen, that they are gone off so suddenly?" said the bailiff.

And the barber answered, "I am of their mind. Such rioting is unseemly and does not suit my house."

*Bailiff.* "So, so! and is this your answer?"

*Barber.* "Yes, indeed, it is, Mr. Bailiff. I like a quiet house."

This dispute did not please the honorable company.

"We will be quieter," said one of them.

"We will behave well," said another.

"Come, come, let us all be friends," said a third.

"Bailiff, another flask!" said Christian.

"Ha, neighbors! I have a room of my own. We will leave the barber in peace," said the bailiff.

"I shall be very glad of it," answered the barber.

"But the parish business is forgotten, and the landlord's rights, neighbors!" said old Abi, who was thirsty yet.

"Follow me, all who are true men," said the bailiff, threateningly,—muttering "donner and wetter," and looking fiercely round the room. He said good-bye to nobody, and clapped the door after him so furiously, that the room shook.

"This is shameful!" said the barber.

"Yes; it is shameful," said many of the men.

"It is not right," said young Meyer. "I, for one, will not enter the bailiff's house."

"Nor I," added Laupi.

"The devil, nor I!" said Reynold. "I remember yesterday morning. I stood next to him and Arner, and saw how it was."

The neighbors looked at each other, to see what they should do; but most of them sat down again, and staid where they were.

Only Abi and Christian, and a couple of blockheads more, took up the bailiff's empty cans, and went after him.

The bailiff was looking out of his window, down the street, which led to the carber's house, and as nobody followed at first, he was vexed at himself.

"What a lame ox I am! It is almost noon, and I have done nothing yet.

The wine is drunk and now they laugh at me. I have blabbed to them like a child, and let myself down, as if I had been one of them. Now, if I had really meant well by these fellows; if I had really desired to serve the parish; or, if I had only kept up the appearance of it a little better, I should have succeeded. Such a parish as this will dance after any cunning piper, who can only persuade them he means well by them. But times have been only too good for me. In the old squire's time, I led the parish about like a he-goat. Ever since I have been bailiff, it has been my pastime and delight to abuse them, tease them, and master them; and even now I mean to do so more than ever. But then, I must and will keep them at a distance. Shaking hands and lowering one's self; asking advice, and acting like everybody's brother-in-law, does not do, where people are so well known. Such a man as I am, must quietly act for himself; only employ such people as he knows, and let the parish alone. A herdsman does not ask advice of his oxen, and yet I have been fool enough to do so to-day."

Now came the men with the empty cans.

"Are you alone? Would not the dogs come with you?"

"No, not a man," answered Abi.

*Bailiff.* "That is going a good way."

*Christian.* "I think so too."

*Bailiff.* "I should like to know what they are talking and consulting together. Christian, go and seek the other cans."

*Christian.* "There are none left there."

*Bailiff.* "Blockhead! It's all one for that. If thou findest none, get thyself shaved or bled, and wait to listen to what they say. If thou bringest me any news, I will drink with thee till morning. And thou, Loli, go to the mason's old comrade, Joseph, but take care that no one observes thee, tell him to come to me at noon."

"Give me another glass first, I am thirsty," said Loli, "and then I'll run like a greyhound, and be back again in a twinkling."

"Very well," said the bailiff, and gave him one.

These two went off, and the bailiff's wife set some wine before the others.

#### CHAPTER XI.—WELL-LAID PLOTS OF A ROGUE.

THE bailiff himself went, in some perplexity, into the next room, and considered how he should manage matters when Joseph came.

"He is faithless, that I may depend upon, and cunning as the devil. He has drunk away several crowns of his master's money; but my demand is a great one. He will be afraid, and not trust me. It is almost noon. I will offer him as much as ten crowns. If he will do as I bid him, within three weeks all the plaster will fall off the building. I shall not grudge ten crowns," said the bailiff; and as he was speaking thus to himself, Loli arrived, with Joseph behind him. They did not come together, that they might excite less suspicion.

"Good day, Joseph! I suppose thy master does not know that thou art here."

Joseph answered, "He is still at the hall, but he will come back at noon. If I am at work again by one o'clock, he will never miss me."

"Very well. I have something to say to thee, Joseph. We must be alone," said the bailiff; and, taking him into the inner room, he shut the door and bolted it. There were bacon, vegetables, wine, and bread, upon the table. The bailiff placed two chairs by the table, and said to Joseph, "Thou wilt miss thy dinner; sit down and eat it with me."



"With all my heart," answered Joseph—sat down, and said, "Mr. Bailiff, what is it you want? I am at your service."

The bailiff answered, "To thy good health, Joseph!" drank, and then continued the conversation. "Try these vegetables: they are good. Why dost thou not help thyself? Thou hast hard times enough with thy master."

*Joseph.* "True; but it will be better when he has work at the hall."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art a fool, Joseph! Thou mayest easily imagine how long that will last. I wish him joy of it; but he is not the man for such a thing. He has never had the management of any thing of the sort; but he will trust all to thee, Joseph."

*Joseph.* "May be so."

*Bailiff.* "I foresaw that, and therefore wished to speak to thee. Thou canst do me a great favor."

*Joseph.* "I am all attention, Mr. Bailiff. Here's luck to my master," (*drinking.*)

"It shall not be for nothing, mason," said the bailiff, and helped him again to the vegetables. "I should be very glad if the foundation of the church, which is to be of hewn stone, were got from the quarry at Schwendi."

*Joseph.* "Potz blitz, Mr. Bailiff! It can never be! The stone is bad, and good for nothing, as a foundation—"

*Bailiff.* "O the stone is not so bad: I have often seen it used. It is good, I say, Joseph; and it would be a great pleasure to me if this quarry were to be opened again."

*Joseph.* "It can not be done, Mr. Bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "I will be grateful for the service, Joseph."

*Joseph.* "The wall will be down in six years if it be built of this stone."

*Bailiff.* "I can't hear that. That is a foolish story."

*Joseph.* "By G——, it is true! There are two dung-heaps next the wall, and the stables drain past it. The stone would rot away like a fir plank."

*Bailiff.* "After all, what is it to thee, whether the wall be good or not, in ten years? Dost thou fear that the squire can not make a new one? Do what I say, and thou mayst expect a good handsome present."

*Joseph.* "That is all very well. But what if the squire should find out that the stone is not good?"

*Bailiff.* "How should he find it out? There is no fear of that."

*Joseph.* "He knows more about things than any body would believe. But you know him better than I."

*Bailiff.* "He will understand nothing about this."

*Joseph.* "I almost think so myself; for the stone looks very well on the outside, and is very good for some purposes."

*Bailiff.* "Give me thy hand upon it, that thy master shall use the stone out of this quarry. If thou wilt, thou shalt have five crowns for thyself."

*Joseph.* "It's a good sum, if I had only hold of it."

*Bailiff.* "I am in earnest, by G——! I will give thee five crowns, if thou wilt do it!"

*Joseph.* "Well, there you have my word, Mr. Bailiff; and he stretched out his hand and pledged it him. It shall be done, Mr. Bailiff. Why should I trouble myself about the squire?"

*Bailiff.* "One word more, Joseph. I have a bag full of stuff, from an apothecary's shop, which a gentleman gave me. They say, that when it is mixed with

the lime, the mortar sticks to a wall like iron. But these gentlemen are such queer folks, that one can not trust them about any thing. I would rather not try it first on a building of my own."

*Joseph.* "I can manage that for you. I will try it on a corner of a neighbor's house."

*Bailiff.* "It is of no use to try it in such a small way. Whether it succeeds or fails, one is at no certainty. There is no knowing how it might do on a larger scale. I should like it to be tried on the church, Joseph! can not it be done?"

*Joseph.* "Is it necessary to put much of it into the lime?"

*Bailiff.* "I think about two pounds to a barrel."

*Joseph.* "Then it will be easy enough."

*Bailiff.* "Wilt thou do it for me?"

*Joseph.* "Yes, that I will."

*Bailiff.* "And if it should fail, say nothing about it?"

*Joseph.* "It can not fail, so as to signify; and, of course, one should say nothing about it!"

*Bailiff.* "Thou wilt find the stuff at my house, whenever thou art ready for it; and a glass of wine with it."

*Joseph.* "I will not fail, Mr. Bailiff. But I must go now. It has struck one. Here's my thanks to you," said he, taking up his glass.

*Bailiff.* "Thou hast nothing to thank me for yet. Keep thy word, and thou shalt have the five crowns."

"I will do my part, Mr. Bailiff," said Joseph, getting up and putting by his chair. "My best thanks to you"—and he drank off his parting glass.

*Bailiff.* "Well, if thou must go, good-bye, Joseph; and remember our agreement."

Joseph went away, and, as he was going, said to himself, "This is a strange fancy of his about the stone; and still stranger about the stuff in the lime. It's a fine way to try a thing, to begin upon a church. But, at all events, I'll get hold of the money; and I can do as I like afterward."

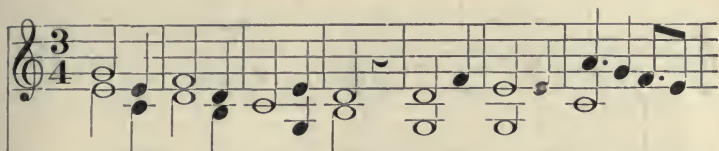
"This has turned out very well," said the bailiff to himself. "Better than I expected, and for half the money. I should have promised him ten crowns, as easily as five, if he had understood how to make his bargain. I am well pleased that the thing is set a going. No, no! one should never despair. O that the wall were but already above the ground! Well, patience! on Monday they will begin to prepare the stone. Poor mason! Thy wife has cooked up a pretty mess for thee."

#### CHAPTER XII.—DOMESTIC HAPPINESS.

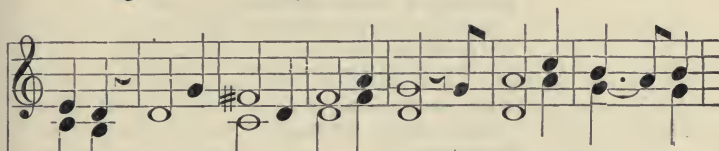
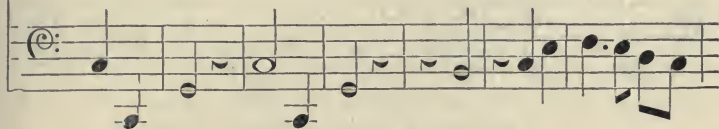
THE mason Leonard, who had gone up to the hall early in the morning, was now come back to his wife.

She had been very busy in getting her Saturday's work done, against her husband's return. She had combed the children, made them tidy, mended their clothes, cleaned up the little room, and, whilst she was at work, had taught them a song. "You must sing it for your dear father," said she; and the children gladly learned any thing which would please their father, when he came home. Whilst they were working, and without any trouble or loss of time, without book, they sang it after her till they knew it.

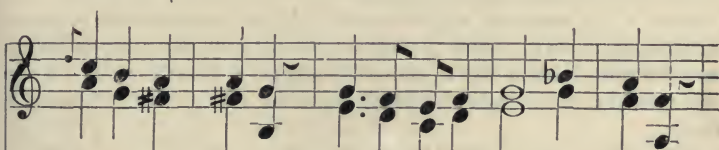
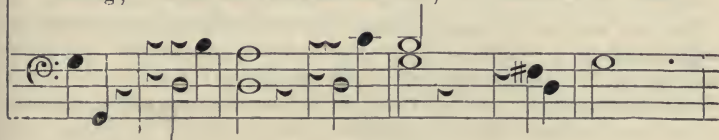
When their father came home, the mother welcomed him; and then she and the children sang:



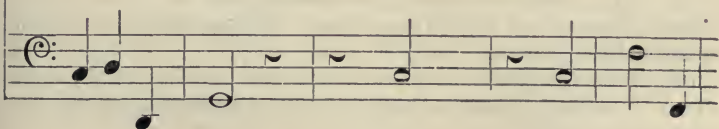
Heav'nly Guest, who hast the power, Sorrow, pain, and care con-



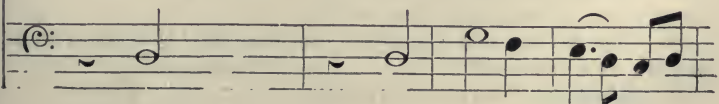
trolling; O'er the suff' rer's saddest hour, To throw a ra - diant



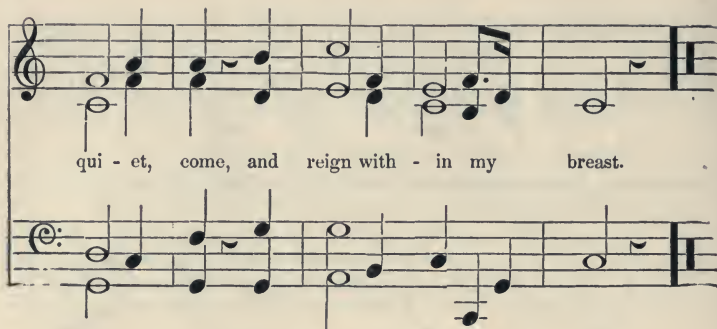
beam con - sol - ing; Weary now of care and ri - ot,



cease - less chang-es with - out rest, Heaven - ly







Heavenly guest! who hast the pow'r—  
Sorrow, pain, and care controlling,  
O'er the suff'rer's saddest hour,  
To throw a radiant beam consoling:

Weary now of care and riot,  
Ceaseless changes, without rest;  
Heavenly quiet!  
Come and reign within my breast.

The tears came into Leonard's eyes, as the children and their mother sang so happily together, to welcome him. "God bless you, my darlings! God bless thee, my love!" said he to them, with great emotion.

"My dear husband," answered Gertrude, "it is heaven upon earth to seek for peace, do what is right, and wish for little."

*Leon.* "If I have ever enjoyed an hour of that happiness which peace of mind brings, I owe it to thee. Till my last moment I will thank thee for saving me; and these children will be grateful to thee for it, after thy death. O, my dear children! always do what is right, and follow your mother, and you will prosper."

*Ger.* "How cheery thou art to-day, Leonard!"

*Leon.* "I have gone on well with Arner."

*Ger.* "Ah! God be thanked for it, my dear husband."

*Leon.* "He is a man who has not his equal. How childish it was in me to be afraid of going to him."

*Ger.* "And how wise we have been at last, love. But come, tell me how it all was." And as she sat down by him, and took out the stocking she was knitting, he said to her:—

#### CHAPTER XIII.—A PROOF THAT GERTRUDE WAS DEAR TO HER HUSBAND.

*Leonard.* "If thou sittest down in such state, as thou dost to thy Bible on a Sunday evening, I must prepare to tell thee a great deal."

*Gertrude.* "Every thing! thou must tell me every thing, love!"

*Leon.* "Yes, if thou hadst time for it; but, Gertrude, dear, it is Saturday, when thou art always so busy."

*Ger. (Smiling.)* "Look about thee!"

*Leon.* "Ah! is every thing done already?"

*Lise.* "She has been very busy, father; and Enne and I have helped her to clean up. Is not that right?"

"It is, indeed, right," answered the father

"But now begin to tell me," said Gertrude.

*Leon.* "Arner asked me my father's name, and the street where I lived, and the number of my house."

*Ger.* "O, thou art not telling it right, Leonard; I know he did not begin so."

*Leon.* "And why not, darling? What wouldst thou have?"

*Ger.* "First, thou wouldst make thy bow to him, and he would take notice of thee. How did he do that?"

*Leon.* "Thou little conjuror; thou art right. I did not begin at the beginning."

*Ger.* "I told thee so, Leonard."

*Leon.* "Well, then, as soon as he saw me, he asked whether I was still afraid of him. I made a bow, as well as I could, and said 'Forgive me, gracious sir.' He smiled, and ordered a jug of wine to be set before me."

*Ger.* "Come now, this is quite a different beginning. Well, wert thou ready enough to drink the wine? no doubt!"

*Leon.* "No, wife, I was as shamefaced as a young bride, and would not touch it. But he did not let it pass so. 'I know you can tell what good wine is,' said he, 'help yourself.' I poured out a little, drank his health, and tasted it—but he looked at me so steadily, that the glass shook in my hand."

*Ger.* "What it is to have a tender conscience, Leonard! It had got into thy fingers. But thou wouldst recover thyself, I suppose."

*Leon.* "Yes, very soon. He was very kind, and said, 'It is very natural that a man who works hard should like a glass of wine. It does him good too. But it is a misfortune when, instead of taking one glass to refresh himself, he lets wine make a fool of him, and thinks no more of his wife and children, nor of his old age. This is a great misfortune, Leonard.'

Wife! I felt it strike through my heart as he said this; but I took courage, and answered, 'That by unlucky circumstances I had got so entangled, that I did not know how in the world to help myself; and that I had not, in all that time, drunk one glass with a merry heart.'

*Ger.* "And didst thou really get through all that?"

*Leon.* "If he had not been so very kind, I could not have managed it."

*Ger.* "And what did he say next?"

*Leon.* "'That it was a misfortune that poor folks, when they were in trouble, generally got hold of people they should avoid as the plague.' I could not help sighing; and I think he observed it, for he went on, very kindly: 'If one could only teach good people this, before they learn it by sad experience!—a poor man is half saved, if he can only keep out of the claws of these blood-suckers.' Soon afterward he went on again: 'It goes to my heart, when I think how often the poor will go on suffering the greatest misery, and have not the sense and courage to tell their situation to those who would gladly help them, if they only knew how things were. It is really unpardonable to think how you have let yourself be ensnared, day after day, by the bailiff, and brought your wife and children into such trouble and danger, without once coming to me, to ask for help and counsel. Only consider, mason, what would have been the end of all this, if your wife had had no more sense and courage than you.'

*Ger.* "And did he say all this before he asked after the number of thy house?"

*Leon.* "Thou hearest how it was."

*Ger.* "Thou didst not mean to tell me all this in a hurry, didst thou?"

*Leon.* "Why, indeed, I think it would have been more prudent not. Thou wilt grow too proud for me; because thou hast had so much courage."

*Ger.* "Thinkest thou so, my good master? Yes, indeed, I will plume myself upon this as long as I live; and as long as it does us any good. But what said Arner besides?"

*Leon.* "He began to examine me about the building. It was well I had not forgotten every thing. I had to reckon it all up by measurement, and set down every item for carrying lime, and sand, and stone."

*Ger.* "Didst thou make no mistake at all in the reckoning?"

*Leon.* "No; not this time, love."

*Ger.* "God be thanked for it."

*Leon.* "Yes, indeed, God be thanked."

*Ger.* "Is every thing ready now?"

*Leon.* "Yes; all will very soon be ready. Guess now much he has given me in hand, said he, (shaking the money in a bag.) It is long since I heard the sound of so much silver." Gertrude sighed.

*Leon.* "Do not sigh now, my dear wife, we will be prudent and saving; and we shall certainly never come into the same distress again."

*Ger.* "God in heaven has helped us."

*Leon.* "Yes; and many more in the village besides us. Only think; Arner has chosen out ten fathers of families, who were poor and in want, as day-laborers at this building; and he gives each of them twenty-five kreutzers a day. Thou shouldst have seen, Gertrude, how carefully he chose them all out."

*Ger.* "O, tell me how it all was?"

*Leon.* "Yes; if I could remember I would."

*Ger.* "Try what thou canst do, Leonard."

*Leon.* "Well then: he inquired after all the fathers of families who were poor; how many children they had; how old they were; and what property or help they had. Then he asked which were the worst off, and had the most young children; and said to me, twice over, 'If you know of any body else, who is in trouble, as you were, tell me.' I thought of Hubel Rudi, and he has now work for a year certain."

*Ger.* "Thou didst very right not to let him suffer for having taken thy potatoes."

*Leon.* "I can never bear malice against any poor man, Gertrude; and they are terribly ill off. I met Rudi, near the potato hole two days ago, and pretended not to see him. It went to my heart, he looked such a picture of want and misery; and, thank God, we have always yet had something to eat."

*Ger.* "Thou art quite right, my dear husband! but still it can not be a help to any body to steal; and the poor who do so, are only doubly wretched."

*Leon.* "True; but when people are very hungry, and see food before them, and know how much of it must go to waste in the hole, and that even the cattle have enough to eat;—O Gertrude! it is hard work to let it lie there and not touch it."

*Ger.* "It is very hard! but the poor man must learn to do it, or he will be wretched indeed."

*Leon.* "Oh, who could punish him for it? who could ask it of him again?"

*Ger.* "God!—He who requires this from the poor man, gives him strength to do it, and leads him on, through trouble, and want, and the many sufferings of his situation, to that self-denial which is required from him. Believe me,



Leonard, God helps the poor man in secret, and gives him strength and understanding to bear, and to suffer, and to endure, what appears almost incredible. And, when it is once gone through, with an approving conscience, Leonard, then it brings happiness, indeed; greater than any one can know, who has had no occasion to practice self-denial."

*Leon.* "I know it, Gertrude. I know it by what thou hast done. I am not blind. I have often seen how, in the greatest need, thou couldst still trust in God and be content. But few are like thee in trouble, and there are many who, like me, are very weak creatures, when want and distress are heavy upon them; and therefore I always think, that more should be done, to provide all the poor with work and food. I think too, that they would then all be better than they now are, in the distraction of their poverty, and of their many troubles."

*Ger.* "O my love! that is not the state of the case. If nothing were wanting but work and gain, to make the poor happy, they would be easily helped. But it is not so. Both rich and poor must have their hearts well regulated before they can be happy. And more arrive at this end, by means of trouble and care, than through rest and joy. If it were not so, God would willingly let us all have joys in abundance. But since men can only know how to bear prosperity, and rest, and joy, when their hearts have been trained to much self-denial, and are become steadfast, firm, patient, and wise, it is clearly necessary that there should be much sorrow and distress in the world; for without it, few men can bring their hearts into due regulation, and to inward peace; and, if these be wanting, a man may have work or no work, he may have abundance or not, it is all one. The rich old Meyer has all he wants, and spends every day in the tavern: but for all that, he is no happier than a poor man who has nothing, works hard all day, and can only now and then have a glass of wine in a corner." Leonard sighed. Gertrude was silent for a short time. Then she continued: "Hast thou seen whether the men are at work? I should tell thee, that Joseph has again slipped away to the tavern."

*Leon.* "That looks ill! I am sure the bailiff must have sent for him. He goes on very strangely. Before I came home, I went to them at their work, when he was just come back from the tavern; and what he said made me uneasy. It is not his own thought then."

*Ger.* "What was it?"

*Leon.* "He said the stone out of the quarry at Schwendi was excellent for the church wall; and when I told him the great flint stones, which lay near in heaps, were much better, he said, 'I should always be a fool, and not know my own business. The wall would be much better and handsomer of Schwendi stone.' I thought, at the time, he said it with a good intention. But he began so suddenly about the stone, that it seemed very strange; and if he has been with the bailiff,—there is certainly something more in it. The Schwendi stone is soft and sandy, and not fit for such work. If it should be a snare laid for me!"—

*Ger.* "Joseph is not a man to depend upon, be careful about him."

*Leon.* "They will not take me in, this time. The squire will have no sandstone in the wall."

*Ger.* "Why not?"

*Leon.* "He says that sandstone where there are dung heaps and stable drainage will decay, and be eaten up with saltpetre."

*Ger.* "Is that true?"

*Leon.* "Yes. When I was from home once, I worked at a building, where they were obliged to take away a very good foundation of this kind of stone."

*Ger.* "To think of his understanding it so well!"

*Leon.* "I was surprised myself; but he understands a great many things. He asked me where the best sand was. I said, near the lower mill. 'That is very far to fetch it, and up the hill too,' answered he: 'We must be careful of men and cattle. Do you not know of any nearer?' I said, there certainly was very good sand in a meadow near the church; but it was private property, and we should have to pay for the hole; and could go no way but through the meadow, where we must make a road. 'There is no harm in that,' said he. 'It is better than fetching sand from the mill.' I must tell thee one thing more: As he was speaking of the sand, a servant came from the squire of Oberhofen, and I thought then, that I ought to say I would not detain him, but come another time. He laughed, and said: 'No, mason, I like to finish what I am about; and when I have done, I see what any body else wants from me. But it is like you, to be taking leave. It is a part of your old ways, which you must give up—to be so ready at every opportunity to leave your business and work.'

"I looked like a fool, wife; and heartily wished I had kept my tongue quiet, and not said a word about coming another time."

"It was partly thy own fault, indeed!" said Gertrude; and at that moment somebody called out at the door: "Holla! is nobody at home?"

#### CHAPTER XIV.—MEAN SELFISHNESS.

THE mason opened the door, and Margaret, the sexton's daughter-in-law, and the bailiff's niece, came into the room. As soon as she had very slightly saluted the mason and his wife, she said to him: "You will not be for mending our old oven; now, I suppose, Leonard!"

*Leonard.* "Why not, neighbor? Does it want any thing done to it?"

*Margaret.* "Not just now. I only ask in time, that I may know what to trust to."

*Leon.* "You are very careful Margaret; but there was no great need to be afraid."

*Marg.* "Ay! but times change, and people with them."

*Leon.* "Very true. But one may always find plenty of people to mend an oven."

*Marg.* "That is some comfort, at all events."

Gertrude, who had been silent all this time, took up the cleaver to cut some hard rye-bread for supper.

"That is but black bread," said Margaret; "but you will soon have better, as your husband is become builder to the squire."

"You talk foolishly, Margaret. I shall be thankful if I have enough of bread like this, all my life;" said Gertrude.

*Marg.* "But white bread is better; and you will find it so. You will now be a bailiff's wife, and your husband, Mr. Bailiff; but it will be a bad thing for us."

*Leon.* "What do you mean by your sneers? I like people to speak out; if they have any thing on their minds, and dare say it."

*Marg.* "Ay, mason! and I dare say it, if it comes to that. My husband is the sexton's son, and since the church was first built, it was never heard of be-

fore, but that his people had the preference, when there was any thing to be done at it!"

*Leon.* "Well! what more?"

*Marg.* "Why, now, at this very moment, the bailiff has a list in his house, in which more than a dozen blockheads, out of the village, are marked out to work at the building of the church, and there is not a word said of the sexton's people."

*Leon.* "But, neighbor! what have I to do with it? Did I write out the list?"

*Marg.* "No, you did not write it out, but I suppose you dictated it."

*Leon.* "It would be a fine thing for me, indeed, to dictate his own list to the squire."

*Marg.* "O! we all know that you go every day to the hall; and you have certainly been there again to-day; and if you had only told him how it was before, things would have gone on in the old way."

*Leon.* "You are mistaken, Margaret, if you think so. Arner is not the man to let things go on in the old way, if he can mend them by a new one."

*Marg.* "We see how it is!"

*Leon.* "And he means to help the poor and needy, by giving them work."

*Marg.* "Yes! he means to help all the blockheads and beggarly rabble."

*Leon.* "All poor folks are not rabble, Margaret; and it is not right to talk so. No one knows what may happen to himself before he dies."

*Marg.* "No; and therefore every body should look after his own bread; and it is no wonder we are troubled to be so forgotton."

*Leon.* "Ah, Margaret! it is a very different thing. You have good property, and live with your father, who has the best situation in the village; and you have no need to work for your bread like us poor folks."

*Marg.* "You may say what you will: every one is vexed when he thinks a thing belongs to him, and another dog comes and snatches it out of his mouth."

*Leon.* "Don't talk of dogs, Margaret, when you are speaking of men, or you may find one that will bite you. But if you think the situation belongs to you, you are young and strong, and a rare talker; you can manage your own affair, and take it to the place where you may be helped to your right."

*Marg.* "Many thanks, Mr. Mason, for your fine piece of advice."

*Leon.* "I can give you none better."

*Marg.* "One may find an opportunity to remember the service. Farewell, Leonard."

*Leon.* "Farewell, Margaret. It is all I can do for you."

Margaret went away, and Leonard to his men."

#### CHAPTER XV.—THE WISE GOOSE LAYS AN EGG; OR, A BLUNDER WHICH COSTS A GLASS OF WINE.

LEONARD had no sooner left the hall, than Arner sent the list of day-laborers which he had written out, by Flink, his huntsman, to the bailiff, with orders to give them all notice.

The huntsman brought the list to the bailiff before noon; but formerly, all the writings which came from the hall, were directed "To the honorable and discreet, my trusty and well-beloved Bailiff Hummel in Bonnal," and on this, there was only, "To the Bailiff Hummel in Bonnal."

"What is that damned Spritzer, the secretary, about, that he does not give me my right title?" said the bailiff to Flink, as he took the letter.



But the huntsman answered: "Take care, bailiff, what you say. The squire directed the letter himself."

*Bailiff.* "That's not true. I know the writing of that powdered beggar the secretary!"

Flink shook his head, and said: "You are a bold man. I saw the squire write it, with my own eyes, and I stood by him in the room whilst he did it."

*Bailiff.* "Then I have made a damned blunder, Flink! The words escaped me. Forget them, and come into the house, and drink a glass of wine with me."

"Take care the next time, bailiff! I don't like to make mischief, and will pass it over for once," said Flink, going with the bailiff into the house. He set his short gun in a corner, drank one glass, and then went away.

The bailiff opened the paper, read it, and said: "These are all mere block-heads and beggars, from first to last. Donner! what a business this is! Not one of my own people, except Michael. I am not even to recommend a day-laborer to him! And here I am to give them all notice to-day. It will be hard work for me—but I will do it. It is not evening all day long. Truly, I will tell them of it, and advise them all to go on Monday to the hall, to return thanks to the squire. He does not know one of these fellows. It must be the mason who has recommended them to him. When they arrive at the hall, on Monday, all in tatters, some without shoes, others without hats, and stand before the squire, I shall wonder if he does not say something I can turn to use." Thus he laid his plans, dressed himself, and took up the list to see how they lay near each other, that he might not go roundabout.

Hubel Rudi was not the next to him; but ever since he had gained the meadow from his father by a lawsuit, he kept, as much as he could, away from his house, on account of certain uneasy thoughts which occurred to him, when he saw these poor people. "I will go first to these folks," said he, and went up to their window.

#### CHAPTER XVI.—THE DEATH-BED.

HUBEL RUDI was sitting with his four children. It was only three months since his wife's death, and now his mother lay dying upon a bed of straw, and said to Rudi: "I wish thou wouldst collect some leaves this afternoon, to put into my coverlid; I am very cold."

*Rudi.* "Oh, mother! as soon as ever the fire in the oven is put out, I will go."

*Mother.* "Hast thou any wood left, Rudi? I think not, for thou canst not leave me and the children, to go into the forest—alas, Rudi, I am a burthen to thee!"

*Rudi.* "My dear mother, do not say that thou art a burthen to me! Oh, if I could only give thee what thou hast need of! Thou art hungry and thirsty, and makest no complaint. It goes to my heart, mother!"

*Mother.* "Do not make thyself unhappy, Rudi. Thanks be to God, my pain is not severe—he will soon relieve it, and my blessing will repay thee what thou hast done for me."

*Rudi.* "O mother, my poverty was never such a trouble to me as now, when I can give thee nothing, and do nothing for thee. Alas! thou sufferest from sickness and misery, and sharest my wants."

*Mother.* "When we draw near our end, we want little on earth, and what we do want, our heavenly Father supplies. I thank him, Rudi; for he strengthens me in my approaching hour."

*Rudi.* (Weeping.) "Dost thou think then, mother, that thou wilt not recover?"

*Mother.* "Never, Rudi! it is most certain."

*Rudi.* "Gracious heaven!"

*Mother.* "Take comfort, Rudi! I go into a better life."

*Rudi.* (Sobbing.) "Alas, alas!"

*Mother.* "Do not grieve, Rudi! Thou hast been the joy of my youth, and the comfort of my old age. And now I thank God that thy hand will soon close my eyes! Then shall I go to God, and I will pray for thee, and all will be well with thee for ever. Think of me, Rudi. All the sufferings and all the troubles of this life, if they are well borne, end in good. All I have undergone comforts me, and is as great a blessing to me, as any of the pleasures and joys of life. I thank God for the gladsome days of my childhood; but when the fruit of life ripens for harvest, and when the tree drops its leaves before its winter sleep,—then are the sorrows of life hallowed, and its joys but as a dream. Think of me, Rudi!—all thy sufferings will end in good."

*Rudi.* "Oh, mother! dear mother!"

*Mother.* "Yet, one thing more, Rudi."

*Rudi.* "What, mother?"

*Mother.* "Ever since yesterday it has lain like a stone on my heart. I must tell thee of it, Rudi."

*Rudi.* "What is it, dear mother?"

*Mother.* "Yesterday I saw our little Rudeli creep behind my bed, and eat roasted potatoes out of his bag. He gave some to his sisters, and they also ate these potatoes, which must have been stolen. Rudi, they could not be ours!—or the boy would have thrown them upon the table, and called his sisters loudly; and he would have brought me some of them, as he had done a thousand times before. Oh, how it used to gladden my heart, when he flew towards me with something in his hand, and said, so fondly to me: "Eat, eat, grandmother?" Rudi, if this darling child should become a thief! O, this thought has been a sad weight upon me since yesterday. Where is he? bring him to me—I will speak to him."

Rudi ran quickly, sought the boy and brought him to his mother's bed-side.

The mother, with great difficulty, raised herself up, for the last time, turned toward the boy, took both his hands in hers, and bent forward her weak, dying head.

The little fellow wept aloud. "Grandmother! what is it you wish? you are not dying yet! O, do not die yet, grandmother."

She answered in broken words: "Yes, Rudeli, I must certainly die very soon."

"O my God! do not die, grandmother," said the boy.

The sick woman lost her breath, and was obliged to lie down again.

The boy and his father burst into tears—but she soon recovered herself, and said:

"I am better again, now that I lie down."

And Rudeli said: "And you will not then die now, grandmother?"

*Mother.* "Say not so, my darling! I die willingly; and shall then go to a kind father! If thou couldst know, Rudeli, how happy I am, that I shall soon go to Him, thou wouldst not be so sorrowful."

*Rudeli.* "I will die with you, grandmother, if you must die!"

*Mother.* "No, Rudeli, thou must not die with me. If it be the will of God, thou must live a long time yet, and grow up to be a good man; and when thy father is old and weak, thou must be his help and comfort. Tell me, Rudeli, wilt thou follow after him, and be a good man, and do what is right? Promise me thou wilt, my love!"

*Rudeli.* "Yes, grandmother, I will do what is right, and follow after him."

*Mother.* "Rudeli, our Father in heaven, to whom I am going, sees and hears all that we do, and what we promise. Tell me, Rudeli, dost thou know this, and dost thou believe it?"

*Rudeli.* "Yes, grandmother! I know it, and I believe it."

*Mother.* "But why didst thou then eat stolen potatoes, yesterday, behind my bed?"

*Rudeli.* "Forgive me this once, grandmother; I will never do so again. Forgive me! I will certainly never do so again, grandmother."

*Mother.* "Didst thou steal them?"

*Rudeli.* (Sobbing.) "Yes, grandmother, I did!"

*Mother.* "From whom didst thou steal them?"

*Rudeli.* "From the ma—ma—son."

*Mother.* "Thou must go to him Rudeli, and beg him to forgive thee."

*Rudeli.* "O, grandmother, for God's sake! I dare not."

*Mother.* "Thou must Rudeli! that thou mayst not do so another time. Thou must go, without another word! and for heaven's sake, my dear child, if thou art ever so hungry, never take any thing again. God will not forsake any of us. He provides for all. O, Rudeli, if thou art ever so hungry, if thou hast no food, and knowest of none, yet trust in God, and do not steal any more."

*Rudeli.* "Grandmother, I will never steal again. If I am hungry, I will never steal again."

*Mother.* "Then may the God, in whom I trust, bless thee, and keep thee, my darling!" She pressed him to her heart, wept, and said: "Thou must now go to the mason, and beg his pardon; and, Rudi, do thou also go with him, and tell the mason, that I too beg his pardon; and that I am very sorry I can not give him back the potatoes. Tell him I will pray for the blessing of God upon what he has left, I am so grieved! They have so much need of all they have—and if his wife did not work so hard, day and night, they could not possibly maintain their own large family. Rudi, thou wilt willingly work a couple of days for him, to make it up."

*Rudi.* "I will, indeed, dear mother, with all my heart."

As he spoke, the bailiff tapped at the window."

#### CHAPTER XVII.—THE SICK WOMAN'S BEHAVIOR.

AND the sick woman knew him by his cough, and said: "O Rudi! here is the bailiff!—I am afraid the bread and butter thou art preparing for me are not paid for."

*Rudi.* "For heaven's sake, do not distress thyself, mother. It is of no consequence. I will work for him; and, at harvest time, reap for him, as much as he likes."

"Alas! he will not wait," said the mother; and Rudi went out of the room to the bailiff.

The sick woman sighed to herself, and said: "Since this affair of ours, God forgive him, the poor blinded creature, I never see him without a pang. And to



think that, at my last hour, he must come and talk under my window. It is the will of God that I should forgive him, entirely and immediately, and overcome my last resentment, and pray for his soul—and I will do so."

"O God, thou hast overruled the whole affair. Forgive him, Father in heaven, forgive him." She heard the bailiff talking loudly, and started. "Alas! he is angry! O my poor Rudi! it is owing to me that thou art in his power!" Again she heard his voice, and fainted away.

Rudeli sprang out of the room to his father, and called him: "Father, come, come! I think my grandmother is dead."

And Rudi exclaimed: "Gracious heaven! Bailiff, I must go into the room."

"Much need of that," said the bailiff. "It will be a great loss, truly, if the old witch should be gone at last."

Rudi heard not what he said, but rushed into the room.

The sick woman soon recovered herself, and as she opened her eyes, she said: "Is he angry, Rudi? I am sure he will not wait."

*Rudi.* "No, indeed, mother! It is some very good news. But art thou quite recovered?"

"Yes!" said the mother, and looked at him very earnestly and mournfully,— "What good news can this man bring? what dost thou say? Dost thou wish to comfort me, and to suffer alone? He has threatened thee."

*Rudi.* "I do assure thee it is not so, mother. He has told me that I am to be a day-laborer, at the building of the church, and the squire pays every man twenty-five kreutzers a day, wages."

*Mother.* "Lord God! Can this be true?"

*Rudi.* "Yes, mother, it is indeed! And there is work for more than a whole year."

*Mother.* "Now I shall die more easy, Rudi. Great God, thou art merciful! O, be so to the end! And, Rudi, be thou sure, that the greater our want, the nearer is his help."

She was silent for a while, and then said again, "I believe it is all over with me! my breath grows shorter every moment—we must part, Rudi—I will take leave of thee."

Rudi trembled, shuddered, took off his cap, and knelt down by his mother's bed, folded his hands, raised his eyes to heaven, and tears and sobs choked his speech.

Then said his mother: "Take courage, Rudi! I trust in an eternal life, where we shall meet again. Death is a moment which passes away—I do not fear it—I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

Rudi had now recovered himself, and said: "Give me thy blessing, mother! If it be the will of God, may I soon follow thee to eternal life."

Then said his mother: "Hear me, heavenly Father, and grant thy blessing upon my child! Upon this, the only child whom thou hast given me, and who is so dear to me! Rudi, may my God and Saviour be with thee, and as he showed mercy unto Isaac and Jacob, for their father Abraham's sake, so may he show mercy unto thee, abundantly, for the sake of my blessing; that thy heart may rejoice and be glad, and praise his name."

"Hear me now, Rudi! and do as I say. Teach thy children regularity and

industry, that they may never come to want, nor grow disorderly and idle. Teach them to hope and trust in Almighty God, and to be kind to each other in joy and in sorrow. So will it be well with them, even in poverty.

"Forgive the bailiff; and, when I am dead and buried, go to him, and tell him that I die in charity with him, and if God hears my prayer, he will yet do well and come to the knowledge of himself, before he must depart hence."

After a pause, the mother said again: "Rudi, give me my two bibles, my prayer-books, and a paper, which is lying under my handkerchief, in a little box."

And Rudi rose from his knees and brought them all to his mother.

Then she said: "Now bring all the children to me." He brought them from the table, where they were sitting weeping, and they all knelt down by her bedside.

Then she said to them: "Weep not so, my children! your heavenly Father will support and bless you—you are very dear to me, and I grieve to leave you so poor, and without a mother. But hope in God, and trust in him, whatever may befall you; so will you always find in him, more than a father's help, or a mother's kindness. Remember me, my darlings! I have nothing to leave you, but I have loved you tenderly, and I know that you love me also. My bibles and my prayer-books are almost all I have left, but do not think them trifles, my children!—They have comforted and cheered me, a thousand times, in my troubles. Let the word of God be also your comfort and your joy; and love one another; and help and advise one another, as long as you live; and be honest, true, kind, and obliging, to all men—so will you pass well through life.

"And thou, Rudi, keep the great bible for Betheli, and the smaller one for Rudeli; and the two prayer-books for the little ones, for a remembrance of me.

"I have nothing for thee, Rudi! but thou needest no remembrance of me—thou wilt not forget me."

Then she called Rudeli again to her: "Give me thy hand, my dear child! Be sure thou never stealest again."

"No indeed, grandmother, believe me! I will never take any thing from any body again," said Rudeli, with burning tears.

"And I do believe thee, and will pray to God for thee," said the mother. "See, my love, I give thy father a paper which the pastor, with whom I lived servant, gave me. When thou art older read it, and think of me, and be good and true."

It was a certificate from the late pastor of Eichstatten, that Catharine, the sick woman, had served him ten years, and helped him, indeed, to bring up his children, after the death of his wife; that all had been intrusted to Catharine; and that she had looked after every thing most carefully. The pastor thanked her in it, and said that she had been as a mother to his children, and he should never forget the assistance she had been to him in his difficulties. She had also earned a considerable sum of money in his service, which she gave to her deceased husband to buy the meadow, which the bailiff had afterward taken from him by a law suit.

After she had given Rudi this paper, she said: "There are two good shifts there. Do not put either of them on me when I am buried—the one I have on, is good enough. And when I am dead, let my gown and my two aprons be cut up for the children."

Soon afterward, she added: "Look carefully after Betheli, Rudi! She is such

a delicate child; and always let the children be kept clean, and well washed and combed; and every year let them have spring herbs to sweeten their blood; they do them so much good. And if thou canst manage it, keep a goat for them, during the summer—Betheli can take care of it now. It grieves me to think that thou wilt be so solitary, but keep up thy courage, and do what thou canst. This work at the church will be a great help to thee—I thank God for it.”

The mother was now silent, and the children and their father remained for a time upon their knees, praying. Then they stood up, and Rudi said to his mother: “Mother, I will now go and get the leaves for thy coverlid.”

She answered: “There is no hurry for that, Rudi! The room is warmer now, thank God! and thou must go to the mason’s with the child.”

And Rudi beckoned Betheli out of the room, and said: “Watch thy grandmother carefully, and if any thing happens to her, send Anneli after me. I shall be at the mason’s.”

CHAPTER XVIII.—A POOR BOY ASKS PARDON FOR HAVING STOLEN POTATOES,  
AND THE SICK WOMAN DIES.

AND he took the little one by the hand, and went with him.

Gertrude was alone in the house when they arrived, and soon saw that both the boy and his father had tears in their eyes. “What dost thou want, neighbor Rudi? Why art thou weeping? Why is the little fellow weeping?” said she, kindly taking his hand.

“Alas, Gertrude? I am in trouble,” answered Rudi. “I am come to thee, because Rudeli has taken potatoes out of your heap. Yesterday his grandmother found it out, and he has confessed it—forgive us, Gertrude.

“His grandmother is on her death-bed—she has just taken leave of us. And I am so wretched, I scarcely know what I am saying—Gertrude! she begs thy forgiveness too—I am sorry I can not pay thee back now; but I will willingly work a couple of days for thee, to make it up. Forgive us!—The boy did it from hunger.”

*Gertrude.* “Say not another word about it, Rudi: and thou, dear little fellow! come and promise me never to take any thing from any body again.” She kissed him, and said: “Thou hast an excellent grandmother! only grow up as spicuous and as good as she is.”

*Rudeli.* “Forgive me, Gertrude! I will never steal again.”

*Ger.* “No, my child, never do so again. Thou dost not yet know how miserable and unhappy all thieves become. Do so no more: and if thou art hungry, come to me instead, and tell me. If I can, I will give thee something to eat.”

*Rudi.* “I thank God, I have now got work at the building of the church, and I hope hunger will never lead him to do any thing of the kind again.”

*Ger.* “My husband and I were very glad to hear that the squire had fixed upon thee as one.”

*Rudi.* “And I am so glad that my mother has lived to have this comfort! Tell thy husband, I will work under him honestly and truly, and be there early and late; and I shall be very glad to allow any wages, to pay for the potatoes.”

*Ger.* “Say nothing of that, Rudi. I am sure my husband will never take it. God be praised, we are now much better off, on account of this building. Rudi, I will go with thee to thy mother, as she is so very ill.”



She filled Rudeli's pocket with apples, and said to him once more: "Remember, my dear child, never to take any thing from any body again;" and she then went with Rudi to his mother.

And as he was collecting some leaves under a nut-tree, to fill his mother's coverlid, Gertrude helped him—and then went with him to her.

Gertrude spoke kindly to the sick woman, took her hand, and wept.

"Dost thou weep, Gertrude?" said the grandmother. "It is we who should weep. Hast thou forgiven us?"

*Ger.* "O, do not talk of forgiveness, Catharine! Your distress goes to my heart, and still more thy goodness and carefulness. Thy carefulness and honesty will certainly bring down the blessing of God upon thy children, Catharine."

*Catharine.* "Hast thou forgiven us, Gertrude?"

*Ger.* "Say no more about that, Catharine. I only wish I could do any thing to give thee ease, in thy sickness."

*Cath.* "Thou art very good, Gertrude, and I thank thee; but God will soon help me. Rudeli, hast thou asked her pardon? Has she forgiven thee?"

*Rudeli.* "Yes, grandmother: see how good she is." He showed her his pocket full of apples.

"How very sleepy I am," said the grandmother. "Hast thou asked her forgiveness properly?"

*Rud.* "Yes, grandmother, with my whole heart."

*Cath.* "A slumber creeps over me, and my eyes grow dim. I am going, Gertrude!" said she softly, and in broken words. "There is one thing more, I wish to ask thee; but I don't know whether I dare. This unfortunate child has stolen from thee—may I ask thee, Gertrude, when—I am dead—these poor—desolate children—they—are so desolate"—she stretched out her hand—(her eyes were already closed,) "may I—hope—follow her—Rud"—she expired, unable to finish.

Rudi thought she had only dropped asleep, and said to the children: "Do not speak a word, she is asleep. O, if she should yet recover!"

But Gertrude thought it was death, and told Rudi so.

How he and all the little ones wrung their hands in anguish, I can not describe. Reader! let me be silent and weep—for it goes to my heart to think how man, in the dust of earth, ripens to immortality; and how, in the pomp and vanity of the world, he decays without coming to maturity. Weigh then, O man, weigh the value of life, on the bed of death; and thou who despisest the poor, pitiest and dost not know him—tell me whether he can have lived unhappy, who can thus die!—But I refrain. I wish not to teach you, O men! I only wish you to open your eyes, and see for yourselves, what really is happiness or misery, a blessing or a curse in this world.

Gertrude comforted poor Rudi, and told him the last wish of his excellent mother, which, in his trouble, he had not heard.

Rudi took her by the hand, confidently—"What a sad affliction it is to lose my dear mother! How good she was! I am sure, Gertrude, thou will remember her wish."

*Ger.* "I must have a heart of stone if I could forget it. I will do what I can for thy children."

*Rudi.* "God will repay thee what thou dost for us."

Gertrude turned toward the window, wiped the tears from her face, raised her eyes to heaven, and sighed deeply. Then she took up Rudeli and his sis-

ters, one after the other, kissed them with warm tears, prepared the corpse for the grave, and did not go home till she had done every thing which was necessary.

CHAPTER XIX.—GOOD SPIRITS COMFORT, CHEER, AND SUPPORT A MAN, BUT ANXIETY IS A CONTINUAL TORMENT.

THE bailiff, after he had been to Rudi, proceeded to the other day-laborers. And first he went to Jogli Bar. He found him splitting wood, and singing and whistling over his chopping-log; but when he saw the bailiff, he looked up in astonishment: "If you are come for money, bailiff, I have none."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art singing and whistling like a bird in a granary. How canst thou be without money?"

*Bar.* "If crying would bring bread, I should not be whistling. But, in good earnest, what do you want?"

*Bailiff.* "Nothing; but to tell thee, that thou art to be a helper at the building of the church, and to have twenty-five kreutzers a day."

*Bar.* "Can that be true?"

*Bailiff.* "It is, indeed. Thou must go up to the hall on Monday."

*Bar.* "If it is really true, I am very thankful for it, Mr. Bailiff. You see now that I might well be singing and whistling to-day."

The bailiff went away, laughing; and said to himself: "I never know what it is to be as merry as this beggar."

Bar went into the house, to his wife. "Keep up a good heart, wife. I am to be day-laborer at the building of the church!"

*Wife.* "It will be long enough before thou hast such a piece of luck. Thou hast always a bag full of hope, but not of bread."

*Bar.* "There shall be no want of bread, when once I get my daily wages."

*Wife.* "But there may be want of wages."

*Bar.* "No, child, no! Arner pays his laborers well. No fear of that."

*Wife.* "Art thou joking, or can it be true about the building?"

*Bar.* "The bailiff has just been here to tell me to go on Monday to the hall, with the other laborers who are to work at the church; so it can not well miss."

*Wife.* "Heaven be praised, if it prove so: if I may hope to have one comfortable hour!"

*Bar.* "Thou shalt have many a one. I am as light-hearted as a child about it. Thou wilt no longer scold me, when I come home laughing and merry. I will bring thee every kreutzer, as fast as I get it. I should have no pleasure in life, if I did not hope that the time would yet come, when thou shouldst think, with joy, that thou hast a good husband. If thy little property was soon lost in my hands, forgive me. God willing, I will yet make it up to thee."

*Wife.* "I am glad to see thee merry; but I am always afraid it is from thoughtlessness."

*Bar.* "What have I neglected? or what have I done that was wrong?"

*Wife.* "Nay, I do not accuse thee of that; but thou art never troubled when we have no bread."

*Bar.* "Would my being troubled bring us bread?"

*Wife.* "Do what I will, I can not help it:—it always makes me low."

*Bar.* "Take courage, and cheer up, wife. It makes things easier."

*Wife.* "Thou hast never a coat to go up to the hall in on Monday."

*Bar.* "Oh, then I will go in half of one. Thou always findest something to fret about," said he; and went off to his log, and split wood until dark.

From him, the bailiff went to Laupi, who was not at home; so he left the message with Hugli, his neighbor, and went on to Hans Leemann.

CHAPTER XX.—FOOLISH GOSSIPING LEADS TO IDLENESS.

HE was standing at his door, staring around him, saw the bailiff at a distance and said to himself: "Now we shall have some news." "What brings you this way, Mr. Bailiff?"

*Bailiff.* "I am in search of thee, Leemann."

*Leemann.* "It is doing me a great honor, Mr. Bailiff—but tell me, how is the mason's wife going on? Is she as pert as she was yesterday in the church-yard? What a witch she was, bailiff!"

*Bailiff.* "Thou must not say so now. Thou art to be helper to her husband."

*Leemann.* "Is there no other news, that you come to me with such a tale?"

*Bailiff.* "Nay, it is true enough, and I am come, by the squire's orders, to tell thee of it."

*Leemann.* "How did I come to this honor, Mr. Bailiff?"

*Bailiff.* "I think it must have been in thy sleep."

*Leemann.* "I will awake, however, if this be true. What time must one go to the work?"

*Bailiff.* "I suppose in a morning."

*Leemann.* "And in an afternoon too, I fancy. How many of us are there, Mr. Bailiff?"

*Bailiff.* "Ten."

*Leemann.* "I wonder who they are! Tell me."

The bailiff told him all the names in order. Between every one Leemann guessed twenty others—not such a one? nor such a one?—"I am losing time," said the bailiff at last, and went on.

CHAPTER XXI.—INGRATITUDE AND ENVY.

FROM him, the bailiff went to Jogli Lenk. He was lying on the stove-bench, smoking his pipe. His wife was spinning, and five half naked children were sprawling around.

The bailiff told his message in few words.

Lenk took the pipe out of his mouth, and answered: "It's a wonder that any good thing comes to me! I have always been far enough out of the way of such luck, till now."

*Bailiff.* "And many others with thee, Lenk."

*Lenk.* "Is my brother amongst the day-laborers?"

*Bailiff.* "No."

*Lenk.* "Who are the others?"

The bailiff told him their names.

*Lenk.* "But my brother is a far better workman than Rudi, or Bar, or Marx. I say nothing of Kriecher. On my life, there is not another amongst the ten, except myself, who is half so good a workman. Bailiff, can not you manage to get him in?"

"I don't know" said the bailiff; and cutting short the discourse, he went away.

Lenk's wife, who was at her wheel, said nothing till the bailiff was out of hearing; but the conversation troubled her; and as soon as the bailiff was gone she said to her husband: "Thou art thankless both to God and man. When



God sends thee help in thy great distress, thou dost nothing but abuse thy neighbors, whom he has also helped."

*Lenk.* "I shall have to work for the money, and not get it for nothing."

*Wife.* "Till now, thou hadst no work to get any by."

*Lenk.* "But then I had no labor."

*Wife.* "And thy children no bread."

"What had I more than you?" said the lazy lubber. His wife was silent, and wept bitter tears.

CHAPTER XXII.—REMORSE FOR PERJURY CAN NOT BE ALLAYED BY CRAFTY ARTS.

FROM Lenk the bailiff went to Kriecher, and as he was going, came unexpectedly upon Hans Wust.

If he had seen him in time, he would have slipped out of the way; for, since Rudi's affair, the bailiff and Wust never met without feelings of self-reproach; but the bailiff met him unawares, at the corner of the side street, near the lower well.

"Art thou there, Wust?" said the bailiff.

"Yes, bailiff," answered Wust.

*Bailiff.* "Why dost thou never come near me? Hast thou forgotten the money I lent thee?"

*Wust.* "I have no money at present, and when I look back, I am afraid I have paid too dearly for your money already."

*Bailiff.* "Thou didst not talk in this way, Wust, when I gave it thee. It is serving a man ungraciously."

*Wust.* "Serving a man is one thing—but, serving a man so that one can never have another comfortable hour on God's earth, is another."

*Bailiff.* "Talk not so, Wust! Thou didst not swear any thing but what was true."

*Wust.* "So you always say. But I can not but feel in my heart that I swore falsely."

*Bailiff.* "That is not true, Wust! On my soul, it is not true. Thou didst but swear to what was read to thee, and it was very carefully worded. I read it to thee more than a hundred times, and it appeared to thee in the same light as it did to me, and thou saidst always 'Yes; I can swear to that!' Was it not so, Wust? And why art thou now fretting about it? But it is only on account of thy debt. Thou wouldst have me wait longer."

*Wust.* "No, bailiff; you are mistaken. If I had the money, I would pay it down this moment, that I might never see your face again; for my heart smites me whenever I look at you."

"Thou art a fool!" said the bailiff; but his own heart smote him also.

*Wust.* "I saw it as you do, for a long time; for it did not come to me at first, that the squire spoke as if he saw it in quite a different light."

*Bailiff.* "Thou hast nothing to do with what the squire said about it. Thou didst but swear to the paper that was read to thee."

*Wust.* "Yes; but he passed judgment according to what he had understood from it."

*Bailiff.* "If the squire was a fool, let him look after it. What is that to thee? He had the paper in his hand; and if it did not seem clear to him, he should have had it written differently."

*Wust.* "I know you can always out-talk me; but that does not comfort my

conscience. And at church, on a sacrament day, I am in such a horrible state, that I could sink into the earth! O bailiff, would that I had never owed you any thing! Would that I had never known you, or that I had died the day before I was forsworn!"

*Bailiff.* "For God's sake, Wust, do not fret in this way. It is folly. Think of all the circumstances. We went about it very carefully. In thy presence I asked the pastor's assistant, point-blank: Will Wust have sworn to any thing but what is in the paper, supposing he does not understand it right? Dost thou not remember his answer?"

*Wust.* "Yes; but still——"

*Bailiff.* "Nay, he said these very words;—Wust will not have sworn to hair more than is in the paper. Were not these his words?"

*Wust.* "Yes; but then is it so, because he said it?"

*Bailiff.* "Is it so? What, art thou not satisfied?"

*Wust.* "No, bailiff? I will speak out for once. The late pastor's assistant owed you money, as well as myself; and you know what a fellow he was, and how disorderly. It is little comfort to me what such a reckless creature said."

*Bailiff.* "His way of life was nothing to thee. He understood the right doctrine, and that thou knowest."

*Wust.* "Nay, I know it not. But I know he was good for nothing."

*Bailiff.* "But what did that signify to thee?"

*Wust.* "Why, for my part, if I know a man has been very wicked and bad in one point, I dare not trust to his goodness in any other. Therefore I am afraid that this worthless man deceived me, and then what is to become of me?"

*Bailiff.* "Let these thoughts go, Wust! Thou hast sworn to nothing but what was true."

*Wust.* "I did so, for a long time; but it's over now. I can not cheat myself any longer. Poor Rudi! Wherever I go or stand, I see him before me. Poor Rudi! how his misery, and hunger, and want, must rise up to God against me! O, and his children, they are such sickly, starved, ricketty things; and as yellow as gipsies. They were fine, stout, healthy children; and my oath took the meadow from them,"

*Bailiff.* "I had a right to it. It was as I told thee. And now, Rudi has work at the building of the church, and may come round again."

*Wust.* "What good can that do me? If I had not sworn, it would be all the same to me, whether Rudi were rich or a beggar."

*Bailiff.* "Do not let it disturb thee so! I had a right to it."

*Wust.* "Not disturb me? If I had broken into his house and stolen all his goods, it would trouble me less. O bailiff, bailiff! that I should have acted thus! It is now near Easter again. I wish I were buried a thousand feet deep in the earth!"

*Bailiff.* "For heaven's sake, Wust, do not go on in this way in the open street, before all the people. If any body should hear thee! It is thine own stupidity that plagues thee. All that thou hast sworn to was true."

*Wust.* "Stupidity here, stupidity there! If I had not sworn, Rudi would still have had his meadow."

*Bailiff.* "But thou didst not say it was not his, or that it was mine. What in the devil's name is it to thee who has the meadow?"

*Wust.* "It is nothing to me who has the meadow, but it is that I have sworn falsely."

*Bailiff.* "I tell thee it is not true that thou hast sworn falsely. That which thou didst swear to, was true."

*Wust.* "But it was a deceit! I did not tell the squire how I understood the writing; and he understood it differently. Say what you will, I know, I feel it in myself, that I was a Judas, and a betrayer; and that my oath was a false one, words or no words."

*Bailiff.* "I am sorry for thee, Wust, that thou art so stupid; but thou art ill; thou lookest like one risen from the grave; and when a man is not well he sees things so differently. Compose thyself, Wust. Come home with me, and let us drink a glass of wine together."

*Wust.* "I can not, bailiff. Nothing upon earth can cheer me now."

*Bailiff.* "Comfort thyself, Wust. Drive it out of thy head, and forget it till thou art well again. Thou wilt then perceive that I was in the right, and I will tear thy note in pieces. Perhaps it will be a relief to thee."

*Wust.* "No bailiff! keep the note. If I must eat my own flesh for hunger, I will pay you that debt. I will not have the price of blood upon my soul. If you have betrayed me, if the pastor's assistant has deceived me, perhaps God will forgive me. I did not mean it to turn out so."

*Bailiff.* "Here is thy note, Wust. See, I destroy it before thy eyes; and I take it on my own responsibility that I was in the right; and now be comforted."

*Wust.* "Take what you will upon yourself, bailiff, I will pay you my debt. The day after to-morrow I will sell my Sunday coat, and pay you."

*Bailiff.* "Think better of it. Thou deceivest thyself, upon my life. But I must go away now."

*Wust.* "It is a mercy that you are going. If you were to stay much longer, I should go mad before your eyes."

*Bailiff.* "Quiet thyself, for heaven's sake, Wust." They then separated.

But the bailiff, when he was alone, could not help saying to himself, with a sigh: "I am sorry he met me just now. I have had enough before to-day, without this." He soon, however, hardened himself again, and said: "I am sorry for the poor wretch; he is so troubled! but he is in the wrong. It is nothing to him how the judge understood it. The devil might take the oaths, if the exact meaning of them were to be looked after so sharply. I know that other people, and those who should understand the thing best, take oaths after their own way of interpreting them, and are undisturbed, where a poor wretch, who thinks like Wust, would say he saw as clear as day that it was a deceit. But I wish these thoughts were out of my head, they make me uncomfortable! I will go back and drink a glass of wine." He did so, and then went to Felix Kriecher.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.—A HYPOCRITE, AND A SUFFERING WOMAN.

FELIX KRIECHER was a man who always had the air of enduring the greatest afflictions with the patience of a martyr. To the barber, the bailiff, and every stranger, he bowed as low as to the pastor; and he went to all the weekly prayers at church, and to all the Sunday evening singing. Sometimes he got, by this means, a glass of wine; and occasionally, when he was very late, and man-aged well, had an invitation to supper. He took great pains to be in favor with all the pietists of the village, but could not quite succeed; for he was very careful not to offend the other party on their account, and this does not suit fanatics. They will not let their disciples be well with both sides; and thus, notwithstanding his appearance of humility, and all the hypocritical arts he practiced



and even his spiritual pride, which generally suits fanatics, he was not admitted into their set.

With all these exterior and acknowledged qualities, he had some others; and though these were only for secret use in his domestic life, I must now speak of them.

To his wife and children he was a devil. In the most extreme poverty he still insisted upon having something dainty to eat; and if he did not get it, all went wrong—the children were not properly combed and washed; and if he could find nothing else to blame, and one of his little children of four years old stared at him, he would beat it, to teach it proper respect to him.

"Thou art a fool!" said his wife to him one day when this had occurred. But, though she was quite right, and had told him nothing but the simple truth, he kicked her for it; and as she was running away from him, she fell by the door, and made two deep wounds in her head. This frightened the man; for he thought, wisely enough, that a broken head might tell tales.

And as all hypocrites, when they are alarmed, crouch, and fawn, and humble themselves, so did Kriecher to his wife. He coaxed her; and begged and entreated, for God's sake, not that she would forgive him, but that she would promise to tell nobody of it. She did so, and patiently endured the pain of a very bad wound, and told the barber and the other neighbors that she had fallen; but many of them did not believe her. Poor woman! she might have known beforehand that no hypocrite was ever grateful, or kept his word, and should not have trusted him. But what do I say? Alas! she knew all this; but she thought of her children, and knew that God only could change his heart, and that it was of no use to be talking about it. She is an excellent woman, and it is grievous to think how unhappy he makes her, and what she suffers daily by his means. She was silent, but prayed to God; and thanked him for the afflictions with which he tried her.

O eternity!—when thou revealest the ways of God, and the blessedness of those to whom he teaches steadfastness, courage, and patience, by suffering, want, and sorrow—O eternity! how wilt thou exalt those tried ones who have been so lowly here.

Kriecher had forgotten the wounds, almost before they were healed, and went on as usual. He tormented and harassed his wife, without cause or excuse, every day, and embittered her life. A quarter of an hour before the bailiff came, the cat had overturned the lamp, and wasted a drop or two of oil. "Thou stupid creature, thou shouldst have taken better care," said he to his wife, with his accustomed fury; "thou mayst now sit in the dark, and light the fire with cow-dung, thou horned beast!" His wife said not a word, but the tears streamed down her cheeks, and the children cried in the corners with their mother.

At this moment the bailiff knocked. "Hush! for heaven's sake, be quiet! What is to be done? The bailiff is at the door," said Kriecher, and, hastily wiping off the children's tears with his handkerchief, he threatened to cut them in pieces, if he heard another whimper; then opened the door to the bailiff, bowed, and said: "What are your commands, Mr. Bailiff?" The bailiff told him his errand, briefly.

But Kriecher, who was listening at the door, and heard no more crying, answered: "Come into the room, Mr. Bailiff, and I will tell my dear wife what a piece of good fortune has befallen us." The bailiff went into the room, and

Kriecher said to his wife: "The bailiff has just brought me the good news that I am to be one of the day-laborers at the building of the church; and a great favor it is, for which I can not be sufficiently thankful."

The wife answered, "Thank God!" and a sigh escaped from her.

*Bailiff.* "Is something the matter with thy wife?"

"She is not very well to-day, Mr. Bailiff," said Kriecher, throwing an angry, threatening look toward his wife.

*Bailiff.* "I must be going on. I wish her better."

*Wife.* "Good-bye, Mr. Bailiff."

*Kriecher.* "May I beg you, Mr. Bailiff, to be so good as to thank the squire, in my name, for this favor."

*Bailiff.* "Thou canst thank him thyself."

*Kriecher.* "You are right, Mr. Bailiff. It was a great liberty in me to ask you to do it. I will go to-morrow to the hall. It is my duty to do so."

*Bailiff.* "All the others are going on Monday morning, and I think thou hadst better go with them."

*Kriecher.* "Of course, yes, certainly, Mr. Bailiff. I did not know they were going."

*Bailiff.* "Good-bye, Kriecher."

*Kriecher.* "I am greatly indebted to you, Mr. Bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "Thou hast nothing to thank me for." And he went away, saying to himself, "I am much mistaken, if this fellow is not one of the devil's own. Perhaps he is the kind of man to suit me with the mason—but who dare trust a hypocrite? I would rather have Shaben Michel. He is a downright rogue."

#### CHAPTER XXIV.—AN HONEST, JOYFUL, THANKFUL HEART.

FROM Kriecher the bailiff went to young Abi, who jumped for joy when he heard the good news; and sprang up like a young heifer when it is turned out in spring. "I will go and tell my wife, that she may rejoice with me. No! I will wait till to-morrow. To-morrow it will be eight years since we were married. It was St. Joseph's day. I remember it, as if it were yesterday. We have had many a hard hour since; but many a happy one, too. God be thanked for all. To-morrow, as soon as she wakes, I will tell her. I wish the time were come! I can see just how she will laugh and cry over it; and how she will press her children and me to her heart for joy. O that to-morrow were come! I will kill the cock, and boil it in the broth, without her knowing any thing about it. She would enjoy it then, though she would be sorry to have it killed. No, no! it will be no sin to kill it for such a joyful occasion. I will venture it. I will stay at home all day and make merry with her and the children. No, I will go with her to church and to the sacrament. We will rejoice and be glad; and thank God for all his goodness."

Thus did young Abi talk to himself, in the joy of his heart, at the good news the bailiff had brought him. He could scarcely, in his eagerness, wait till the morrow came, when he did as he had said he would.

#### CHAPTER XXV.—HOW ROGUES TALK TO EACH OTHER.

FROM Abi the bailiff went to Shaben Michel, who saw him at a distance, beckoned him into a corner, behind the house, and said: "What the deuce art thou about now?"

*Bailiff.* "A merry-making."

*Michel.* "Truly, thou art a likely fellow to be sent out to invite guests to weddings, dances, and merry-makings."

*Bailiff.* "Well, it is nothing dismal, at all events."

*Mich.* "What then!"

*Bailiff.* "Thou art got into new company."

*Mich.* "Who are they, and what is it for?"

*Bailiff.* "Hubel Rudi, Jenk, Leemann, Kriecher, and Marx Reuti."

*Mich.* "Nonsense! What have I to do with these fellows?"

*Bailiff.* "To build up and adorn the house of the Lord in Bonnal, and the walls round about it."

*Mich.* "In sober earnest?"

*Bailiff.* "Yes, by G——!"

*Mich.* "But who has chosen out the blind and lame for this work?"

*Bailiff.* "The well and nobly born, my wise and potent master, the squire!"

*Mich.* "Is he mad?"

*Bailiff.* "How should I know?"

*Mich.* "This looks like it."

*Bailiff.* "Perhaps it would not be the worst thing that could happen. Light wood is easily turned. But I must away. Come to me to-night, I want to speak to thee."

*Mich.* "I will not fail. Who art thou for next?"

*Bailiff.* "Marx Reuti."

*Mich.* "He is a proper fellow for work! a man must be out of his mind to choose him. I do n't believe he takes a mattock or spade into his hand the year through; and he is half lame on one side."

*Bailiff.* "What does that signify? Only do thou come to me to-night."

The bailiff then went on to Marx Reuti.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.—PRIDE, IN POVERTY AND DISTRESS, LEADS TO THE MOST UNNATURAL AND HORRIBLE DEEDS.

THIS man had formerly been well off, and carried on business for himself; but he was now without occupation, and lived almost entirely upon the charity of the pastor and some of his relations, who were able to help him.

In all his distress, he always kept up his pride, and concealed, as much as he could, the want and hunger of his family, except from those who gave him assistance.

When he saw the bailiff, he started—I can not say he turned pale, for he was always as white as a ghost. He took up the rags which lay about, and thrust them under the coverlid of the bed, and ordered the half-naked children to hide themselves directly in the next room. "Lord Jesus!" said the children, "it snows and rains in. Only listen what a storm it is! There is no window in the room."

"Get along, you godless brats! how you distract me. Do you think there is no need for you to learn to mortify the flesh?"

"We can not bear it, father!" said the children.

"He will not stay long, you heretics!" said the father; and pushing them in, he fastened the door, and then invited the bailiff into the house.

When he had delivered his message, Marx thanked him, and said: "Am I to be an overlooker over these men?"



"What art thou thinking of, Marx?" answered the bailiff. "No! thou art to be a day-laborer with the rest."

*Marx.* "So, Mr. Bailiff!"

*Bailiff.* "It is at thy own choice, if thou dost not like the work."

*Marx.* "In truth, I am not accustomed to any thing of the kind; but, if the squire and the pastor wish it, I can not decline, and will undertake it."

*Bailiff.* "It will rejoice them greatly; and I think the squire will almost send me again to thank thee."

*Marx.* "Nay, I do n't mean exactly that; but, in a common way, I can not serve every body as a day-laborer."

*Bailiff.* "Then thou hast enough to eat, I suppose."

*Marx.* "Thank God! I have as yet."

*Bailiff.* "But I know well enough where thy children are."

*Marx.* "They are dining with my wife's sister."

*Bailiff.* "I thought I heard children crying in the next room."

*Marx.* "There is not one of them in the house."

The bailiff heard the cry again, opened the door, without ceremony, saw the almost naked children shivering and sobbing with the wind, rain, and snow, which came in through the window, so that they could hardly speak, and said: "Is this the place where thy children dine, Marx? Thou art a hound, and a hypocrite, and thy damned pride often makes thee act in this way."

*Marx.* "For heaven's sake, do not tell any body; do not betray me, Bailiff! I should be the most miserable man in the world if it were known."

*Bailiff.* "Art thou out of thy senses? Even now thou dost not tell them to come out of such a dog-kennel. Dost thou not see that they are yellow and blue with cold? I would not use my poodle in such a way."

*Marx.* "Come out, then, children—but, bailiff, for mercy's sake, tell nobody."

*Bailiff.* "And all this time, forsooth, thou playest the saint before the pastor."

*Marx.* "I beseech you tell nobody."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art worse than a brute. Thou a saint! Thou art an infidel. Dost thou hear? thou art an infidel, for no true man would act in such a way. And why must thou go and tell tales to the priest about the battle which took place last week. It must have been thou who told him; for at twelve o'clock, when it happened, thou wert going home, past my house, from one of thy holy banquets."

*Marx.* "No, on my life! Do not believe it. I assure you it was not so."

*Bailiff.* "Darest thou say so?"

*Marx.* "God knows it was not so, bailiff! May I never stir from this spot if it was!"

*Bailiff.* "Marx! darest thou maintain what thou sayest before me to the pastor's face? I know more about it than thou thinkest."

Marx stammered: "I know—I could—I did not begin"—

"Such a brute, and such a liar as thou art, I never saw in my life! We understand each other now," said the bailiff; and he went that moment to the pastor's cook, who laughed till she was half dead at the pious Israelite, Marx Reuti, and faithfully promised to bring it to the pastor's ears.

And the bailiff rejoiced in his heart that, probably, the pastor would give the wicked heretic his weekly bread no longer; but he was mistaken, for the pastor had, before this, given him the bread, not on account of his virtues, but of his hunger.

## CHAPTER XXVII.—ACTIVITY AND INDUSTRY, WITHOUT A KIND AND GRATEFUL HEART.

FROM Marx the bailiff went to the last of the number. This was Kienast, a sickly man. He was not yet fifty years old, but poverty and anxiety had worn him out, and this day, in particular, he was in terrible distress.

His eldest daughter had, the day before, hired herself out to service in the town, and had showed her father the earnest-money that morning, which made the poor man very uneasy.

His wife was with child, and near her time; and Susan was the only one of the children who could be any help to them, and now she was to go to service in a fortnight.

The father begged her, with tears in his eyes, to return the money, and stay with him, till after her mother's confinement.

"I will not," answered the daughter. "Where shall I find another service, if I give up this?"

*Father.* "After thy mother is brought to bed, I will go myself into the town, and help thee to find another. Only stay till then."

*Daughter.* "It will be half a year before I can hire myself again; and the service I have got is a good one. Who knows how you will help me? and, in short, I will not wait for another attempt."

*Father.* "But thou knowest, Susan, that I have done all I could for thee. Think of thy childhood, and do not leave me in my necessity."

*Daughter.* "Do you wish then, father, to stand in the way of my happiness?"

*Father.* "Alas! it is not for thy happiness, that thou shouldst leave thy poor parents in such circumstances. Do not go, Susan, I beg of thee. My wife has a very handsome apron, it is the last she has left, and she values it very much; it was a keepsake; but she shall give it thee, after her confinement, if thou wilt only stay."

*Daughter.* "I will not stay, either for your gifts or your good words. I can earn such as that, and better. It is time for me to be doing something for myself. If I were to stay ten years with you, I should not get a bed and a chest."

*Father.* "Thou wilt not get these in one half-year. After this once, I will not seek to detain thee. Stay only these few weeks."

"No, I will not, father!" answered the daughter; and she turned away, and ran into a neighbor's house.

The father stood there, bent down by anxiety and care, and said to himself: "What shall I do in this misfortune? How shall I deliver such a Job's message to my poor wife? I have been very much to blame for not doing my duty better by this child. I always passed over every thing, because she worked so well. My wife said to me a hundred times: 'She is so pert and rude to her parents; and if she has to teach her sisters, or do any thing for them, she does it so hastily and saucily, and so entirely without kindness and affection, that they can none of them ever learn any thing from her!' But she works so well, we must excuse something, and perhaps it is the fault of the others, was always my answer; and now I have my reward. I should have remembered that if the heart be hard, whatever other good qualities any one may have, they are all in vain. One can not depend upon them. I wish my wife did but know."

As the man was speaking thus to himself, the bailiff came close up, without his being aware.

"What darest thou not tell thy wife?" said he.

Kienast looked up, saw the bailiff, and said: "Is that you, bailiff? What dare I not tell my wife? Susan has hired herself out to service in the town, and we have such need of her at home! But I had almost forgotten to ask what you wanted with me."

*Bailiff.* "If this be the case with Susan, perhaps my news will be a comfort to thee."

*Kienast.* "That would, be help indeed."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art to have work at the building of the church, and twenty-five kreutzers a day, wages."

*Kienast.* "Lord God in heaven! May I hope for such a help as this?"

*Bailiff.* "Yes, Kienast. It is, indeed, as I tell thee."

*Kienast.* "Then God be praised for it." He turned faint, and his limbs shook. "I must sit down. This joy, in my troubles, has overcome me."

He sat down on a log of wood, and leaned against the wall of the house, to keep himself from falling.

The bailiff said: "Thou canst bear but little!"

And Kienast answered: "I have not broken my fast to-day."

"And so late!" said the bailiff; and he went on his way.

The poor wife, from the house, had seen the bailiff join her husband, and groaned aloud.

"This is some fresh misfortune! My husband has been like one beside himself all day, and knows not what he is doing; and just now I saw Susan, in the next house, lift up her hands in a passion; and here is the bailiff—what can have happened? There is not a more unfortunate woman under the sun! So near forty, and a child every year, and care and want and pain all the time!" Thus did the poor woman grieve in the house.

The husband, in the mean time, had recovered himself, and came to her with such a cheerful, happy face as she had not seen for many a month.

"Thou lookest merry! Dost thou think to keep it from me that the bailiff has been here?" said the woman.

And he answered. "He is come, as it were, from heaven to comfort us."

"Is it possible?" said the woman.

*Kienast.* "Sit down, wife! I must tell thee the good news." Then he told her what Susan had done, and what trouble he had been in; and how, now, he was helped out of all his distress.

Then he ate the food, which in his trouble he had left standing there at noon; and he and his wife shed tears of thankfulness to God, who had thus helped them in their distress. And they let Susan go, that very day, into service, as she wished.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.—A SATURDAY EVENING IN THE HOUSE OF A BAILIFF, WHO IS A LANDLORD.

Now came the bailiff home from his journey, tired and thirsty. It was late; for Kienast lived up the hill, two or three miles from the village.

In the mean time he had had it given out, by his friends, that he was not at all alarmed by what had happened yesterday; and had not been so merry and jovial as he was to-day, for a year.

This made some take courage, toward evening, to creep quietly to the tavern.

When it began to be dark, still more came; and at night, by seven o'clock, the tables were almost as full as usual.



Thus it happens, when a fowler, in autumn, shoots a bird in a cherry-tree, all the others, which were pecking at the cherries, fly fearfully and hastily away from the tree, chirping the note of alarm. But, after a while, one, a solitary one at first, perches upon the tree—and, if it no longer sees the fowler, it whistles, not the sound of danger, but the bold, loud note of joy at finding food. At the call of the daring adventurer, the others flock timidly back again, and all feed upon the cherries, as if the fowler had never fired.

So it was here; and thus was the room once more filled with neighbors, who yesterday, and even this morning, would not have ventured to come.

In all mischievous, and even wicked deeds, people are always merry and bold, when they are in a crowd, and when those who give the tone to it are daring and impudent; and, as such leaders are not wanting in taverns, it can not be denied that such places tempt the common people to all wickedness, and are much more likely to lead them on to rash and thoughtless deeds, than poor simple schools are to bring them up to a quiet and domestic life.

The neighbors in the tavern were now the bailiff's friends again; for they sat over his ale. One began to say, that the bailiff was a manly fellow, and that, by G——, nobody had ever yet mastered him. Another, that Arner was a child, and the bailiff had managed his grandfather. Another, that it was not right; and, by heaven, he could not answer it to his conscience, thus to cheat the parish of the landlord's right, which had belonged to it ever since the days of Noah and Abraham. Another swore, that he had not got possession, by thunder! and that there should be a struggle for it yet, in spite of all the devils, and a parish meeting held to-morrow.

Then again, one said, there is no need of that, for the bailiff had always overcome all his enemies; and would not turn over a new leaf, either with his honor or the squire, or with the beggarly mason.

Thus did the men go on, talking and drinking.

The bailiff's wife laughed to herself, set one pitcher after another upon the table, and marked all carefully down with chalk upon a board in the next room.

Now came the bailiff home; and he rejoiced in his heart to find the tables surrounded by the old set.

"This is hearty in you, my good fellows, not to forsake me," said he to them.

"We are not tired of thee yet," answered the countrymen; and drank his health, with loud shouts and huzzas.

"There is a great noise, neighbors! We must keep out of trouble; and this is Saturday night," said the bailiff. "Put the shutters to, wife; and put out the lights toward the street. We had better go into the back room. Is it warm, wife?"

*Wife.* "Yes, I made a fire there on purpose."

*Bailiff.* "Very well; carry all off the table into the back room."

His wife and the neighbors carried the glasses, pitchers, bread, cheese, knives, plates, cards, and dice, into the back room; from which, if they had been murdering one another, nothing could have been heard in the street.

"There now, we are safe from rogues and eavesdroppers, and from the holy servants of the black man.\* But I am as thirsty as a hound: give me some wine."

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\* Certain church officers, who reported disturbances to the pastor, disrespectfully called "the black man" by the godless bailiff.

His wife brought some.

And Christian said: "Is that of the kind the barber's dog laps up?"

*Bailiff.* "Yes, indeed, I'm likely to be such a fool again!"

*Chris.* "But what devil's scheme had you in your head?"

*Bailiff.* "By G—, none! It was mere folly. I had eaten nothing, and did not like to drink."

*Chris.* "Whistle that to a dog; perhaps it may believe you: not I."

*Bailiff.* "Why not?"

*Chris.* "Why not? Because the wine we were drinking smelt of sulphur like the plague."

*Bailiff.* "Who says so?"

*Chris.* "I, Mr. Urias! I said nothing of it at the time; but when I carried home the empty jug, it reeked in my nose so that it almost knocked me down. All things considered, you have certainly had some scheme in your head to-day."

*Bailiff.* "I know no more than the child in the cradle what wine my wife sent. Thou art a fool with thy fancies."

*Chris.* "Ay, but you know, well enough, what a fine sermon you made on the rights of the land. I suppose you said all that with as little meaning as a man has when he takes a pinch of snuff."

*Bailiff.* "Hold thy foolish tongue, Christian. The best thing I could do, would be to have thee well beaten for upsetting my jug. But I must know now how they went on at the barber's after I left them."

*Chris.* "And your promise, bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "What promise?"

*Chris.* "That I should have wine till morning for nothing, if I got to know it."

*Bailiff.* "But if thou knowest nothing, wouldst thou still be drinking?"

*Chris.* "If I know nothing! Send for the wine, and you shall hear."

The bailiff had it brought, sat down by him; then Christian told him all he knew, and more besides. Sometimes he contradicted himself so barefacedly, that the bailiff perceived it, and called out: "You dog, do'nt lie so that a man can take hold of it with his hands!"

"No, by G—," answered Christian, "as true as I am a sinner, every hair and point of it is true."

"Come, come," said the bailiff, who by this time had had enough, "Shaben Michel is here, and I must speak to him;" and he then went to the other table where Michel was sitting, slapped him on the shoulder, and said:

#### CHAPTER XXIX.—CONTINUATION OF THE CONVERSATION OF ROGUES WITH EACH OTHER.

"ART thou also amongst the sinners? I thought, since thou wert called to the church building, thou hadst become a saint; like our butcher, because he once had to ring a week for the sexton."

*Michel.* "No, bailiff! My calls are not so sudden; but, when I once begin, I will go through with it."

*Bailiff.* "I should like to be thy father confessor, Michel."

*Mich.* "Nay, I can not consent to that."

*Bailiff.* "Why not?"

*Mich.* "Because thou wouldst double my score with thy holy chalk."

*Bailiff.* "Would not that suit thee?"

*Mich.* "No, bailiff! I must have a father confessor who will forgive and look over sins, and not one who will chalk them down against me!"

*Bailiff.* "Well, I can forgive and overlook sins, as well as another"

*Mich.* "What! sins in thy books?"

*Bailiff.* "Truly, I am often obliged to do so; and it is better people should think I do it willingly."

*Mich.* "Is that possible, Mr. Bailiff?"

"We shall see," said the bailiff, making a sign to him.

They went together to the little table, near the fire.

And the bailiff said: "It is well thou art come; and lucky for thee."

*Mich.* "I have great need of luck."

*Bailiff.* "So I suppose; but if thou art willing, thou canst not fail to make money by this new place."

*Mich.* "And how must I manage it?"

*Bailiff.* "Thou must get into favor with the mason, and seem very hungry and poor."

*Mich.* "I can do that without lying."

*Bailiff.* "Thou must also often give thy supper to thy children, that people may think thy heart is as soft as melted butter; and thy children must run after thee bare-footed and bare-legged."

*Mich.* "There is no difficulty in that either."

*Bailiff.* "And when thou art the favorite of all the ten, then comes the true work."

*Mich.* "What is that to be?"

*Bailiff.* "To do all that thou canst to make quarrels and misunderstandings about the building; to throw things into confusion, and to make mischief between the laborers and their masters and the squire."

*Mich.* "There will be more difficulty in that part of the business."

*Bailiff.* "But it is a part by which thou mayst get money."

*Mich.* "Ay, if it were not for the hope of that, a cunning man might give such a direction, but only a fool would follow it."

*Bailiff.* "It is a matter of course, that thou wilt get money by it."

*Mich.* "Two crowns in hand, Mr. Bailiff. I must have so much paid down, or I will have nothing to do with it."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art more unconscionable every day, Michel. I show thee how thou mayst get wages for nothing, and thou wouldst have me also pay thee for taking my good advice."

*Mich.* "What is all that to the purpose? Thou wilt have me play the rogue in thy service, and so I will, and be true and hearty in it; but payment in hand, that is two crowns, and not a kreutzer less, I must have, or thou mayst do it thyself"

*Bailiff.* "Thou dog! thou knowest well enough how to get thy own way. There are thy two crowns for thee."

*Mich.* "Now it is all right, master! thou hast nothing to do but to give thy orders."

*Bailiff.* "I think thou mayst easily by night break down some of the scaffolding, and knock out a couple of the windows; and of course thou wilt make away with ropes and tools, and such light things as are lying around."

*Mich.* "Naturally."



*Bailiff.* "And it would be no very difficult affair to carry some of the timber over the hill to the river, and send it back again toward Holland."

*Mich.* "No, no! I can manage that. I will hang a great white shirt upon a pole, in the middle of the churchyard, that if the watchman, or any of the old women in the neighborhood hear a noise, they may fancy it is a ghost, and keep away from me."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art a rascally heretic. What a scheme!"

*Mich.* "I will do so, however; it may serve to keep me from the pillory."

*Bailiff.* "Well, but there is another thing. If thou canst find any drawings, or calculations, or plans of the squire's, lying about, thou must quietly put them out of the way, where nobody would think of looking for them, and at night mend thy fire with them."

*Mich.* "Very well, Mr. Bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "And thou must contrive so as to make thy honorable comrades inclined to be merry, and work idly, and particularly when the squire or any body from the hall comes down, and then thou canst wink, as much as to say: You see how it is."

*Mich.* "Well, I will do what I can. I see plainly enough what thou art after."

*Bailiff.* "But, of all things, the most important is, that thou and I should be enemies."

*Mich.* "Very true."

*Bailiff.* "We will begin directly. There may be tell-tales here, who will talk of how we held counsel secretly together."

*Mich.* "Thou art right."

*Bailiff.* "Drink another glass or two, and I will pretend as if I would reckon with thee, and thou wouldst not agree. I will make a noise about it, thou must abuse me, and we will thrust thee out of the house."

*Mich.* "Well thought of." He drank what was in the pitcher, and then said to the bailiff, "Come, begin."

The bailiff muttered something about reckoning, and then said aloud: "I never received the florin."

*Mich.* "Recollect yourself, bailiff!"

*Bailiff.* "By heaven, I know nothing of it! Wife! didst thou receive a florin last week from Michel?"

*Wife.* "Heaven bless us! not a kreutzer."

*Bailiff.* "It is very strange. Give me the book!" She brought it, and the bailiff read: "Here it is—Monday—nothing from thee. Tuesday—nothing. Wednesday—Didst thou say it was on Wednesday?"

*Mich.* "Yes!"

*Bailiff.* "Here is Wednesday—look! there is nothing from thee—and on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday—not a syllable of the florin."

*Mich.* "The devil! I tell you I paid it."

*Bailiff.* "Softly, softly, good neighbor—I write down every thing."

*Mich.* "What the deuce is your writing to me, bailiff? I paid the florin."

*Bailiff.* "It is not true, Michel."

*Mich.* "Here's a rogue, to say I have not paid him!"

*Bailiff.* "What dost thou say, thou unhangd rascal?"

Some of the countrymen got up:—"He has given the bailiff the lie, we heard him."

*Mich.* "No, I did not. But I paid the florin."

*Men.* "What dost thou say, thou knave, that thou didst not give him the lie? We all heard it."

*Bailiff.* "Turn the dog out of the room."

Michel took up a knife, and called out: "Let any one who touches me look to it."

*Bailiff.* "Take the knife away from him."

They took the knife from him, turned him out of the room, and sat down again.

*Bailiff.* "It's well he is gone. He was only a spy of the mason's."

*Countrymen.* "By G——, so he was. We are well rid of him."

CHAPTER XXX.—CONTINUATION OF THE CONVERSATION OF ROGUES WITH EACH OTHER, IN A DIFFERENT STYLE.

BRING us some more wine. Bailiff! we will drink on the strength of the harvest, and let you have one sheaf out of every ten for a measure of wine.

*Bailiff.* "You will not pay me soon, then."

*Countrymen.* "No; but you will have heavier weight for that."

The bailiff sat down with them, and drank to their hearts' content, on the strength of the future tithe.

Now their mouths were opened, and there arose from all the tables a wild uproar of oaths and curses, of dissolute, idle talk, of abuse and insolence. They told stories of licentiousness and theft, of blows and insults, of debts they had cunningly escaped paying, of lawsuits they had won by clever tricks, of wickedness and riots, which for the most part were false; but, alas! too much was true. How they had stolen from the old squire's woods, and fields, and tithes—and how their wives whined over their children—how one took up a prayer-book, and another hid the jug of wine in the chaff and straw. Also of their boys and girls,—how one helped his father to cheat his mother, and another took part with the mother against the father—and how they had all done as much or more when they were lads. Then they got to talking about old Uli, who had been caught in such fool's talk, and cruelly brought to the gallows; but how he had prayed at last and made a holy end of it. And how, when he had confessed, (though, as every body knew, but half,) still the hard-hearted pastor had not saved his life.

They were in the midst of this history of the pastor's cruelty, when the bailiff's wife beckoned him to come out. "Wait till we have finished the story of the hanged man," was his answer.

But she whispered in his ear: "Joseph is come."

He replied: "Hide him somewhere, and I will come soon."

Joseph had crept into the kitchen; but there were so many people in the house, that the bailiff's wife was afraid of his being seen. She put out the light, and said to him: "Joseph! take off thy shoes, and come after me into the lower room. My husband will be with thee directly."

Joseph took his shoes in his hand, and followed her on tip-toe into the lower room.

He had not waited long, before the bailiff came to him, and said: "What dost thou want so late, Joseph?"

*Joseph.* "Not much! I only want to tell you I have ordered all about the stone."

*Bailiff.* "I am glad of it, Joseph."

*Joseph.* "The master was talking to-day of the wall, and said that the flint stone, hard by, was very good—but I told him he was a fool, and did not know his own business; and that the wall would look much handsomer, and more polished, of Schwendi stone. He answered not a word; and I went on to say that, if he did not use Schwendi stone, it would be a loss to him."

*Bailiff.* "Did he resolve upon it?"

*Joseph.* "Yes, he did, immediately. We are to begin with it on Monday."

*Bailiff.* "The day-laborers are all going to the hall on Monday."

*Joseph.* "They will be back by noon, and busy with the stuff in the lime. It is as good as mixed."

*Bailiff.* "That is all right and well; if it were only begun—thy money is ready for thee, Joseph."

*Joseph.* "I am in great want of it just now, bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "Come on Monday, when you have begun with the quarry. It is put aside for thee."

*Joseph.* "Do you suppose I shall not keep my word?"

*Bailiff.* "Nay, I can trust thee, Joseph."

*Joseph.* "Then give me three crowns of it, now. I should like to get my new boots, at the shoemaker's, for to-morrow; it is my birth-day, and I dare not ask the master for any money."

*Bailiff.* "I can not well give it thee now; come on Monday evening."

*Joseph.* "I see how you trust me. It's one thing to promise, and another to perform. I thought I could depend upon the money, bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "On my soul thou shalt have it."

*Joseph.* "Ay, I see how it is."

*Bailiff.* "It will be time enough, on Monday."

*Joseph.* "Bailiff! you show me, plainly enough, that you do not trust me: and I will make bold to tell you, that I fear, if the quarry is once opened, you will not keep your word with me."

*Bailiff.* "This is too bad, Joseph! I shall most certainly keep my word with thee."

*Joseph.* "I do not believe it. If you will not give it me now; it is all over."

*Bailiff.* "Canst thou not manage with two crowns?"

*Joseph.* "No! I must have three; but then you may depend upon having every thing done."

*Bailiff.* "Well, I will give thee them: but thou must keep thy word."

*Joseph.* "If I do not, I give you leave to call me the greatest rogue and thief upon the earth."

The bailiff now called his wife and said: "Give Joseph three crowns."

His wife took him aside and said: "Do not let him have them."

*Bailiff.* "Do as I bid thee, without a word."

*Wife.* "Be not so foolish! Thou art in liquor and wilt repent to-morrow."

*Bailiff.* "Answer me not a word. Three crowns this moment! Dost thou hear what I say?"

His wife sighed, reached the money, and threw it to the bailiff. He gave it to Joseph, and said: "Thou wilt not, surely, deceive me."

"Heaven forbid! what dost thou take me for, bailiff?" answered Joseph. And he went away, counted over his three crowns, and said to himself: "Now have my reward in my own hands, and it is safer there than in the bailiff's



chest. He is an old rogue, and I will not be his fool. The master may now take flint or blue stone for me."

The bailiff's wife cried for vexation, over the kitchen fire, and did not go again into the room, till past midnight.

The bailiff too, as soon as Joseph was gone, had a foreboding that he had overreached himself, but he soon forgot it again, amongst his companions. The riot of the drinkers lasted till after midnight.

At last the bailiff's wife came out of the kitchen, into the room, and said: "It is time to break up now; it is past midnight, and Easter Sunday."

"Easter Sunday!" said the fellows, stretched themselves, yawned, and got up, one after the other.

They tottered and stumbled along, catching hold of the tables and walls, and went with difficulty home again.

"Go, one at once, and make no noise," said the wife, "or the pastor and his people will get hold of you, and make you pay the fine."

"Nay, we had better keep our money for drinking," answered the men. And the wife added: "If you see the watchman, tell him there is a glass of wine and a piece of bread for him here."

They had scarcely got out of the house when the watchman appeared before the alehouse windows, and called out:

"All good people hear my warning,

'Tis one o'clock, and a cloudy morning."

The bailiff's wife understood his call, and brought him the wine, and bade him not to tell the pastor how late they had been up.

And now she helped her sleepy, drunken husband off with his shoes and stockings.

And she grumbled about Joseph's crowns, and her husband's foolishness. But he slept and snored, and took notice of nothing. And at last they both fell asleep, on the holy evening before Easter.

And now, thank God, I have no more to relate about them, for some time.

I return to Leonard and Gertrude.

What a world is this! A garden lies near a dog-kennel, and in the same field an offensive dunghill and sweet nourishing grass. Yes, it is indeed a wonderful world! The beautiful pasture itself, without the manure which we throw upon it, could not produce such delicious herbage.

#### CHAPTER XXXI.—THE EVENING BEFORE A SABBATH IN THE HOUSE OF A GOOD MOTHER.

GERTRUDE was now alone with her children. The events of the week and the approach of the Sabbath filled her heart.

Thoughtfully and silently she prepared the supper, and took out of the chest her husband's, her children's, and her own Sunday clothes, that nothing might distract her attention in the morning. And when she had arranged every thing, she sat down at the table with her children.

It was her custom every Saturday, when the time for evening prayer came, to impress upon their hearts the recollection of their various failings, and of all the events of the week which might be of consequence to them.

And this day she was particularly alive to the goodness of God toward them throughout the week, and wished to fix it as deeply as possible upon their young hearts, that they might never forget it.

The children sat around her, folded their little hands for prayer, and their mother thus addressed them:—

"I have something very good to tell you, my children! Your dear father has got some very good work this week, by which he will be able to earn much more than usual; and we may venture to hope that we shall in future have our daily bread with less care and anxiety.

"Thank your heavenly father, my children, for his mercy to us, and do not forget the former times, when I had to be sparing of every mouthful of bread. It was often a great trouble to me, not to be able to give you enough, but God Almighty knew that he would help us in his own good time, and that it was better for you, my darlings, to be brought up in poverty, in patience, and in the habit of overcoming your desires, than in abundance. It is very difficult for people, who have all they wish for, not to become thoughtless and forgetful of God, and unmindful of what is for their real good. Remember then, my children, as long as you live, the want and care you have undergone; and when you are yourselves better off, think of those who suffer as you have suffered. Never forget what it is to feel hunger and want, that you may be tender-hearted to the poor, and willingly give them all you have to spare. Do you think you shall be willing to give it to them, my children?" "O yes, mother, that we shall!" said all the children.

#### CHAPTER XXXII.—THE HAPPINESS OF THE HOUR OF PRAYER.

*Mother.* "Nicholas, who dost thou think suffers most from hunger?"

*Nicholas.* "Rudeli, mother! you were at his father's yesterday. He must be almost dying of hunger, for he eats grass off the ground."

*Mother.* "Shouldst thou like sometimes to give him thy afternoon's bread?"

*Nich.* "O yes, mother! may I give it him to-morrow?"

*Mother.* "Yes, thou mayst."

*Nich.* "I am glad of it."

*Mother.* "And thou, Lise! to whom wilt thou sometimes give thy piece?"

*Lise.* "I can not tell, just now, whom I shall like best to give it to."

*Mother.* "Dost thou not recollect any poor child who is very hungry?"

*Lise.* "O yes, mother."

*Mother.* "Then why canst thou not tell to whom thou wilt give it? thou art always so overwise, Lise."

*Lise.* "I know now, mother."

*Mother.* "Who is it?"

*Lise.* "Marx Reuti's daughter, Betheli. I saw her picking up rotten potatoes, from the bailiff's dunghill, to-day."

*Nich.* "Yes, mother, and I saw her too; and felt in all my pockets, but I had not a mouthful of bread left. If I had only kept it a quarter of an hour longer!"

The mother then asked the other children the same questions, and they were all glad in their hearts to think that they should give their bread to the poor children to-morrow.

The mother let them enjoy this pleasure a while longer. Then she said to them: "That is enough, children! think how good the squire has been to make you each a present."

"O yes, our pretty money! Will you show it us, now, mother?"

"By and by, after prayer," said the mother; and the children jumped about for joy."

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE HOUR OF PRAYER.

"You are noisy, my children," said the mother. "When any thing good happens to you, think of God, who gives us all things. If you do so, you will never be wild and riotous in your joy. I am very glad to rejoice with you, my darlings, but when people are wild and riotous in their joy, they lose the serenity and peace of their hearts; and, without a quiet, tranquil heart, there is no true happiness. Therefore must we keep God ever in view. This is the use of the hour for morning and evening prayer, that you may never forget him. For whoever is praying to God, or thinking of him, can neither be extravagant in joy nor without comfort in sorrow. But then, my children, he must always endeavor particularly when he is praying, to keep himself quiet and untroubled. Consider, whenever you thank your father for any thing sincerely, you are not noisy and riotous. You fall softly, and with few words, on his neck; and when you feel it really in your hearts, the tears come into your eyes. It is the same toward God. If his loving kindness really rejoices you, and your hearts are truly thankful, you will not make a great noise and talking about it—but the tears will come into your eyes, when you think how merciful he is toward you. Thus all that fills your hearts with gratitude to God and kindness to men, is a continual prayer; and whoever prays as he ought, will do what is right, and will be dear to God and man, as long as he lives."

*Nicholas.* "And, mother, you said, yesterday, that we should be dear to the gracious squire, if we did what was right."

*Mother.* "Yes, my children, he is a good and religious gentleman. May God reward him, for all he has done for us. I wish thou mayst become dear to him, Nicholas!"

*Nich.* "I will obey him, because he is so good, as I obey you and my father."

*Mother.* "That is right, Nicholas! always think so, and thou wilt certainly become dear to him."

*Nich.* "If I durst but speak a word to him!"

*Mother.* "What wouldst thou say to him?"

*Nich.* "I would thank him for the pretty money."

*Anneli.* "Durst you thank him?"

*Nich.* "Why not?"

*Anneli.* "I durst not."

*Lise.* "Nor I!"

*Mother.* "Why durst you not, children?"

*Lise.* "I should laugh."

*Mother.* "Why wouldst thou laugh, Lise, and so show him, plainly, that thou wert but a silly child? If thou hadst not many foolish fancies in thy head, thou wouldst never think of doing such a thing."

*Anneli.* "I should not laugh; but I should be sadly frightened."

*Mother.* "He would take thee by the hand, Anneli, and smile upon thee, as thy father does when he is very kind to thee, and then thou wouldst not be frightened any longer."

*Anneli.* "No, not then."

*Jonas.* "Nor I, then."



## CHAPTER XXXIV.—A MOTHER'S INSTRUCTION.

*Mother.* "But, my dear children, how have you gone on, as to behavior, this week?"

The children looked at each other, without speaking.

*Mother.* "Anneli, hast thou done what was right this week?"

*Anneli.* "No, mother, you know I did not do right about little brother."

*Mother.* "Anneli, some misfortune might have happened to him. There have been children suffocated with being left in that way. And how wouldst thou like, thyself, to be shut up in a room, and left to hunger, and thirst, and cry alone? Besides, little children, when they are left long without any body to help them, get into a passion, and scream so dreadfully, that it may do them a 'schief as long as they live. Anneli! God knows, I could not have a moment's peace out of the house, if I had reason to be afraid that thou wouldst not take proper care of the child."

*Anneli.* "Indeed, mother, I will not go away from him any more."

*Mother.* "I do trust thou wilt never put me into such a fright again. And Nicholas, how hast thou gone on this last week?"

*Nicholas.* "I don't know of any thing wrong."

*Mother.* "Hast thou forgotten knocking over thy little sister on Monday?"

*Nich.* "I did not do it on purpose, mother."

*Mother.* "If thou hadst done it on purpose, it would have been bad indeed. Art thou not ashamed of talking so?"

*Nich.* "I am sorry I did it, mother; and will not do so again."

*Mother.* "When thou art grown up, if thou takest no more heed of what is near thee and about thee, thou will have to learn it to thy cost. Even amongst boys, those who are so heedless are always getting into scrapes and disputes; and I am afraid, my dear Nicholas, that thy carelessness will bring thee into great trouble and difficulties."

*Nich.* "I will take pains to be more thoughtful, mother."

*Mother.* "Do so, my dear boy, or, believe me, thou wilt often be very unhappy."

*Nich.* "My dear mother, I know it, and am sure of it, and I will certainly take heed."

*Mother.* "And thou, Lise, how hast thou gone on?"

*Lise.* "I know of nothing at all this week, mother."

*Mother.* "Art thou sure?"

*Lise.* "I can not now think of any thing, mother; or I am sure I would willingly tell you of it."

*Mother.* "Thou hast always, even when thou knowest nothing, as many words to utter as if thou hadst a great deal to say."

*Lise.* "What have I been saying now, mother?"

*Mother.* "Nothing at all, and yet many words. It is in this way, as we have told thee a thousand times, that thou art foolish. Thou dost not think about any thing thou hast to say, and yet must always be talking. What need was there for thee to tell the bailiff, yesterday, that we knew that Arner was coming soon?"

*Lise.* "I am sorry I did so, mother."

*Mother.* "We have so often told thee not to talk of what does not concern thee, particularly before strangers, and yet thou dost so still. Suppose thy father

had been afraid of telling him that he knew it before, and thy prating had brought him into trouble."

*Lise.* "I should have been very sorry, but neither of you had said a word that it was to be a secret."

*Mother.* "Well, I will tell thy father, when he comes home, that whenever we are talking to each other in the room, we must add, after every sentence: 'Lise may tell this to the neighbors, or at the well—but not this—nor this—but again she may—and then thou wilt know what thou mayst chatter about.'"

*Lise.* "Forgive me, mother, I did not mean it so."

*Mother.* "We have told thee repeatedly, that thou must not talk about what does not concern thee; but it is useless. We can not cure thee of this failing, but by treating it seriously; and the first time that I find thee again chattering so thoughtlessly, I will punish thee with the rod."

The tears came into Lise's eyes when her mother talked of the rod. The mother saw them, and said to her: "Lise, the greatest misfortunes often happen from thoughtless chattering, and thou must be cured of this fault."

In this manner she spoke to them all, even to the little one; "Thou must not call out so impatiently for thy supper any more, or I shall make thee wait longer the next time; or, perhaps, give it to one of the others."

When this was all over, the children said their usual evening prayer, and afterward the Saturday prayer, which Gertrude had taught them, and which was as follows:—

#### CHAPTER XXXV.—A SATURDAY EVENING PRAYER.

"HEAVENLY Father! thou art ever kind to the children of men, and thou art kind also to us. Thou suppliest our daily wants. All comes from thee. Our bread, and all that we receive from our parents, thou hast first bestowed upon them, and they willingly give it to us. They rejoice in all which thou enablest them to do for us, and bid us be thankful unto thee for it. They tell us that if they had not learned to know and love thee, they should not so love us; and that if they were unmindful of thee, they should do much less for us. They bid us be thankful to the Saviour of men, that they have learned to know and love thee; and they teach us that those who do not know and love him, and follow all the holy laws which he has given to men, can neither so well love thee, nor bring up their children so piously and carefully as those who believe in the Saviour. Our parents teach us many things of Jesus, the Messiah; what great things he did for the children of men; how he passed his life in suffering and distress, and at last died upon the cross, that he might make men happy in time and eternity; how God raised him again from the dead; and how he now sits at the right hand of the throne of God his Father, in the glory of heaven, and still loves all the children of men, and seeks to make them blessed and happy. It goes to our hearts when we hear of our blessed Saviour. O, may we learn so to live as to obtain favor in his sight, and at last be received unto him in heaven.

"Almighty Father! we poor children, who here pray together, are brothers and sisters; therefore may we always love one another, and never hurt each other, but be kind and good to each other whenever we have the opportunity. May we carefully watch over the little ones, that our dear parents may follow their work and earn their bread, without anxiety. It is all we can do, to help them for the trouble and care they have had on our account. Reward them, O heavenly Father, for all they have done for us; and may we be obedient to

them in all which they require from us, that they may love us to the end of their lives, and be rewarded for all the faithful kindness they have shown us.

"O, Almighty God! may we, on the approaching Sabbath, be truly mindful of all thy goodness, and of the love of Christ Jesus; and also of all that our dear parents and friends do for us, that we may be thankful and obedient to God and man, and walk before thee in love all the days of our lives."

Here Nicholas paused, and Gertrude added, with reference to the events of the week: "We thank thee, Heavenly Father, that thou hast this week relieved our dear parents from their anxious care for our nourishment and support, and given unto our father a good and profitable employment. We thank thee that our chief magistrate is, with a truly parental heart, our protector and our help in all misfortunes and distress. We thank thee for the goodness of the lord of this manor. If it be thy will, may we grow up to serve and please him, who is to us as a father."

Then Lize repeated after her: "Forgive me, O, my God, my besetting fault, and teach me to bridle my tongue; to be silent when I ought not to speak, and reverently and thoughtfully to answer the questions I am asked."

And Nicholas: "Guard me in future, O, Heavenly Father, from my hastiness; and teach me to give heed to what I am doing, and to those who are dear to me."

And Anneli: "I repent, O my God, that I so thoughtlessly left my little brother, and alarmed my dear mother. May I do so no more."

Then the mother said, further:

"Lord! hear us!

"Father, forgive us!

"Christ have mercy upon us!

Then Nicholas repeated the Lord's prayer.

And Enne added: "May God bless our dear father, and mother, and brothers, and sisters, and our kind benefactor, and all good men."

And Lise: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

*Mother.* "May God be with you, and keep you! May he lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and be merciful to you for ever!"

The children and their mother remained for a time in that stillness, which must always succeed a prayer from the heart.

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.—PURE DEVOTION AND LIFTING UP OF THE SOUL TO GOD.

LISE broke this silence: "Now will you show us our presents," said she to her mother.

"Yes, I will," replied the mother. "But Lize, thou art always the first to speak."

Nicholas jumped from his seat, rushed past his little sister, to be nearer the light, that he might see the money, and, in so doing, pushed the child so that it cried out.

Then said the mother: "Nicholas, this is not right. It is not a quarter of an hour since thou gavest thy promise to be more careful, and now thou art doing the same thing again."

*Nicholas.* "O, mother, I am very sorry. I will never do so again."

*Mother.* "So thou saidst just now before God, and yet thou dost it again. Thou art not in real earnest."



*Nich.* "O, indeed, mother, I am in earnest. Forgive me! I am, indeed, in earnest, and very sorry."

*Mother.* "And so am I, Nicholas; but thou wilt forget again if I do not punish thee. Thou must go without supper to bed. As she spoke, she led the boy away from the other children into his room. His sisters stood all sorrowfully around. They were troubled, because Nicholas might not eat with them."

"Why will you not let me teach you by kindness alone, my children," said the mother.

"O, let him be with us this once," said the children.

"No, my loves, he must be cured of his carelessness," said the mother.

"Then do not let us see the presents till to-morrow, when he can look at them with us," said Anneli.

*Mother.* "That is right, Anneli. Yes, he may see them with you then."

Then she gave the children their supper, and went with them into their room, where Nicholas was still weeping.

"Take care, another time, my dearest boy," said his mother to him.

*Nicholas.* "Only forgive me, my dear, dear mother. Only forgive me and kiss me, and I will willingly go without supper."

Then Gertrude kissed her son, and a warm tear fell upon his cheek, as she said to him: "O, Nicholas, Nicholas, be careful!" Nicholas threw his arms around his mother's neck and said: "My dear mother, forgive me."

Gertrude then blessed her children, and went again into her room.

She was now quite alone. A little lamp burnt faintly in the room, her heart was devoutly still; and the stillness was a prayer which, without words, moved her inmost spirit. A feeling of the presence of God, and of his goodness; a feeling of hope of an eternal life, and of the inward happiness of the man who puts his trust and confidence in his Almighty Father; all this filled her soul with deep emotion, so that she sunk upon her knees, and a flood of tears rolled down her cheeks.

Blessed are the tears of the child, when, touched by a father's goodness, he looks sobbing back upon the past, dries his eyes, and seeks to recover himself, before he can stammer out the thankfulness of his heart. Blessed were the tears of Nicholas, which he wept at this moment, because he had displeased his good mother, who was so dear to him.

Blessed are the tears of all who weep from a pure child-like heart.

The Lord of heaven looks down upon the sobbing forth of their gratitude, and upon the tears of their eyes, when they spring from affection.

He saw the tears of Gertrude, and heard the sobbing of her heart; and the offering of her thanks was an acceptable sacrifice to him; Gertrude wept long before the Lord her God, and her eyes were still moist when her husband came home.

"Why dost thou weep, Gertrude? thy eyes are red and full of tears! Why dost thou weep to-day, Gertrude?"

Gertrude answered: "My dear husband, these are not tears of sorrow:—be not afraid. I wished to thank God for this week, and my heart was so full that I fell upon my knees; I could not speak for weeping, and yet it seemed to me as if I had never so thanked God before."

"O, my love," answered Leonard, "I wish I could so quickly lift up my soul, and pour forth my heart in tears. It is now my firm resolution to do what is

right, and to be just and thankful toward God and man; but I shall never be able to fall upon my knees thus and shed tears."

*Gertrude.* "If thou art only earnestly resolved to do what is right, all the rest is of little consequence. One has a weak voice and another a strong one, but that signifies little. It is only the use to which they are applied, which is of importance. My dear husband, tears are nothing, and bended knees are nothing; but the resolution to do justly, and be thankful toward God and man every thing. That one man is more easily affected and another less so, is of no more consequence than that one worm crawls through the earth more easily than another. If thou art only in earnest, my love, thou art sure to find him who is the father of all men."

Leonard, with tears in his eyes, let his head fall upon her neck, and she leaned her face over his, with melancholy tenderness.

They remained thus for a while, still and deeply affected, and were silent.

At last Gertrude said: "Wilt thou not eat to-night?"

"I can not," answered he, "my heart is too full. I can not eat any thing at present." "Nor can I, my love," said she; "but I'll tell thee what we will do. I will take the food to poor Rudi. His mother died to-day."

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.—KINDNESS TOWARD A POOR MAN.

*Leonard.* "Is she then at last freed from her misery?"

*Gertrude.* "Yes, God be praised! But thou shouldst have seen her die, my dear husband. Only think! she found out on the day of her death that Rudeli had stolen potatoes from us. She sent the boy and his father to me, to ask forgiveness. She desired them earnestly to beg us, in her name, to forgive her, because she could not pay back the potatoes; and poor Rudi promised so heartily to make it up by working for thee. Think, my dear husband, how all this affected me. I went to the dying woman, but I can not tell thee, it is impossible to describe, with what a melancholy dying tone she asked me whether I had forgiven them; and when she saw that my heart was touched, how she recommended her children to me; how she delayed it to the last moment, and then, when she found she was going, how she at last ventured, and with what humility and love toward her children, she did it; and how in the midst of it she expired. O, it is not to be told or described."

*Leon.* "I will go with thee to them."

*Ger.* "Yes, come, let us go."

So saying, she took up the broth, and they went.

When they arrived, Rudi was sitting on the bed by the corpse. He wept and sighed, and his little boy called out from the other room, and asked him for bread—or even raw roots—or any thing at all.

"Alas! I have nothing whatever. For God's sake, be quiet till morning. I have nothing," said the father.

And the little fellow cried out: "But I am so hungry, father, I can not go to sleep! O, I am so hungry, father!"

Leonard and Gertrude heard this, opened the door, set down the food before the hungry child and said to him, "Eat quickly, before it is cold."

"O, God!" exclaimed Rudi, "What is this? Rudeli, these are the people from whom thou hast stolen potatoes; and, alas, I myself have eaten of them!"

*Ger.* "Say no more about that, Rudi."

*Rudi.* "I dare not look you in the face, it goes so to my heart to think what we did."

*Leon.* "Eat something, Rudi."

*Rudeli.* "Eat, eat; let us eat, father."

*Rudi.* "Say the grace then."

*Rudeli.*

"May God feed,  
And God speed  
All the poor  
On the earth's floor,  
In body and soul, Amen!"

Thus prayed the boy, took up the spoon, trembled, wept, and ate.

"May God reward you for it a thousand fold," said the father; and he ate also, and tears fell down his cheeks.

But they did not eat it all, but set aside a plate full for the children who were asleep. Then Rudeli gave thanks.

"When we have fed,  
Let's thank the Lord,  
Who all our bread  
Doth still afford.  
To him be praise, honor, and thanksgiving,  
Now and forever, Amen."



## LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

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### CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE PURE AND PEACEFUL GREATNESS OF A BENEVOLENT HEART.

As Rudi was about to thank them again, he sighed involuntarily.

Dost thou want something, Rudi? If it is any thing we can do for thee, say us," said Leonard to him.

"No, I want nothing more, I thank you," answered Rudi.

But he evidently repressed a deep sigh, which struggled to escape from his heart. Leonard and Gertrude looked at him with sorrowful sympathy, and said: But thou sighest, and we see that thy heart is troubled about something."

"Tell them, tell them, father," said the boy, "they are so kind."

"Do tell us, if we can help thee," said Leonard and Gertrude.

"Dare I venture?" answered the poor man. "I have neither shoes nor stockings, and to-morrow I must follow my mother to her grave, and the day after go to the hall."

*Leonard.* "To think that thou shouldst fret thyself thus about it! Why didst thou not tell me directly? I can and will willingly give thee them."

*Rudi.* "And wilt thou believe, after what has happened, that I will return them safe and with thanks?"

*Leon.* "Say nothing of that, Rudi. I would trust thee for more than that; but thy misery and want have made thee too fearful."

*Gertrude.* "Yes, Rudi, trust in God and man, and thou wilt be easier in thy heart, and better able to help thyself in all situations."

*Rudi.* "Yes, Gertrude, I ought to have more trust in my father in heaven; and I can never sufficiently thank you."

*Leon.* "Say nothing of that, Rudi."

*Ger.* "I should like to see thy mother again."

They went with a feeble lamp to her bedside; and Gertrude, Leonard, Rudi, and the little one, all with tears in their eyes, looked at her awhile, in the deepest silence; then they covered her up again, and kindly took leave of each other, almost without words.

As they went home, Leonard said to Gertrude: "What a dreadful state of wretchedness this is! Not to be able to go any longer to church, nor to ask for work, nor return thanks for it, because a man has neither clothes, nor shoes, nor stockings."

*Ger.* "If he were suffering it from any fault of his own, it would almost drive him to despair."

*Leon.* "Yes, Gertrude, he would despair, he certainly would despair, Gertrude. If I were to hear my children cry out in that way for bread, and had none, and it was my own fault, Gertrude, I should despair; and I was on the road to this wretchedness."

*Ger.* "We have indeed been saved out of great danger."

As they thus spoke, they passed near the tavern, and the unmeaning riot of drinking and talking reached their ears. Leonard's heart beat at a distance, but,

as he drew near, he shuddered with painful horror. Gertrude looked at him tenderly and sorrowfully, and Leonard, ashamed, answered the mournful look of his Gertrude and said: "O what a blessed evening have I spent with thee! and if I had been here instead!"

Gertrude's sadness now increased to tears, and she raised her eyes to heaven. He saw it. Tears stood also in his eyes, and the same sadness was upon his countenance. He, too, raised his eyes to heaven, and both gazed for a time upon the beautiful sky. They looked with admiration upon the silvery brightness of the moon; and a rapturous inward satisfaction assured them that the pure and innocent feelings of their hearts were acceptable in the sight of God.

After this short delay, they went into their cottage.

Gertrude immediately sought out shoes and stockings for Rudi, and Leonard took them to him that evening.

When he came back, they said a preparation prayer for the sacrament of the next day, and fell asleep with devout thankfulness.

In the morning they arose early, and rejoiced in the Lord; read the history of the Saviour's sufferings, and of the institution of the holy supper; and praised God in the early hours, before the Sabbath sun arose.

Then they awoke their children, waited for them to say their morning prayer, and then went to church.

A quarter of an hour before service-time, the bailiff also arose. He could not find the key of his clothes-chest; uttered dreadful curses; kicked the chest open with his foot; dressed himself; went to church; placed himself in the first seat in the choir; held his hat before his mouth; and looked into every corner of the church, whilst he repeated his prayer under his hat.

Soon afterward the pastor entered. Then the people sang two verses of the hymn for Passion week: "O man, repent thy heavy sins," and so on.

Then the pastor went into the pulpit; and this day he preached and instructed his people as follows:—

#### CHAPTER XXXIX.—A SERMON.

"My children!

"He who fears the Lord, and walks piously and uprightly before him, walks in light.

"But he who in all his doings is forgetful of his God, walks in darkness.

"Therefore be ye not deceived, one only is good, and he is your Father.

"Wherefore do you run astray, and grope about in darkness? No one is your Father but God.

"Beware of men, lest ye learn from them what will be displeasing in the sight of your Father in heaven.

"Happy is the man who has God for his Father.

"Happy is the man who fears wickedness and hates deceitfulness: for they who commit wickedness shall not prosper, and the deceitful man is taken in his own snare.

"The man shall not prosper, who oppresses and injures his neighbor.

"The man shall not prosper, against whom the cry of the poor man rises toward God.

"Woe to the wretch who in the winter feeds the poor, and in the harvest takes from him double.

"Woe to the godless man who causes the poor to drink wine in the summer, and in the autumn requires from him double.

"Woe to him, when he takes away from the poor man his straw and his fodder, so that he can not till his ground.

"Woe to him, by the hardness of whose heart the children of the poor want bread.

"Woe to the godless man, who lends money to the poor that they may become his servants, be at his command, work without wages, and yet pay rent.

"Woe to him, when they give false testimony for him before the judge, and swear false oaths that his cause is just.

"Woe to him, when he assembles sinners in his house, and watches with them to betray the just man, that he may become as one of them, and forget his God, his wife, and his children, and waste, with them, the wages of his labor upon which his wife and children depend.

"And woe to the miserable man, who suffers himself to be led astray by the ungodly, and, in his thoughtlessness, squanders the money which is wanted at home.

"Woe to him, when the sighs of his wife arise to God, because she has no food for her infant.

"Woe to him, when his child starves, that he may drink.

"Woe to him, when she weeps over the wants of her children, and her own excessive labor.

"Woe to him, who wastes the apprentice-fee of his sons; when his old age comes, they will say unto him, 'Thou didst not behave as a father to us, thou didst not teach us to earn bread, how can we now help thee?'

"Woe to those, who go about telling lies, and make the crooked straight, and the straight crooked: for they shall come to shame.

"Woe to you, when ye have bought the land of the widow, and the house of the orphan, at an unfair price. Woe to you, for this is your Lord; father of the widow and of the orphan, and they are dear to him; and ye are a hatred and an abomination in his sight, because ye are cruel and hard to the poor.

"Woe to you, whose houses are full of what does not belong to you.

"Though you riot in wine which came from the poor man's vines:

"Though you laugh, when starved and miserable men shake their corn into our sacks with sighs:

"Though you sneer and jest when the oppressed man writhes like a worm before you, and entreats you, in God's name, to lend him a tenth part of what you have cheated him of; though you harden yourselves against all this, yet have you never an hour's peace in your hearts.

"No! there lives not the man upon God's earth, who oppresses the poor and is happy.

"Though he be raised out of all danger, out of all fear of iniquity or punishment, on this earth; though he be a ruler in the land, and imprison with his hand, and accuse with his tongue, miserable men who are better than himself:

"Though he sit aloft, and judge them to life or death, and sentence them to the sword, or the wheel:

"He is more miserable than they!

"He who oppresses the poor man from pride, and lays snares for the unfortunate, and swears away widows' houses; he is worse than the thief and the murderer, whose reward is death



"Therefore, has the man who does these things no peaceful hour, throughout his life.

"He wanders on the face of the earth laden with the curse of a brother's murder, which leaves no rest for his heart.

"He wanders around, and seeks, and tries continually to conceal from himself the horror of his inward thoughts.

"With eating and drinking, with insolence and malice, with hatred and strife, with lies and deceit, with buffoonery and licentiousness, with slander and abuse, with quarreling and backbiting, he seeks to get through the time which is a burthen to him.

"But he will not always be able to suppress the voice of his conscience; he will not always be able to escape the fear of the Lord; it will fall upon him like an armed man, and you will see him tremble and be dismayed, like a prisoner whom death threatens.

"But happy is the man who has no part in such doings.

"Happy is the man who is not answerable for the poverty of his neighbor.

"Happy is the man who has nothing in his possession which he has forced from the poor.

"Happy are you, when your mouth is pure from harsh words, and your eyes from harsh looks.

"Happy are you, when the poor man blesses you, and when the widow and the orphan weep tears of gratitude to God for you.

"Happy is the man who walks in love before his God, and before his people.

"Happy are you who are pious; come and rejoice at the table of the God of love.

"The Lord your God is your Father.

"The signs of love from his hands will refresh your spirits, and the blessedness of your souls will increase, because your love toward God your Father, and toward your brethren of mankind, will increase and strengthen.

"But ye who walk without love, and in your deeds consider not that God is your Father, and that your neighbors are the children of your God, and that the poor man is your brother; ye ungodly, what do ye here? ye, who to-morrow will injure and oppress the poor as ye did yesterday, what do ye here? Will ye eat of the bread of the Lord, and drink of his cup, and say that ye are one in body, and mind, and soul, with your brethren?

"Leave this house, and avoid the meal of love.

"And ye poor and oppressed ones of my people, believe and trust in the Lord, and the fruit of your affliction and suffering will become a blessing to you.

"Believe and trust in the Lord your God, and fear not the ungodly; but keep yourselves from them. Rather suffer, rather endure any want, rather bear any injury, than seek help from their hard-heartedness. For the words of the hard man are lies, and his help is a decoy by which he seeks to entrap the poor man and destroy him. Therefore flee from the ungodly man when he salutes you with smiles, when he gives you his hand, and takes yours with friendliness. When he offers you his assistance, then flee from him: for the ungodly man insnares the poor. Avoid him, and join not yourselves with him; but fear him not:—though you see him standing fast and great, like a lofty oak, fear him not!

"Go, my children, into the forest, to the place where the lofty oaks stand, and see how the little trees, which withered under their shade, now being removed from them, flourish and bloom. The sun shines again upon the young plants.

the dew of heaven falls upon them in its strength, and the great spreading root of the oaks, which sucked up all the nourishment from the ground, now decay and nourish the young trees which withered in the shade.

"Therefore hope in the Lord, for his help never fails those who hope in him.

"The day of the Lord will come to the ungodly man; and on that day, when he shall see the oppressed and the poor man, he will cry out and say: 'O, that I had been as one of these!'

"Therefore trust in the Lord, ye who are troubled and oppressed, and rejoice that ye know the Lord, who has appointed the supper of love.

"For through love ye bear the sufferings of this earth, even as a treasure from the Lord; and your burthens only increase your strength and your blessedness.

"Therefore rejoice that ye know the God of love; for without love ye would sink and become as the ungodly, who torment and betray you.

"Praise the God of love, that he has appointed this sacrament, and has called you, amongst his millions, to partake in his holy mysteries.

"Praise ye the Lord!

"The revelation of love is the salvation of the world.

"Love is the band which binds the earth together.

"Love is the band which unites God and man.

"Without love, man is without God; and without God and love, what is man?

"Dare ye say? can ye utter or think what man is without God, and without love?

"I dare not; I can not express it—man, without God and without love, is no longer a man, but a brute.

"Therefore rejoice that ye know the God of love, who has called the world from brutishness to love, from darkness to light, and from death to eternal life. Rejoice that ye know Jesus Christ, and through faith in him are called to be children of God, and to eternal life.

"And yet once more I say unto you, rejoice that ye know the Lord; and pray for all those who do not know him; that they may come to the knowledge of the truth and of your joy.

"My children, come to the holy supper of your Lord. Amen."

When the pastor had said this, and instructed his congregation for nearly an hour, he prayed with them, and then the whole congregation partook of the Lord's supper.

The bailiff, Hummel, assisted in distributing the Lord's supper; and when all the people had given thanks unto the Lord, they sang a hymn, and the pastor blessed his people, and every one returned to his own house.

#### CHAPTER XL.—A PROOF THAT THE SERMON WAS GOOD; *Item*, ON KNOWLEDGE AND ERROR, AND WHAT IS CALLED OPPRESSING THE POOR.

THE bailiff, Hummel, was furious at the discourse which the pastor had delivered about the ungodly man; and on the Lord's day, which the whole parish kept holy, he raged, and swore, and abused the pastor, and said many violent things against him.

As soon as he got home from the sacrament, he sent for his dissolute companions to come to him directly. They soon arrived, and joined the bailiff in saying many shameful and abusive things of the pastor and his Christian discourse.

The bailiff began first: "I can not endure his damned taunts and attacks."

"It is not right, it is a sin, and particularly on the Sabbath day, it is a sin to do so," said old Abi.

*Bailiff.* "The rascal knows very well that I can not endure it, and he only goes on so much the more. It will be a fine thing for him, if he can bring the people, by his preaching and his abuse, to hate and despise what he does not understand, and has nothing to do with."

*Abi.* "Ay, indeed! our blessed Saviour, and the evangelists, and the apostles in the New Testament, never attacked any body."

*Christian.* "Thou shalt not say that. They did attack people, and still more than the pastor does."

*Abi.* "It is not true, Christian."

*Chris.* "Thou art a fool! Abi. Ye blind guides, ye serpents,—ye generation of vipers, and a thousand such. Thou knowest a great deal about the Bible, Abi."

*Countryman.* "Yes, Abi! they certainly did attack people."

*Chris.* "They did. But as for affairs of law, which they did not understand, and reckonings which had been settled before the judges according to law, they did not meddle with them, and those who do are very different kind of people."

*Count.* "Yes, that they are."

*Chris.* "They must be very different, or people would not be so bold. Only think what they did. There was one Annas—yes, Annas was his name—and his wife after him, only for telling one lie, they fell down and died."

*Count.* "Die they indeed? For only one lie?"

*Chris.* "Yes, as true as I am alive, and standing here."

*Abi.* "It's a fine thing, too, to know one's Bible."

*Chris.* "I have to thank my father, who is dead and buried for it. For the rest he was, God forgive him, no great things. He ran through all my mother's property to the last farthing,—but I could have got over that, if he had not leagued himself so much with Uli, who was hanged. Such a thing as that injures children and children's children. But he could read his Bible as well as any pastor, and made us all learn too. He would not excuse one of us."

*Abi.* "I have often wondered how he could be so good-for-nothing, when he knew so much."

*Count.* "It is very strange."

*Jost.* (A stranger, who happened to be in the tavern.) "I can not help laughing, neighbors, at your wonder about it. If much knowledge could make people good, your attorneys, and brokers, and bailiffs, and magistrates, with respect be it spoken, would be always the best."

*Count.* "Ay, and so they would, neighbor."

*Jost.* "Depend upon it, there is a wide difference between knowing and doing. He who is for carrying on his business by knowledge alone, had need take care lest he forget how to act."

*Count.* "Yes, so it is. A man soon forgets what he does not practice."

*Jost.* "Of course. When a man is in habits of idleness, he is good for nothing. And so it is with those who, from idleness and weariness, get to chattering and talking. They become good for nothing. Only attend, and you will find that the greatest part of those fellows who have stories out of the Bible, or the newspapers, and new and old pamphlets, constantly in their hands and



mounts, are little better than mere idlers. If one warts to talk with them about housekeeping, bringing up children, profit, or business, when they should give one advice how to set about this thing or that, which is of real use, they stand there like blockheads, and know nothing, and can tell nothing. Only where people meet, for idleness, in taverns, and at dances, and gossipings on Sundays and holidays; there they show off. They tell of quack cures, and foolish stories and tales, in which there is not a word of truth; and yet a whole room full of honest folks will sit listening for hours to such a prating fellow, who tells them one lie after another."

*Abi.* "By my soul, it is as he says! and, Christian, he has drawn thy father to the lark. Just so we went on with him. He was as stupid as an ox about every thing relating to wood and fields, cattle, fodder, ploughing, and such like; and knew no more about his own business than a sheep. But in the tavern, and at parish meetings, and in the churchyard, after service, he spoke like a wise man from the East. Sometimes of Doctor Faustus, sometimes of our Saviour, sometimes of the Witch of Endor, or of the one of Hirzau, and sometimes of bull-fights at Maestricht, or of horse-races at London. Stupidly as he did it, and evident as it was that he was telling them lies, people went on willingly listening to him, till he was near being hanged, which did at last hurt his credit as a story-teller."

*Jost.* "It was high time."

*Abi.* "Yes, we were fools long enough; and gave him many a glass of wine for pure lies."

*Jost.* "To my mind it would have been better for him if you had never given him any."

*Abi.* "Indeed, I believe if we had never given him any, he would not have come so near the gallows. He would have been obliged to work."

*Jost.* "So you see your good will toward him did him an injury."

*Count.* "Yes, that it did."

*Jost.* "It is a wicked and ruinous thing to drag the Bible into such idle teasing and hearing of profane stories."

*Leupi.* "My father once beat me soundly for forgetting, over one of these stories, (I think it was out of the Bible,) to fetch the cow from the pasture."

*Jost.* "He was in the right. To do what is in the Bible is our business, and to tell us about it is the pastor's. The Bible is a command, a law; what would the governor say to thee, if he had sent a command down to the village that we were to cart something to the castle, and thou, instead of going into the wood to get thy load, wert to seat thyself in the tavern, take up the order in thy hand, read it aloud, and, whilst thou wert sitting over thy glass, explain to thy neighbors what he meant and wished for?"

*Abi.* "What would he say to me? He would abuse me, and laugh at me and throw me into prison for taking him for a fool."

*Jost.* "And just so much do the people deserve, who read the Bible from mere idleness, and that they may be able to tell stories out of it at the tavern."

*Chris.* "Yes, but yet we must read in it, to know how to keep in the right way."

*Jost.* "Of course. But those who are always stopping at every resting-place, and standing still to talk at every well, and finger-post, and cross, which is put down to show the way, are not those who will get on the fastest?"

*Abi.* "But how is this neighbor? They say one can not pay too dear for

knowledge; but it seems to me one may easily pay too dear for knowledge of many things."

*Jost.* "Yes, indeed! We always pay too dear for every thing which keeps us away from active duties and business of importance. We should seek to gain information that we may know how to act, and if people try to know many things, merely for the sake of talking about them, they will certainly avail them nothing.

"It is, with respect to knowledge and performance, as it is in a trade. A shoemaker, for instance, must work, that is the first thing; he must also be able to judge of leather and know how to buy it; this is the means by which he can carry on his trade to advantage; and so it is in every thing else. Execution and practice are the chief things for all men; knowledge and understanding are the means by which they can carry on their business to advantage.

"But for this purpose the knowledge of every man should relate to what he has to do and perform, or in other words to his chief business."

*Abi.* "Now I begin to see how it is. When a man has his head full of various and foreign affairs, he does not give his mind to his own business, and to what is of the most importance to him."

*Jost.* "Just so. The thoughts and understanding of every man should be intent upon the things which are of the greatest consequence to him. I have no meadows to be cultivated by irrigation, therefore it is nothing to me how people manage to overflow them; and, till I have a wood of my own, I shall certainly take no pains to know how it may be best taken care of. But my reservoirs for manure are often in my thoughts, because they make my poor meadows rich. Every thing would prosper, if every body were properly attentive to his own affair. People get plenty of knowledge, soon enough, if they only learn to know things well; but they never learn to know them well, if they do not begin by knowing, and looking after what belongs to them. Knowledge rises by degrees from the lowest thing to the highest, and we shall make great progress in our lives, if we begin thus; but from idle talking, and stories, and foolish dreams of things in the clouds, or in the moon, people learn only to become good for nothing."

*Abi.* "They begin to learn that, even at school."

During the whole of this conversation, the bailiff stood by the fire, stared into it, warmed himself, scarcely listened to any thing, and joined seldom, and without any connection, in what they were saying. He forgot the wine in his abstraction, and therefore it was that the conversation between Abi and the stranger had lasted so long. Perhaps, too, he was not willing to express his vexation till the stranger had finished his glass and left them.

Then at last he began all at once, as if, during his long silence, he had been learning it off by heart.

"The pastor is always talking about oppressing the poor. If what he calls oppressing the poor were done by nobody, the devil take me if there would be any poor in the world. But when I look around me, from the prince to the night-watchman, from the first council in the land to the lowest parish meeting, every one seeks his own profit, and presses against whatever comes in his way. The late pastor sold wine, as I do, and took hay, and corn, and oats, in payment for it, as much as I do. Throughout the world every one oppresses his inferiors, and I am obliged to submit to oppression in my turn. Whoever has any thing, or wishes to have any thing, must oppress, or he will lose what is his own, and

become a beggar. If the pastor knew the poor as well as I do, he would not trouble himself so much about them; but it is not for the sake of the poor. All he wants is to find fault, and lead the people to judge one another wrongfully. The poor are a good-for-nothing set: if I wanted ten rogues I could soon find eleven amongst the poor. I wish people would bring me my income regularly home every quarter-day, I would soon learn to receive it piously and devoutly. But in my business, in a tavern and in poor cottages, where every farthing must be forced out, and one is plagued at every turn, it is a very different thing. I would lay a wager that any landlord, who would act considerately and compassionately toward day-laborers and poor people, would soon lose all he had. They are rogues every one."

Thus spoke the bailiff, and perverted the voice of his conscience, which made him uneasy, and told him that the pastor was right, and that he was the man who oppressed all the poor of the village, even until the blood started under their nails.

But, however he reasoned to himself, he was not at rest. Anxiety and care visibly tormented him. He paced uneasily up and down the room.

At last he said: "I am so angry about the pastor's sermon, that I know not what to do, and I am not well. Are you cold, neighbors? I have been as cold as ice, ever since I came home."

"No," answered the neighbors, "it is not cold; but every body saw at church that thou wert not well, thou wert so deadly pale."

*Bailiff.* "Did every body see it at church? I was indeed strangely ill!—I am very feverish—and so faint—I must drink something. We will go into the back room, during service-time."

#### CHAPTER XL.—A CHURCHWARDEN INFORMS THE PASTOR OF IMPROPER CONDUCT.

BUT a churchwarden, who lived in the same street with the bailiff, and had seen Abi, Christian, and the other fellows go into the tavern, between the services, was angry in his heart, and thought at that moment of the oath he had taken to look after all improper and profane conduct, and to inform the pastor of it. And the churchwarden set a man, he could depend upon, to watch the fellows, and see whether they went out of the tavern again before service.

It was now nearly time for the bell to ring, and, as nobody came out, he went to the pastor, and told him what he had seen, and that he had set Samuel Treu to watch them.

The pastor was troubled by this intelligence, sighed to himself, and said little.

The churchwarden thought he was studying his sermon, and spoke less than usual over his glass of wine.

At last, as the pastor was preparing to go into the church, Samuel came and the churchwarden said to him:

"Thou canst tell the honorable Herr Pastor, thyself, all about it."

Then Samuel said: "May heaven bless you, honorable Herr Pastor, sir."

The pastor thanked him, and said: "Are these people not gone home yet?"

*Samuel.* "No, sir! I have kept in sight of the tavern ever since the elder told me to watch, and nobody has left the house, except the bailiff's wife, who is gone to church."

*Pastor.* "And thou art quite certain that they are all still in the tavern?"

*Sam.* "Yes, sir, I am sure of it."



*Churchwarden.* "Your reverence sees that I was not mistaken, and that it was my duty to let you know of it."

*Pastor.* "It is a great pity that such things should take up any one's time and thoughts on a Sabbath day."

*Churchwarden.* "We have only done what was our duty, please your reverence."

*Pastor.* "I know it, and I thank you for your watchfulness. But, neighbors, take care that, for the sake of a trifling duty, you do not forget one of more difficulty and importance. To watch over ourselves, and over our own hearts, is our first and most important duty. Therefore it is always unfortunate when such evil deeds distract a man's thoughts."

After a while, he added: "No! such shameful disorder must no longer be endured—forbearance only increases it."

And he then went with the men into the church.

#### CHAPTER XLII.—AN ADDITION TO THE MORNING'S DISCOURSE.

As he was reading the account of our Saviour's sufferings, he came to these words:—

"And when Judas had taken the sop, Satan entered into his heart."

And he discoursed to his people upon the whole history of the traitor; and his feelings were so strongly excited, that he struck the cushion, vehemently, with his hand, which he had not done for years before.

And he said that all those who, as soon as they went out from the Lord's supper, ran off to drinking and gaming, were not a jot better than Judas, and would come to the same end.

And the congregation began to wonder, and consider, what could be the meaning of this great indignation of the pastor.

People began to lay their heads together; and a murmur went round that the bailiff had his house full of his associates.

And all the people began to turn their eyes toward his empty seat, and toward his wife.

She observed it—trembled—cast down her eyes—durst not look any body in the face; and, as soon as the singing began, made her way out of the church.

When she did that, the excitement grew still greater, and some pointed at her with their fingers; some women even stood up on the furthest benches on the women's side to see her, and there was so much disturbance that the singing went wrong.

#### CHAPTER XLIII.—THE COUNTRYMEN IN THE TAVERN ARE DISTURBED.

SHE ran home as fast as she could; and, when she entered the room, she threw her prayer-book, in a rage, amongst the glasses and jugs, and burst into a violent fit of crying.

The bailiff, and the neighbors, inquired what was the matter

*Wife.* "I'll soon let you know that. It's a shame for you to be drinking here on the Sabbath day."

*Bailiff.* "Is that all? Then there is not much amiss."

*Men.* "And it is the first time it ever made you cry."

*Bailiff.* "I thought, to be sure, thou hadst lost thy purse, at the least."

*Wife.* "Don't be talking thy nonsense now. If thou hadst been at church, thou wouldst not be so ready with it."

*Bailiff.* "What is the matter then? Do n't make such a blubbering, but tell us."

*Wife.* "The pastor must have got to know that these fellows of thine were drinking here during service-time."

*Bailiff.* "That would be a cursed business, indeed."

*Wife.* "He knows it, to a certainty."

*Bailiff.* "What Satan could tell him of it just now?"

*Wife.* "What Satan, thou simpleton? They come here smoking their pipes along the street, instead of by the back way; and so pass close by the elder's house. It is impossible to tell thee in what a way the pastor has been talking, and all the people have been pointing at me with their fingers."

*Bailiff.* "This is a damned trick that some Satan has been playing me."

*Wife.* "Why must you come just to-day, you drunken hounds?—you knew well enough that it was not right."

*Men.* "It is not our fault. He sent for us."

*Wife.* "Did he?"

*Men.* "Ay, that he did."

*Bailiff.* "I was in such a strange way, I could not bear to be alone."

*Wife.* "Well, it is no matter how it was. But, neighbors, go, as quickly as you can, through the back door, home; and take care that the people, as they come out of the church, may find every one of you at his own door—and so you may put a cloak over the thing. They have not yet quite finished the hymn, but go directly. It is high time."

*Bailiff.* "Yes; away with you. It is well advised."

The men went, and the bailiff's wife told him that the pastor had preached about Judas, how the devil had entered into his heart, how he had hanged himself;—and how those who went from the Lord's supper to drink and game would come to a like end."

"He was so earnest," said the woman, "that he struck the cushion with his fist, and I turned quite sick and faint."

The bailiff was so much terrified by this account that it struck him dumb, and he could not utter a word; and heavy groans escaped from the proud man, who had not been heard to utter such for years.

His wife asked him, repeatedly, why he groaned in such a manner?

He answered her not a word; but more than once he muttered to himself: "What is to be the end of this? what will become of me?"

He paced up and down the room in this way for a long time, and at last said to his wife: "Get me a cooling powder from the barber's; my blood is in a fever, and oppresses me. I will be bled to-morrow, if the medicine does not remove it."

His wife fetched him the powder; he took it, and, after a while, became easier.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.—DESCRIPTION OF A WICKED MAN'S FEELINGS DURING THE SACRAMENT.

THEN he told his wife how in the morning he had gone with right feelings to church, and in the beginning of the service had prayed to God to forgive his sins; but that the pastor's discourse had driven him mad, he had not had one good thought since, and dreadful and horrible things had occurred to him during the sacrament. "From the beginning to the end," said he to his wife, "I could

not utter a single prayer. My heart was like a stone; and when the pastor gave me the bread, he looked at me in a way I can not describe. No, it is impossible to give an idea of it; but I shall never forget it. When a judge condemns a poor sinner to the wheel, or the flames, and breaks his rod of office over him, he does not look at him in such a way. I can never forget how he looked at me. A cold sweat ran down my face; and my hands trembled as I took the bread from him.

"And when I had eaten it, a furious, horrible rage against the pastor took possession of me, so that I gnashed with my teeth, and durst not look round me.

"Wife! one dreadful idea after another came into my mind, and terrified me like a thunderbolt; but I could not get rid of them.

"I shuddered at the altar, so that I could not hold the cup fast; and then came Joseph, with his torn boots, and threw down his rogue's eyes when he saw me. And my three crowns!—O, how I shuddered at the thought of my three crowns.

"Then came Gertrude, who raised her eyes to heaven, and then fixed them on the cup, as if she had not seen me, as if I had not been there. She hates me, and curses me, and wishes to ruin me; and yet she could behave as if she did not see me, as if I had not been there.

"Then came the mason, and looked so sorrowfully at me, as if he would have said, from the bottom of his heart: 'Forgive me, bailiff.' He, who would bring me to the gallows, if he could.

"Then came Shaben Michel, as pale and frightened as myself, and trembling as much. Think, wife, what a state all this put me into.

"I was afraid Hans Wust would be coming too; I could not have stood that—the cup would certainly have fallen out of my hand, and I should have dropped upon the ground. As it was, I could scarcely keep upon my feet; and, when I got back to my seat, all my limbs shook, so that when they were singing I could not hold the book.

"And all the time I kept thinking—'Arner, Arner is at the bottom of all this!' and anger, fury, and revenge raged in my heart the whole time. A thing I had never thought of in my life came into my head during the sacrament. I dare scarcely tell thee what it was. I am frightened when I only think of it. It came into my head to throw his great landmark, on the hill, down the precipice. Nobody knows of the landmark but myself."

CHAPTER XLV.—THE BAILIFF'S WIFE TELLS HER HUSBAND SOME WEIGHTY TRUTHS, BUT MANY YEARS TOO LATE.

THE bailiff's speech alarmed his wife, but she knew not what to say, and was silent whilst he spoke.

Neither of them said any thing more for some time. At last the wife began, and said to him: "I am very uneasy on account of what thou hast been saying. Thou must give up these companions of thine. This business can not end well, and we are growing old."

*Bailiff.* "Thou art right enough there. But it is not so easy to do it."

*Wife.* "Easy or not, it must be done. Thou must get rid of them."

*Bailiff.* "Thou knowest well enough how I am tied to them, and what they know about me."

*Wife.* "Thou knowest still more about them. They are a parcel of rogues, and dare not peach. Thou must get rid of them."



The bailiff groaned, and his wife continued:—

“They sit eating and drinking here constantly, and pay thee nothing; and when thou art intoxicated they can persuade thee to any thing. Only think how Joseph tricked thee last night. I wanted to advise thee for thy good, and pretty treatment I got for my pains. And, moreover, since yesterday two crowns more have walked out of thy waistcoat pocket, without being so much as set down. How long can this last? If thou wilt only reckon up how much thou hast spent over thy misdeeds, thou wilt find that thou hast lost by them every way. And yet thou goest on still with these people; and many a time and oft it is for the sake of nothing in the world but thy godless pride. Sometimes thou wilt have one of these hounds to say something for thee, and then another must hold his tongue for thee; and so they come and eat and drink at thy cost, and, for their gratitude, they are ready at the first turn to ruin and betray thee.

“Formerly, indeed, when they feared thee like a drawn sword, thou couldst keep these fellows in order; but now thou art their master no longer, and depend upon it, thou art a lost man in thy old age, if thou dost not look sharply after them. We are in as slippery a situation as can well be. The moment thou turnest thy back, the lads begin laughing and talking, and will not do a stroke of work, nor any thing but drink.” So said the wife.

The bailiff answered her not a word, but sat staring at her, without speaking, whilst she spoke. At last he got up, and went into the garden, and from the garden into his meadow, and then into the stables. Trouble and anxiety followed him every where; but he stood still for a while in the stables, and reasoned thus with himself:—

CHAPTER XLVI.—SOLILOQUY OF A MAN WHOSE THOUGHTS UNHAPPILY LEAD HIM TOO FAR.

“WHAT my wife says is but too true; but what can I do? I can not help it, it is impossible for me to escape out of this net.” So said the bailiff, and again cursed Arner, as if he had been the cause of his getting into all these difficulties; and then abused the pastor for driving him mad at church. Then he recurred again to the landmark, and said: “I will not touch the cursed stone; but if any one did remove it the squire would lose the third part of his wood. It is clear enough, that the eighth and ninth government landmark would cut through his property in a straight line. But heaven forbid that I should remove a landmark!”

Then he began again: “Suppose after all it should be no true landmark. It lies there, as if it had been since the flood, and has neither a letter nor a figure upon it.”

Then he went again into the house, took down his account book—added it up—wrote in it—blotted it—separated his papers, and laid them back again—forgot what he had read—looked up again what he had written—then put the book into the chest—walked up and down the room, and kept thinking and talking to himself of “a landmark without a letter or a figure upon it. There is not such another to be found any where! What an idea is come into my head! Some ancestor of the family may have made an inroad into the government wood, and suppose this stone were of his placing! By G——, it must be so! It is the most unaccountable bend in the whole government boundary. For six miles it goes in a straight line till it comes here, and the stone has no mark upon it, and there is no trench of separation.

"If the wood really belongs to the government, I should be doing nothing wrong. It would be only my duty to the government. But if I should be mistaken! No, I will not touch the stone. I should have to dig it up and to roll it, on some dark night, to the distance of a stone's throw over the level part to the precipice; and it is a great weight. It will not fall down like a stream of water. By day every stroke of the mattock would be heard, it is so near the highway; and at night—I dare not venture. I should start at every sound. If a badger came by, or a deer sprang up, I could not go on with the work. And who knows whether really a goblin might not catch me while I was doing it? It is not safe around the landmark in the night; I had better let it alone!"

After a while he began again: "To think that there are so many folks who don't believe either in hell or in spirits! The old attorney did not believe a word of them, nor did the pastor's assistant. By heaven, it is impossible that he could believe in any thing. And the attorney has told me plainly, a hundred times, that, when I was once dead, it would be all the same with me as with my dog or horse. This was his belief, and he was afraid of nothing, and did what he would. Suppose he were to prove right! If I could believe it, if I could hope it, if I could be assured in my heart that it was so, the first time Arner went out to hunt, I would hide myself behind a tree and shoot him dead. I would burn the pastor's house—but it is to no purpose talking. I can not believe it; I dare not hope it. It is not true; and they are fools, mistaken fools, who think so! There must be a God! There certainly must be a God! Landmark! Landmark! I will not remove thee!"

So saying the man trembled, but could not drive the thought out of his head. He shuddered with horror! He sought to escape from himself; walked up the street, joined the first neighbor he met with, and talked to him about the weather, the wind, and the snails which had injured the rye harvest for some years past.

After some time he returned home with a couple of thirsty fellows, to whom he gave something to drink, that they might stay with him. Then he took another cooling powder, and so got over the Sunday.

#### CHAPTER XLVII.—DOMESTIC HAPPINESS ON THE SABBATH DAY.

AND NOW I leave the house of wickedness for a time. It has sickened my heart to dwell upon its horrors. Now I leave them for a time, and my spirit is lightened and I breathe freely again. I approach once more the cottage where human virtue dwells.

In the morning, after Leonard and his wife were gone to church, the children sat quietly and thoughtfully together in the house, said their prayers, sang and said over what they had learned in the week; for they always had to repeat it to Gertrude every Sunday evening.

Lise, the eldest, had the care of her little brother during service time. She had to take him up, dress him, and give him his porridge; and this was always Lise's greatest Sunday treat; for, when she was looking after and feeding the child, she fancied herself a woman. You should have seen how she played the part of mother, imitated her, fondled the baby in her arms, and nodded and smiled to it; and how the little one smiled again, held out its hands, and kicked with its little feet; and how it caught hold of Lise's cap, or her hair, or her nose, and pointed to the smart Sunday handkerchief on her neck, and called out, ha! ha! and then how Nicholas and Anneli answered it, ha! ha! whilst the little

one turned its head round, to see where the voice came from, spied out Nicholas and laughed at him; and then how Nicholas sprang up to kiss and fondle his little brother; and how Lise then would have the preference, and insisted upon it that the little darling was laughing at her; and how carefully she looked after it, anticipated all its wants, played with it, and tossed it up toward the ceiling, and then carefully let it down again almost to touch the ground; how the baby laughed and crowed with delight, whilst she held it up to the looking-glass, that it might push its little hands and face against it; and how at last it caught a sight of its mother in the street, and crowed and clapped its hands, and almost sprang out of Lise's arms.

Such were the delights of Leonard's children on a Sunday or a feast day; and such delights of good children are acceptable in the sight of their God. He looks down with complacency upon the innocence of children, when they are enjoying existence; and, if they continue good and obedient, he will bless them, that it may be well with them to the end of their lives.

Gertrude was satisfied with her children, for they had done every thing as they had been told.

It is the greatest happiness of good children to know that they have given satisfaction to their father and mother.

Gertrude's children had this happiness. They climbed their parents' knees, jumped first into the arms of one, and then of the other, and clasped their little arms round their necks.

This was the luxury in which Leonard and Gertrude indulged on the Lord's day. Ever since she became a mother, it had been Gertrude's Sunday delight to rejoice over her children, and over their tender affection for their father and mother.

Leonard sighed this day, when he thought how often he had deprived himself of such pleasures.

Domestic happiness is the sweetest enjoyment of man upon earth; and the rejoicing of parents over their children is the holiest of human joys. It purifies and hallows the heart, and raises it toward the heavenly Father of all. Therefore the Lord blesses the tears of delight which flow from such feelings, and richly repays every act of parental watchfulness and kindness.

But the ungodly man, who cares not for his children, and to whom they are a trouble and a burthen—the ungodly man, who flies from them on the week day, and conceals himself from them on the Sabbath; who escapes from their innocent enjoyment, and finds no pleasure in them till they are corrupted by the world, and become like himself—this man throws away from him the blessing of life. He will not in his old age rejoice in his children, nor derive any comfort from them.

On the Sabbath days Leonard and Gertrude, in the joy of their hearts spoke to their children of the goodness of their God, and of the compassion of their Saviour.

The children listened silently and attentively, and the hour of noon passed swiftly and happily away.

Then the bells began to ring, and Leonard and Gertrude went again to church.

On their way they passed by the bailiff's house, and Leonard said to Gertrude: "The bailiff looked shockingly this morning. I never in my life saw him look so before. The sweat dropped from his forehead as he assisted at the



sacrament. Didst thou not notice it, Gertrude? I perceived that he trembled when he gave me the cup."

"I did not notice it," said Gertrude.

*Leonard.* "I was quite disturbed to see the man in such a state. If I durst, I would have asked him to forgive me; and if I could in any way show him that I wish him no ill, I would do it gladly."

*Gertrude.* "May God reward thee for thy kind heart, Leonard. It will be right to do so, whenever thou hast an opportunity. But Rudi's poor children, and many others, cry out for vengeance against this man, and he will not be able to escape."

*Leon.* "I am quite grieved to see him so very unhappy. I have perceived, for a long time past, amidst all the noisy merriment of his house, that some anxiety preyed upon him constantly."

*Ger.* "My dear husband, whoever departs from a quiet, holy life can never be really happy."

*Leon.* "If I ever in my life saw any thing clearly, it was this: that however the bailiff's followers, whom he had about him in the house, might help him in the way of assistance, or advice, or cheating, or violence, they never procured for him a single hour of contentment and ease."

As they were thus conversing, they arrived at church, and were there very much moved by the great earnestness with which the pastor discoursed upon the character of the traitor.

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.—SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON SIN.

GERTRUDE, amongst the rest, had heard what was said, in the women's seats, about the bailiff's house being again full of his people, and after church she told Leonard of it. He answered: "I can scarcely believe it, during church time, and on a Sunday."

*Gertrude.* "It is indeed very sad. But the entanglements of an ungodly life lead to all, even the most fearful wickedness. I shall never forget the description our late pastor gave us of sin, the last time we received the sacrament from him. He compared it to a lake, which from continual rains overflowed its banks. The swelling of the lake, said he, is imperceptible, but it increases every day and hour, and rises higher and higher, and the danger is as great as if it overflowed violently with a sudden storm.

"Therefore the experienced and prudent examine, in the beginning, all the dams and embankments, to see whether they are in a fit condition to resist the force of the waters. But the inexperienced and imprudent pay no attention to the rising of the lake, till the dams are burst, and the fields and pastures laid waste, and till the alarm bell warns all in the country to save themselves from the devastation. It is thus, said he, with sin and the ruin which it occasions.

"I am not yet old, but I have already observed a hundred times, that the good pastor was right, and that every one who persists in the habitual commission of any one sin, hardens his heart, so that he no longer perceives the increase of its wickedness, till destruction and horror awaken him out of his sleep."

#### CHAPTER XLIX.—THE CHARACTER AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

CONVERSING in this manner, they returned to their own cottage.

The children ran down the steps to meet their father and mother, and called out: "O, come, pray come, mother! we want to repeat what we learned last week, that we may be ready directly."

*Gertrude.* "Why are you in such haste, my loves? What need is there for it?"

*Children.* "O, when we have repeated, mother, you know what we may do then with our afternoon bread. You know, mother, what you promised yesterday."

*Mother.* "I shall be very glad to hear whether you can say what you have learned."

*Chil.* "But then we may do it afterward, mother! may we not?"

*Mother.* "Yes, if you are perfect."

The children were in great delight, and immediately repeated what they had learned, very perfectly.

Then the mother gave them their pieces of bread and two bowls of milk, from which she had not taken the cream, because it was Sunday.

She then took the baby in her arms, and rejoiced in her heart to hear the children laying their plans, and telling each other how they would give their bread. Not one of them ate a mouthful of it, not one of them dipped a morsel into the milk, but each rejoiced over his piece, showed it to the others, and maintained that it was the largest share.

The milk was soon finished, but the bread was all lying by the mother. Nicholas crept up to her, took her hand, and said: "You will give me a piece of bread for myself too, mother?"

*Mother.* "Thou hast got it already, Nicholas."

*Nicholas.* "Yes; but that is what I must give to Rudeli."

*Mother.* "I did not bid thee give it to him; thou mayst eat it thyself, if thou wilt."

*Nich.* "No, I will not eat it; but will you not give me another piece for myself, mother?"

*Mother.* "No, certainly not."

*Nich.* "Why not, mother?"

*Mother.* "That thou mayst not fancy that people should begin to think of the poor, only when they are satisfied, and have eaten as much as they can."

*Nich.* "Is that the reason, mother?"

*Mother.* "Wilt thou now give him the whole?"

*Nich.* "O, yes, to be sure I will, mother. I know he is terribly hungry, and we shall eat again at six o'clock."

*Mother.* "And, Nicholas, I think Rudeli will get nothing then."

*Nich.* "No, indeed, mother; he will have no supper."

*Mother.* "The want of those poor children is great indeed, and one must be very hard and cruel not to spare, whatever one can, from one's own food, to relieve them in their distress."

Tears came into the eyes of Nicholas. The mother then turned to the other children: "Lise, dost thou mean to give away all thy piece?"

*Lise.* "Yes, certainly, mother."

*Mother.* "And thou too, Enne?"

*Enne.* "Yes, mother."

*Mother.* "And thou too, Jonas?"

*Jonas.* "I think so, mother."

*Mother.* "I am glad of it, my children. But how will you set about it? Every thing should be done in the right way, and people who mean very well, often manage very ill. Tell me, Nicholas, how wilt thou give thy bread?"

*Nich.* "I will run, as fast as I can, and call him, Rudeli, I mean; but I will not put it into my pocket, that I may give it him sooner. Let me go now, mother."

*Mother.* "Stop a moment, Nicholas. And how wilt thou manage, Lise?"

*Lise.* "I will not do like Nicholas. I will beckon Betheli into a corner; I will hide the bread under my apron, and I will give it her, so that nobody may see it, not even her father."

*Mother.* "And what wilt thou do, Enne?"

*Enne.* "I do n't know where I shall meet with Heireli: I will give it as I find best at the time."

*Mother.* "And thou, Jonas! Thou hast some trick in thy head, little rogue. How wilt thou do?"

*Jonas.* "I will stick my bread into his mouth as you do, mother, when you are playing with me. I shall say to him: Open your mouth and shut your eyes, and then I shall put it between his teeth. I am sure he will laugh then, mother."

*Mother.* "Very well, my children. But I must tell you one thing. You must give the children the bread quietly, and so as not to be observed; lest people should think you fancy you are doing a very fine thing."

*Nich.* "Potz tausend, mother! then I had better put the bread into my pocket, after all."

*Mother.* "I think so, Nicholas."

*Lise.* "I thought of that before, mother; and that was the reason why I said I should not do like him."

*Mother.* "Thou art always the cleverest, Lise. I ought not to have forgotten to praise thee for it, and thou dost well to remind me of it."

Lise blushed and was silent, and the mother said to the children: "You may go now, but remember what I have said to you." The children went.

Nicholas ran and leaped, as fast as he could, down to Rudi's house, but Rudeli was not in the street. Nicholas shouted, and whistled, and called, but in vain; he did not come out, even to the window. Then said Nicholas to himself: "What must I do now? Must I go into the house to him? But I must give him alone. I will go and tell him to come out into the street."

Rudeli was sitting with his father and sisters by the open coffin of his dear grandmother, who was to be buried in two hours; and the father and his children were talking, with tears in their eyes, of the kindness and love which she had always shown them. They wept over her last trouble about the potatoes, and promised again, as they looked at her, that, however hungry they might be, they would never steal from any body.

At this moment Nicholas opened the door, saw the dead body, was frightened, and ran out of the house again.

Rudi, who thought he might have some message to him from Leonard, went after the boy, and asked what he wanted. "Nothing, nothing," answered Nicholas, "only I wanted to speak to Rudeli, but he is at his prayers."

*Rudi.* "You may come in, if you want him."

*Nich.* "Let him come here to me for a moment."

*Rudi.* "It is so cold, and he does not like to leave his grandmother. Come into the house to him."

*Nich.* "I can not go in, Rudi. Let him come to me for a moment."

"Well then, he shal," answered Rudi, and went back into the house.



Nicholas followed him to the door, and called: "Rudeli, come here just for one moment."

*Rudeli.* "I can not come into the street, Nicholas! I would rather stay with my grandmother. They will soon take her away from us."

*Nich.* "It is but for a moment."

*Rudi.* "Go and see what he wants."

Rudeli went out, and Nicholas took him by the arm, and saying: "Come here I have something to say to you," led him into a corner, thrust the bread quickly into his pocket, and ran away.

Rudeli thanked him, and called after him: "Thank your father and your mother too."

Nicholas turned round, made a sign to him, with his hand, to be quiet, said: "Don't tell any body," and went off again like an arrow.

CHAPTER L.—CONCEIT AND BAD HABITS INTERFERE WITH OUR HAPPINESS,  
EVEN WHEN WE ARE DOING A KIND ACTION.

LISE, in the meantime, walked deliberately to the higher village, to Betheli, Marx Reuti's daughter. She was standing at the window.

Lise beckoned to her, and Betheli crept out of the house. But her father, who observed it, followed her, and hid himself behind the door.

The children thought not of him, and chattered away to their hearts' content.

*Lise.* "Betheli, I have brought you some bread."

*Betheli.* (Shivering, and stretching out her hand.) "You are very kind, Lise; and I am very hungry. But why do you bring me bread to-day?"

*Lise.* "Because I like you, Betheli. We have now bread enough. My father is to build the church."

*Beth.* "And so is mine, too."

*Lise.* "Yes; but your father is only a day-laborer."

*Beth.* "It is all the same thing, if it brings us bread."

*Lise.* "Have you been very ill off?"

*Beth.* "O! I do hope we shall do better now."

*Lise.* "What have you had for dinner?"

*Beth.* "I dare not tell you."

*Lise.* "Why not?"

*Beth.* "If my father were to find it out, he would—"

*Lise.* "I shall never tell him."

Betheli took a piece of a raw turnip out of her pocket, and said: "See here."

*Lise.* "Goodness! nothing better than that?"

*Beth.* "We have had nothing better this two days."

*Lise.* "And you must not tell any body; nor ask any body for any thing—"

*Beth.* "If he only knew I had told you, it would be a pretty business for me."

*Lise.* "Well, eat the bread before you go in again."

*Beth.* "Yes, that I will, or I shall not get it."

She began to eat, and at that moment Marx opened the door, and said: "What art thou eating, my child?"

His child gulped and swallowed down the unchewed mouthful, and said: "Nothing, nothing, father."

*Marx.* "Nothing was it? but stop a moment! Lise, I don't like people to give my children bread, behind my back, for telling them such godless lies about

what is eaten, and drunk in the house. Thou godless Betheli! dost thou not know that we had a chicken for dinner to-day?"

Lise now walked off as fast, as she had come deliberately.

But Marx took Betheli by the arm, and dragged her into the house, and Lise heard her crying bitterly, even when she was a great way off.

Enne met Heireli in the door-way of his own house, and said: "Would you like a piece of bread?"

*Heireli.* "Yes, if you have any for me." Enne gave it him; he thanked her, and she went away again.

Jonas crept about Shaben Michel's house, till Robert saw him, and came out. "What are you after, Jonas?" said Robert.

*Jonas.* "I want to have some play."

*Robert.* "Well, I will play with you, Jonas."

*Jonas.* "Will you do what I tell you, Robert? and then we shall have some sport."

*Robt.* "What do you want me to do?"

*Jonas.* "You must shut your eyes, and open your mouth."

*Robt.* "Ay, but perhaps you will put something dirty into my mouth."

*Jonas.* "No, I promise you, faithfully, I will not, Robert."

*Robt.* "Well—but look to it if you cheat me, Jonas!" (He opened his mouth, and half shut his eyes.)

*Jonas.* "You must shut your eyes quite close, or it will not do."

*Robt.* "Yes! but if you should prove a rogue, Jonas;" said Robert, shutting his eyes quite close.

Jonas popped the bread into his mouth directly, and ran off.

Robert took the bread out of his mouth, and said: "This is good sport, indeed," and sat down to eat it.

#### CHAPTER LI.—NO MAN CAN TELL WHAT HAPPY CONSEQUENCES MAY RESULT FROM EVEN THE MOST TRIFLING GOOD ACTION.

SHABEN MICHEL saw the sport of the children from the window, and knew Jonas, Leonard's son, and it struck him to the heart.

"What a Satan I am!" said he to himself. "I have sold myself to the bailiff, to betray the man who provides me with work and food, and now I must see that even this little fellow has the heart of an angel. I will not do any thing to injure these people. Since yesterday, the bailiff has been an abomination to me. I can not forget his look when he gave me the cup!" So said the man, and he remained at home the rest of the evening, thinking over his past conduct.

Leonard's children were now all returned, and told their father and mother how they had gone on, and were very merry—all except Lise, who tried, nevertheless, to look like the rest, and said a great deal about Betheli's delight when she received the bread.

"I am sure something has happened to thee," said Gertrude.

"O, no, nothing has happened; and she was very glad, indeed, to have it," answered Lise.

Her mother inquired no further, but prayed with her children, gave them their suppers, and put them to bed.

Afterward Leonard and Gertrude read for an hour in the Bible, and talked about what they had read, and passed a very happy Sunday evening together

CHAPTER LII.—EARLY IN THE MORNING IS TOO LATE FOR WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE THE EVENING BEFORE.

VERY early in the morning, as soon as the mason awoke, he heard some one calling to him, in the front of the house, and got up immediately, and opened the door.

It was Flink, the huntsman, from the hall. He wished the mason good morning, and said: "Mason, I should have told thee, last night, to set the men to work this morning without delay, at breaking stone."

*Mason.* "From what I hear, the bailiff has told all the workmen to go to the hall this morning. But it is early yet, they can scarcely be set out, and I will tell them."

He called to Lenk, who lived next door, but got no answer.

After some time, Keller, who lodged in the same house, came out, and said: "Lenk went half an hour ago to the hall, with the rest of the men. The bailiff told them last night, after supper, that they must, without fail, be at the hall betimes, as he had to be at home again by noon."

The huntsman was very uneasy at the intelligence, and said: "This is a cursed business!" "But what must be done?" said the mason.

*Flink.* "Is there any chance of overtaking them?"

*Mason.* "From Marti's hill thou mayst see them a mile and a half off; and, if the wind be fair, thou mayst call them back so far."

Flink made no delay, but ran quickly up the hill, called, whistled, and shouted with all his might, but in vain. They did not hear him, but went their way, and were soon out of sight.

The bailiff, who was not so far off, heard him call from the hill, and looked out. The huntsman's gun glittered in the sun, so that the bailiff recognized him, and wondered what the man wanted, and went back to meet him.

Flink told him that he had had a terrible headache the day before, and had delayed going, to tell the mason to set the men to work to break stone the first thing this morning.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE MORE CULPABLE A MAN IS HIMSELF, THE MORE VIOLENTLY DOES HE ABUSE ANOTHER WHO HAS DONE WRONG.

"Thou cursed knave! what a trick thou hast played now!" said the bailiff.

*Flink.* "Perhaps it will not turn out so ill. How the deuce could I tell that the fellows would all run off to the hall before daybreak! Was it by your orders?"

*Bailiff.* "Yes, it was, thou dog; and I suppose I shall now have to answer for thy fault."

*Flink.* "I wish I may come clear off myself."

*Bailiff.* "It is a cursed—"

*Flink.* "That was the very word I used myself, when I heard they were gone."

*Bailiff.* "I want no nonsense now, knave."

*Flink.* "Nor I neither; but what is to be done?"

*Bailiff.* "You fool, think."

*Flink.* "It is half an hour too late for my brains to discover any."

*Bailiff.* "Stop—one must never despair! A thought strikes me. Maintain



boldly that thou gavest the order last night to the mason's wife, or to one of his children. They will not out-talk thee, if thou art resolute."

*Flink.* "I will not try that plan. It may miss."

*Bailiff.* "Nay, it could not miss, if thou wert steady. But, upon second thoughts, I have hit upon another which is better."

*Flink.* "What's that?"

*Bailiff.* "Thou must run back to the mason, and lament and grieve over it; and tell him, it may be a great loss to thee to have neglected the order; but that he may get thee out of trouble by speaking one word for thee, and telling the squire that he received his note on the Sunday; and, by mistake, as it was the Sabbath, had not opened it till to-day.

"This will not hurt him in the least, and will get thee out of the scrape, if thou canst persuade him to do it."

*Flink.* "You are right there, and I think it will do."

*Bailiff.* "It can not miss."

*Flink.* "I must go now. I have other letters to take, but I will return some time this morning to the mason. Good-by, Bailiff."

When the bailiff was left alone, he said: "I will go now and give this account at the hall. If it does not agree, I will say it is what the huntsman told me."

#### CHAPTER LIV.—USELESS LABOR FOR POOR PEOPLE.

In the meantime, the day-laborers arrived at the hall, sat down on the benches near the door, and waited till they were summoned, or till the bailiff, who had promised to follow them, should arrive.

When the squire's footman saw the men at the door, he went down to them, and said: "What are you here for, neighbors? My master thinks you are at work at the building."

The men answered: "The bailiff told us to come here to thank the squire for giving us the work."

"That was not necessary," answered Claus. "He will not keep you long for that; but I will tell him you are here."

The footman told his master, and the squire ordered the men to come in, and asked them, kindly, what they wanted.

When they had told him, and awkwardly and with difficulty, stammered out something of thanks, the squire said: "Who told you to come here on this account?"

"The bailiff," replied the men, and again attempted to give him thanks.

"This has happened against my wish," said Arner. "But go away now, and be diligent and faithful, and I shall be glad if the work is of use to any of you. And tell your master that you must begin to break the stone to-day."

Then the men went home again.

#### CHAPTER LV.—A HYPOCRITE MAKES FRIENDS WITH A ROGUE.

AND as they returned, one of the men said to the others: "This young squire is a very kind-hearted man."

"And so would the old one have been too, if he had not been imposed upon, in a thousand ways," said the old men with one voice.

"My father has told me, a hundred times, that he was very well inclined in his youth, and would have continued so, if he had not been so infatuated by the bailiff," said Abi.

'And then it was all over with the squire's kindness. It dropped only into

the bailiff's chest, and he led him about, as he chose, like a great Polar bear," said Leemann.

"What a shameful trick he has played us now, to send us all this way without orders, and then leave us to get out of the scrape ourselves," said Lenk.

"That is always his way," said Kienast.

"And a villainous way it is," answered Lenk.

"Yes, but the bailiff is a worthy man! People like us can not always judge of the reasons for such things," answered Kriecher, in a raised tone; for he saw the bailiff creeping along the hollow, and very near them.

"The devil! thou mayest praise him if thou wilt, but I will praise the squire for the future," said Lenk, almost as loudly; for he did not see the bailiff below.

The latter now, as he was speaking, came up out of the hollow, wished them good morning, and then said to Lenk: "And why art thou praising the squire at this rate?"

Lenk answered, in some confusion: "Because we were talking together about his being so good-natured and kind to us."

"But that was not all," answered the bailiff.

"I know of nothing more," said Lenk.

"It is not right for a man to take back his words in that way, Lenk," said Kriecher, and continued: "He was not alone in what he said, Mr. Bailiff. Some of the others were murmuring that you had left them in such a way, and I was saying that such as we could not judge of your reasons; and upon this, Lenk said: 'I might praise the bailiff if I would, but that he would praise the squire for the future.'"

"Aye, indeed! and so thou wert comparing the squire with me," said the bailiff, sneeringly.

"But he did not mean it, as it is now represented," said some of the men, shaking their heads, and murmuring against Kriecher.

"There is no need of any explanation and no harm done. It is an old proverb, Whose bread I eat, his praise I sing," said the bailiff, and shaking Kriecher by the hand, he said no more upon the subject, but asked the men whether Arner had been angry.

"No," answered the men, "not at all. He only said, we must go home again, and without fail begin the work to-day."

"Tell the mason so and that the mistake is of no consequence—my respects to him," said the bailiff, and proceeded on his way; as did the men.

Some time before this, the Huntsman had been to the mason, and begged and entreated him to say that he had received the note on the Sunday.

The mason was willing to oblige the bailiff and the huntsman, and mentioned it to his wife.

"I am afraid of every thing which is not straight-forward," said she, "and I dare say the bailiff has already made his own excuse. If the squire asks thee, I think thou must tell him the truth; but perhaps he will not inquire any thing more about it; and then thou canst leave it as it is, that nobody may be brought into trouble." Leonard accordingly told the huntsman that he would do this.

In the mean time the men returned from the hall.

"You are soon back again," said the mason.

"We might have spared our labor altogether," replied they.

Leonard. "Was he angry about the mistake?"

*Men.* "No, not at all! He was very friendly and kind, and told us to go back and begin the work to-day."

*Flink.* "You see it will be of no consequence to you. It is a very different thing for me and the bailiff."

"O, but the bailiff's message; we had nearly forgotten it," said Hubel Rudi; "he sent his respects to thee, and the mistake was of no consequence."

*Leon.* "Had he been with the squire, when you met him?"

*Men.* "No; we met him on his way."

*Leon.* "Then he knew no more than what you told him, and what I now know myself?"

*Men.* "No! to be sure he did not."

*Flink.* "You will keep your promise, mason?"

*Leon.* "Yes, but exactly as I told you."

The mason then ordered the men to be at their work early, prepared some tools, and, after he had got his dinner, went with the men, for the first time, to the work.

"May God Almighty grant his blessing upon it," said Gertrude, as he went out.

#### CHAPTER LVI.—IT IS DECIDED THAT THE BAILIFF MUST NO LONGER BE A LANDLORD.

WHEN the bailiff came to the hall, Arner kept him waiting some time. At last he came out of the avenue and asked him, with some displeasure: "What is the meaning of this? Why did you send all these people to the hall to-day, without orders?"

"I thought it was my duty to advise them to thank your honor for your goodness," answered the bailiff.

Arner replied, "Your duty is to do what is useful to me and to my people, and what I order you, but not to send poor folks all this way for nothing, to teach them to make fine speeches, which are of no use, and which I do not seek for. But the reason why I sent for you, was to tell you, that I will no longer have the situation of bailiff and landlord filled by the same person."

The bailiff turned pale, trembled, and knew not what to reply; for he was quite unprepared for such a sudden resolution.

Arner continued, "I will leave you to choose which of the two you prefer; but in a fortnight I must know your determination."

The bailiff had somewhat recovered himself again, and stammered out some thanks for the time allowed him to think of it. Arner replied, "I should be sorry to be hasty with any body, and I do not wish to oppress you, old man. But the two offices are incompatible with each other."

This kindness of Arner encouraged the bailiff. He answered, "Till now all the bailiffs in your employ have kept tavern, and it is a common practice throughout the country."

But Arner answered him shortly, and said: "You have heard my decision." He then took out his almanac, and said again, "This is the 20th of March, and in a fortnight it will be the 3d of April; therefore, upon the 3d of April, I expect your answer. Till then, I have no more to say." Arner then marked down the day in his almanac, and went into the house.

#### CHAPTER LVII.—HIS CONDUCT UPON THE OCCASION.

ANXIOUS and troubled at heart, the bailiff also departed. This blow had so much overcome him, that he took no notice of any of the people he met on his



way down the steps, and through the avenue; and he scarcely knew where he was, till he came to the old nut-tree. There he stopped, and said to himself, "I must take breath. How my heart beats! I don't know whether I stand on my head or my feet. Without making a single complaint, without making any inquiry, merely because it is his pleasure, I am either to give up being bailiff, or landlord. This is beyond all bounds. Can he compel me to it? I think not. He can not take away my bailiff's coat, without bringing some charge against me; and the landlord's license is paid for. But if he should try, if he should seek for open accusation, he may find as much as he will. Of all he damned fellows I have served, there is not one who would be true to me. What must I do, now! A fortnight is something, however; I have often done great deal in that time. If I can only keep up my spirits! The mason is at the bottom of all this. If I can only ruin him, it will be every thing. I can manage all the rest. But how very faint and weak I am!" So saying, he took a brandy bottle out of his pocket, sat down in the shade of the tree, applied to his constant remedy, and swallowed down one draught after another. A thief or a murderer, who is pursued by a warrant, is not more refreshed by his first draught of water in a free land, than the bailiff's rancorous heart was encouraged by his brandy bottle. He felt himself better again immediately, and, with his strength, his wicked daring also revived. "This has refreshed me greatly," said he to himself. And he got up again, with the air of a bold man who bears himself loftily. "A little while ago," said he, "I thought they would eat me up for their supper, but now I feel once more as if I could crush the mason, and the fine young squire himself, with my little finger. It is well I did not leave my bottle behind me. I am a sad poor creature without it."

Thus reasoned the bailiff with himself. His fears had now entirely given place to anger, pride, and his brandy bottle.

He walked along once more, as insolently and as full of malice as usual.

He nodded to the people in the fields, who saluted him, with almost his wonted bailiff's pride. He carried his knotted stick in a commanding manner, as if he were of more importance in the country than ten Arners. He pursed up his mouth, and opened his eyes, as wide and round as a plough-wheel, as they say in this country. Thus did the blockhead behave at a time when he had so little cause for it.

#### CHAPTER LVIII.—HIS COMPANION.

By his side walked his great Turk; a dog who, at a word from the bailiff, showed his great white teeth and snarled at every body, but faithfully followed his master through life and death. This great Turk was as much the terror of all the poor folks around, as his master was of all his oppressed dependents and debtors. This powerful Turk walked majestically by the side of the bailiff—but I dare not utter what is at my tongue's end, only it is certain that the bailiff, who was in a furious rage, had something in the expression of his face which reminded one very much of the dog.

#### CHAPTER LIX.—EXPLANATION OF A DIFFICULTY.

PERHAPS some simple inquirer may wonder how the bailiff, after yesterday's trouble, and his fright this morning, could still bear himself so haughtily. An experienced man will see the reason at once. Pride never torments a man more, than when he is under a cloud. As long as all is prosperous, and nobody can doubt a man's greatness, he seldom thinks it necessary to look so very

big. But when on all sides people begin to rejoice over his failures, it is no longer the same thing—then the blood gets heated, foams, and runs over like hot butter in a kettle, and this was exactly the bailiff's case. Moreover, it was very natural, and the most simple may understand it, that after he had recruited himself under the nut-tree, he should be able to conduct himself as haughtily as I have described. Besides this, he had slept better than usual the night before, on account of having taken his two powders, and drunk little, and his head, this morning, was quite cleared from the uneasiness and anxiety of the preceding day.

#### CHAPTER LX.—A DIGRESSION.

It would, indeed, have been better for the bailiff if he had broken his brandy bottle to atoms, under the nut-tree, and gone back to his master to explain to him his situation, and to tell him that he was not rich, and had need both of his office of bailiff, and of his tavern, on account of his debts, and entreat him to show compassion and mercy toward him. I am sure Arner would not have driven away the old man, if he had acted thus.

But such is always the ill fate of the ungodly. Their crimes deprive them of their reason, and they become, as it were, blind in their greatest difficulties, and act like madmen in their distress; whilst, on the contrary, good and honest men, who have pure and upright hearts, keep their senses much better in their misfortunes, and therefore generally know better how to help themselves, and how to act in all the chances of life.

They bear their misfortunes with humility, ask forgiveness for their faults, and in their necessity look up to that Power who always lends assistance in need, to those who seek his help with pure hearts.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, is a protection and polar star to them, through life, and they always so pass through the world, as, in the end, to thank God from their hearts.

But the wickedness of the ungodly man leads him from one depth to another. He never uses his understanding in the straight paths of simplicity, to seek for repose, justice, and peace. He uses it only in the crooked way of wickedness, to create distress, and to bring about disturbance. Therefore he is always unhappy, and in his necessity becomes insolent.

He denies his faults, he is proud in his distress. He seeks to help and save himself either by hypocrisy and servility, or by force and cunning.

He trusts to his own misled and disordered understanding. He turns away from the hand of his father, which is stretched out toward him, and when his voice says: "Humble thyself! it is a father's hand which chastens and will help thee," he despises the voice of his deliverer, and says: "With my own hand, and with my own head, will I save myself." Therefore the end of the ungodly man is always utter misery and woe.

#### CHAPTER LXL.—AN OLD MAN LAYS OPEN HIS HEART.

I HAVE been young, and now am old, and I have many times, and often, observed the ways of the pious, and of the ungodly. I have seen the boys of the village grow up with me. I have seen them become men, and bring up children and grand-children—and now have I accompanied all those of my own age, except seven, to the grave. O God! thou knowest the hour, when I too must follow my brethren! My strength decays, but my eyes are fixed upon the Lord! Our life is like a flower of the field, which in the morning springs up,

and in the evening withers away. O Lord, our God! thou art merciful and gracious toward those who put their trust in thee—therefore does my soul hope in thee; but the way of the sinner leads to destruction. Children of my village, O listen to instruction. Hear what is the life of the ungodly, that you may become holy. I have seen children who were insolent to their parents, and heeded not their affection. All of them came to a bad end. I knew the father of the wretched Uli. I lived under the same roof with him; and saw, with my own eyes, how the godless son tormented and insulted his poor father. And as long as I live, I shall never forget how the old man wept over him, an hour before his death. I saw the wicked boy laugh at his funeral! Can God suffer such a wretch to live? thought I.

What followed? He married a woman who had a large property, and he was then one of the richest men of the village, and went about, in his pride and in his wickedness, as if there were none in heaven, or upon earth, above him.

A year passed over, and then I saw the proud Uli sorrow and lament at his wife's funeral. He was obliged to give back her property, to the last farthing, to her relations. He was suddenly become as poor as a beggar, and in his poverty he stole, and you know what was his end. Children, thus have I always seen that the end of the ungodly man is misery and woe.

But I have also seen the manifold blessings and comforts in the quiet cottages of the pious. They enjoy whatever they have; they are content if they have little, and sober if they have much.

Industry is in their hands, and peace in their hearts—such is their lot in life. They enjoy their own with gladness, and covet not what is their neighbors.

Pride never torments them, envy does not embitter their lives. Therefore they are always more cheerful and contented, and generally more healthy, than the ungodly. They go through the necessary evils of life more safely and peacefully; for their heads, and their hearts, are not turned to wickedness, but are with their work, and the beloved inmates of their own cottages. Therefore they enjoy life. Their heavenly Father looks down upon their cares and anxieties, and assists them.

Dear children of my native village! I have seen many pious men and women upon their death-beds, and I have never heard any—not a single one, amongst them all—complain, in that hour, of the poverty and hardships of life. All, without exception, thanked God for the thousand proofs of his paternal goodness, which they had enjoyed through life.

O my children! be then pious, and remain single-hearted and innocent. I have seen the consequences of sly and cunning habits.

Hummel and his associates were much more crafty than the rest. They knew a thousand tricks, of which the others never dreamed. This made them proud, and they thought that sincere men were only to be their fools. For a time they devoured the bread of the widow and of the orphan—they raged and were furious against all who would not bow down the knee to them. But their end is approaching. The Lord in heaven heard the sighs of the widow and of the orphan, and saw the tears of the mother, which she shed with her children, on account of the wicked men who led away and oppressed the husband and the father; and the Lord in heaven helped the oppressed ones and the orphans, when they had given up all hope of recovering their rights.



## CHAPTER LXII.—THE HORRORS OF AN UNEASY CONSCIENCE.

ON Saturday evening, when Hans Wust left the bailiff and went home, the pangs of perjury tormented him still more, so that he threw himself upon the ground and groaned in anguish.

Thus was he distracted the whole night, and on the following sabbath he tore his hair, struck his breast with his hands, violently, could neither eat nor drink, and called out: "O, O, this meadow of Rudi's! O, O, his meadow, his meadow! It tortures my very soul! O, O, Satan has got possession of me! O, woe is me! Woe to my miserable soul!"

Thus he wandered about, tormented and distracted by the thoughts of his perjury, and groaned in the bitter agony of his spirit.

Worn out with such dreadful sufferings, he at length, on Sunday evening, fell asleep for a time.

In the morning he was a little easier, and came to the resolution no longer to keep his sufferings to himself, but to tell all to the pastor.

He took his Sunday coat, and whatever else he could find, and fastened all together in a bundle, that he might borrow upon them the money he owed the bailiff.

He then took up the bundle, trembled, went to the pastor's house, stood still, was very near running away again, stood still once more, threw the bundle in at the door-way, and gestured like one out of his mind.

## CHAPTER LXIII.—KINDNESS AND SYMPATHY SAVE A WRETCHED MAN FROM BECOMING UTTERLY DISTRACTED.

THE pastor saw him in this situation, went to him, and said: "What is the matter, Wust? What dost thou want? Come into the house, if thou hast any thing to say to me."

Then Wust followed the pastor into his room.

And the pastor was as kind and friendly as possible to Wust; for he saw his confusion and distress, and had, the day before, heard a report that he was almost in despair on account of his perjury.

When Wust saw how kind and friendly the pastor was toward him, he recovered himself a little, by degrees, and said:—

"Honorable Herr Pastor! I believe I have sworn a false oath, and am almost in despair about it. I can not bear it any longer. I will willingly submit to all the punishment I have deserved, if I may only again hope in the mercy and goodness of God."

## CHAPTER LXIV.—A PASTOR'S TREATMENT OF A CASE OF CONSCIENCE.

THE pastor answered: "If thou art truly grieved at heart, on account of thy fault, distrust not God's mercy."

*Wust.* "O sir, may I, may I ever, in this my crime, hope for God's mercy, that he will forgive me my sins?"

*Pastor.* "If God has brought a man to a true repentance of his sins, so that he earnestly longs and sighs after pardon, he has already pointed out to him the way to forgiveness, and to the obtaining of all spiritual mercies. Depend upon this, Wust! and if thy repentance be really from thy heart, doubt not that it will be acceptable in the sight of God."

*Wust.* "But can I know that it is acceptable to him?"

*Pastor.* "Thou mayest easily know, by faithfully examining thyself, whether

t be really sincere, and from the bottom of thy heart; and if it be, it will certainly be acceptable to God. This is all I can say. But, Wust! if any one has encroached upon his neighbor's land, and repents of it, he goes, without his neighbor's knowledge or request, and, quietly and of his own accord, restores the land, and gives back rather more than less than what he had taken from him. In this case, we can not but be convinced that his repentance is sincere.

"But if he does not restore it, or only part of it, to him—if he gives it back unfairly—if he is only anxious not to be brought before a magistrate—if it is all for his own sake and not for the sake, of his neighbor whom he has injured—then are his repentance and his restoration only a cloak with which the foolish man cheats himself. Wust! if thou, in thy heart, seekest for nothing, but to amend and rectify all the mischief which thy wickedness has caused, and all the trouble which it has occasioned, and to obtain the forgiveness of God and man; if thou wishest for nothing else, and wilt willingly do and suffer any thing, to make all possible amends for thy fault; then is thy repentance certainly sincere, and there is no doubt that it will be acceptable to God."

*Wust.* "O, sir! I will most willingly do and suffer any thing whatever, upon God's earth, if this weight may only be removed from my heart. It is such a dreadful torment! Wherever I go, whatever I do, I tremble under this sin."

*Pastor.* "Fear not! Set about the business with sincerity and truth, and thou wilt certainly become easier."

*Wust.* "If I might only hope for that!"

*Pastor.* "Be not afraid! Trust in God! He is the God of the sinner who flies unto him. Only do all thou canst, with sincerity and uprightness. The greatest misfortune which has happened, in consequence of thy oath, is the situation of poor Rudi, who, owing to it, has fallen into grievous distress; but I hope the squire, when thou tellest him the whole affair, will himself take care that the man is comforted in his necessity."

*Wust.* "It is, indeed, poor Rudi, who is a continual weight upon my heart. Does your reverence think the squire will be able to help him to his meadow again?"

*Pastor.* "I don't know that. The bailiff will certainly do all in his power to throw suspicion upon thy present testimony. But, on the other hand, the squire will do his best, to help the unfortunate man to get his own again."

*Wust.* "O, if he can only accomplish that!"

*Pastor.* "I wish he may, with all my heart! and I hope he will—but, whatever may happen to Rudi, it is necessary that, for thine own sake and for thy peace of mind, thou shouldst tell the whole truth to the squire."

*Wust.* "I will willingly do that, your reverence."

*Pastor.* "It is the right way, and I am glad that thou dost it so willingly. It will bring back rest and peace to thy heart. But, at the same time, this acknowledgment will bring blame, and trouble, and imprisonment, and grievous distress upon thee."

*Wust.* "O, sir! all that is nothing in comparison of the horrors of despair, and the fear of never again obtaining the forgiving mercy of God."

*Pastor.* "Thou seest the thing so properly and sensibly, that I am glad at heart on thy account. Pray unto God, who has given thee so many good thoughts, and so much strength for good and right resolutions, that he will grant thee still further favor. Thou art now in an excellent way, and wilt, with God's assistance, bear with patience and humility whatever may await thee—and, what

ever happens to thee, open thy heart to me. I will certainly never forsake thee."

*Wust.* "O, sir! how kind, how tender you are to such a wicked sinner!"

*Pastor.* "God himself is all love and forbearance in his dealings with us poor mortals, and I should indeed be a faithless servant to him, if I were cruel, and unfeeling, and severe to one of my own erring brethren, whatever might be his situation."

In this paternal manner did the pastor talk to Wust, who burst into tears, and for some time could not speak.

The pastor also remained silent.

Wust, at last, began again and said: "Please your reverence, I have one thing more to say."

*Pastor.* "What is it?"

*Wust.* "Since this affair, I have owed the bailiff eight florins. He said, the day before yesterday, that he would tear the note; but I will not receive any thing from him. I will pay it back to him."

*Pastor.* "Thou art right. Thou must certainly do that, and before thou speakest to Arner upon the subject."

*Wust.* "I have brought a bundle with me. It is my Sunday coat and some other things, which together are well worth eight florins. I must borrow this money, and I thought you would not be angry, if I were to beg you to lend it me, upon this pledge."

*Pastor.* "I never take security from any body, and I am obliged often to refuse such requests, sorry as I may be to do so; but in thy case I will not refuse."

Immediately he gave him the money, and said: "Take it directly to the bailiff, and carry thy bundle home with thee."

CHAPTER LXV.—THERE IS OFTEN A DELICACY IN THE POOREST PEOPLE, EVEN WHEN THEY ARE RECEIVING FAVORS FOR WHICH THEY HAVE ASKED.

WUST trembled when he received the money from the pastor, and said: "But I will certainly not take the bundle home, your reverence."

"Well then, I must send it after thee, if thou wilt not take it thyself," said the pastor, smiling.

*Wust.* "For heaven's sake, sir, keep the bundle; that you may be sure of your money."

*Pastor.* "I shall be sure of it any way, Wust! Don't trouble thyself about that, but think only of the much more important things thou hast to do. I will write to the squire to-day, and thou canst take the letter to him to-morrow."

*Wust.* I thank your reverence. But, for heaven's sake, keep the bundle. I dare not take the money else. I dare not, indeed!"

*Pastor.* "Say no more about it; but go directly to the bailiff, with the money, and come to me again to-morrow, at nine o'clock."

Then Wust went, relieved and comforted in his mind, from the pastor to the bailiff's house; and, as he was not at home, he gave the money to his wife. She said to him: "Where did you get so much money at once, Wust?" Downcast and briefly, Wust answered: "I have managed as well as I could. God be praised that you have it."

The bailiff's wife replied: "We never troubled you for it."

*Wust.* "I know that well enough, but it was no better for me on that account."



*Bailiff's Wife.* "You speak strangely, Wust! What is the matter with you? All seems not right with you."

*Wust.* "You will soon know more: but count the money, I must go."

The bailiff's wife counted the money, and said it was right.

*Wust.* "Well then, give it to your husband properly. Good-by."

*Wife.* "If it must be so, good-by, Wust."

CHAPTER LXVI.—A FORESTER WHO DOES NOT BELIEVE IN GHOSTS.

THE bailiff, in his way from the hall, called at the tavern at Hirzau, and sat there drinking and talking to the countrymen. He told them of the lawsuits he had gained, of his influence over the late squire; how he, and he alone, had kept the people in order under him; and how all was now confusion.

Then he gave his dog as much dinner as a hard-working man would eat, except the wine; and laughed at a poor fellow who sighed, as he saw the good meat and drink set before the dog. "Thou wouldst be glad enough to take it away from him," said he to the poor man; patted the dog, and talked, and drank, and boasted to the countrymen till evening.

Then came the old forester from the hall, and, as he went by, he called for a glass of wine; and the bailiff, who was never willingly alone for a moment, said to him: "We will go home together."

"If you are coming now," said the forester; "I must follow a track."

"This moment," answered the bailiff; asked first for his dog's reckoning and then for his own, paid both, gave the waiter his fee, and they went out together.

When they were alone on the road, the bailiff asked the forester if it were safe to go through the woods at night, on account of spirits.

*Forester.* "Why do you ask?"

*Bailiff.* "Only because I wonder how it is."

*Forester.* "You are an old fool then. To think of having been bailiff thirty years, and asking such a nonsensical question. You should be ashamed of yourself."

*Bailiff.* "No, by G—! About ghosts I never know what to think, whether to believe in them or not. And yet I never saw any."

*Forester.* "Come, as you ask so honestly, I will help you out of your wonder—but you will give me a bottle of wine for my information?"

*Bailiff.* "I will gladly give you two, if you can explain it."

*Forester.* "I have now been a forester forty years, and was brought up in the woods, by my father, ever since I was a boy of four years old. He was always talking to the countrymen, in taverns and at drinking bouts, about ghosts and horrible sights he saw in the woods—but he was only playing the fool with them. He went on very differently with me—I was to be a forester, and therefore must neither believe nor fear any such stuff. Therefore he took me by night, when there was neither moon nor stars, when it was very stormy, and on festivals and holy nights, into the woods. If he saw a fire, or an appearance of any kind, or heard a noise, I was obliged to run toward it with him, over shrubs, and stumps, and holes, and ditches, and to follow him over all cross roads, after the noise: and it was always gypsies, thieves, or beggars—and then he called out, with his terrible voice: 'Away rogues!' and though there were twenty or thirty of them, they always made off; and often left pots, and pans, and meat behind them, so that it was laughable to behold. Often indeed the noise was nothing but wild animals, which sometimes make a strange sound

and decayed old trunks of trees will give out a light, and have an appearance which often frightens people, who dare not go up to them; and these are all the ghosts I ever in my life saw in the wood. But it always is, and will be, a part of my business to make my neighbors believe that it is well filled with spirits and devils: for, look ye, one grows old, and it is a comfort, on a dark night, not to have to turn out after the rascals."

CHAPTER LXVII.—A MAN WHO DESIRES TO REMOVE A LANDMARK, AND WOULD WILLINGLY DISBELIEVE IN THE EXISTENCE OF SPIRITS, BUT DARES NOT.

As the man was thus speaking, they came to the by-path, through which the forester went into the wood, and the bailiff, who was now left alone, reasoned thus with himself:—

"He has been a forester now for forty years, and has never seen a ghost, and does not believe in them, and I am a fool and believe in them, and dare not pass a quarter of an hour in the wood, to dig up a stone.

"The squire takes away my license from me, like a thief and a rogue, and that dog of a stone upon the hill is no true landmark: I will never believe it is; and, suppose it be, has he a better right to it than I have to my tavern?

"To take a man's property from him by violence in this way! Who but the devil could put such a thing into his head? And since he does not spare my house, I have no reason to spare his damned flint-stone. But I dare not touch it! By night I dare not go to the place, and by day I can not manage it, on account of the high-road." Thus he talked to himself, and came to Meyer's hill, which is near the village.

He saw the mason at work upon the great flint stones which lay around, for it was not yet six o'clock, and he was vexed in his soul to see it.

"Every thing I plan and contrive, fails me! They all play the rogue with me. Must I now go quietly past this damned Joseph, and not say a word to him? No, I can not do it! I can not go by him, without a word. I would rather wait here, till they go home."

He sat down, and soon afterward got up again: "I can not bear to sit here, looking at them. I will go to the other side of the hill. O, thou damned Joseph!" He went a few steps back, behind the hill, and sat down again.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE SETTING SUN AND A POOR LOST WRETCH.

THE sun was now setting, and its last beams fell upon the side of the hill, where he sat. The field around him, and all below the hill, were already in deep shade. The sun set in majesty and beauty, serenely and without a cloud; God's sun; and the bailiff, looking back, as the last rays fell upon him, said to himself, "It is going down;" and he fixed his eyes upon it, till it was lost behind the hill.

Now all was in shade, and night came on rapidly. Alas! shade, night, and darkness surround his heart! No sun shines there! Do what he would, the bailiff could not escape this thought. He shuddered and gnashed his teeth—instead of falling down in prayer to the Lord of heaven, who calls forth the sun again in his glory—instead of hoping in the Lord, who saves us out of the dust and out of darkness, he gnashed with his teeth! The village clock at that moment struck six, and the mason went home from his work. The bailiff followed him.

CHAPTER LXIX.—HOW A MAN SHOULD CONDUCT HIMSELF WHO WOULD PROSPER  
IN THE MANAGEMENT OF OTHERS.

THE mason had, during this first afternoon of their being together, gained the good-will of most of the laborers. He worked the whole time as hard as they did—himself lifted the heaviest stones, and stood in the mire, or in the water, where it was necessary, as much or more than any of them. As they were quite inexperienced in such labor, he showed them, kindly and patiently, the best way of doing every thing to advantage, and betrayed no impatience even toward the most awkward. He called no one an ox, or a fool; though he had provocation enough, a hundred times over. This patience and constant attention of the master, and his zeal in working himself, caused all to succeed extremely well.

CHAPTER LXX.—A MAN WHO IS A ROGUE AND THIEF BEHAVES HONORABLY, AND  
THE MASON'S WIFE SHOWS HER GOOD SENSE.

MICHEL, as being one of the stoutest and best workmen, was by the master's side the whole afternoon, and saw with what kindness and goodness he behaved even to the most stupid; and Michel, though a thief and a rogue, became fond of Leonard, on account of his fair and upright conduct, and resolved not to be the cause of any injury to this good and honest man.

But Kriecher and the pious Marx Reuti were not so well pleased, that he made no distinction amongst the people, but behaved well, even to the rogue Michel. Lenk, too, shook his head often, and said to himself: "He is but a simpleton! If he had taken people who could work, like me and my brother, he would not have had half so much trouble." But the greater number, whom he had kindly and patiently instructed in the work, thanked him from the bottom of their hearts, and some of them prayed for him to that God, who rewards and blesses the patience and kindness, which a man shows toward his weaker brethren.

Michel could no longer keep to himself the wicked engagement into which he had entered with the bailiff, on Saturday evening, and said to the master, as they returned: "I have something to tell you, and will go home with you."

"Well! come then," said Leonard.

So he went with the master into his cottage, and told him how the bailiff, on Saturday evening, had bribed him to treachery, and how he had received two crowns in hand for it. Leonard started, and Gertrude was horror-struck, at this account.

"It is dreadful!" said Leonard.

"Dreadful, indeed!" said Gertrude.

"But don't let it distress thee, Gertrude, I beg of thee."

"Be not at all disturbed about it, master," said Michel, "I will not lift a hand against you, depend upon that!"

*Leonard.* "I thank you, Michel! but I did not deserve this from the bailiff."

*Michel.* "He is a devil incarnate. Hell has no match for him, when he is furious and seeks for revenge."

*Leon.* "It makes one shudder to think of it."

*Gertrude.* "I am quite bewildered!"

*Mich.* "Don't be like children about it; all things have an end."

*Ger. and Leon.* "Yes; thanks be to God."



*Mich.* "You may have it just your own way. If you like, I will let the bailiff go on thinking I am still true to him, and to-morrow, or the next day, take some tools from the building and carry them to his house. Then do you go quickly to Arner, and get a search warrant to examine all houses, and begin with the bailiff's, and go directly into the further room, where you will be sure to find them; but mind, you must rush in, the very moment you have shown the warrant, or it will be all in vain. They will have warning and get the things out of your sight, through the window, or under the bed-clothes—and, if you are civil, and do not search for them, you will be in a fine situation. But, indeed, I almost think it would be better for you to send somebody else; you are not fit for such a job."

*Leon.* "No, Michel; this kind of work certainly will not suit me."

*Mich.* "It is all one. I will find somebody to manage it cleverly for you."

*Ger.* "Michel! I think we should thank God, that we have escaped from the danger which threatened us, and not be laying a snare for the bailiff, from revenge."

*Mich.* "He deserves what he will get. Never trouble your head about that."

*Ger.* "It is not our business to judge what he deserves, or does not deserve; but it is our business to practice no revenge, and it is the only right conduct for us to pursue in this case."

*Mich.* "I must confess that you are in the right, Gertrude. It is a great blessing to be able so to govern one's self. But you are right. He will meet with his reward, and it is best to keep entirely away from him, and have nothing to do with him. And so I will directly break with him, and take him back his two crowns. But just now, I have but a crown and a half!" He took it out of his pocket, counted it, and then said: "I don't know whether to take him the other half by itself, or wait for my week's wages on Saturday, when I can give it him altogether."

*Leon.* "It will be no inconvenience to me to advance you the half-crown now."

*Mich.* "Well, if you can do so, I shall be very glad to have done with the man to-day. I will take it to him, this very hour, as soon as I get it."

"Master! since yesterday's sacrament, it has been heavy at my heart, that I had promised him to do such wicked things; and, in the evening, came your Jonas, to give his afternoon bread to my child, and that made me repent still more of behaving so ill to you. I never knew you properly before, Leonard, and I have never had much to do with you; but to-day I saw you wishing to help every body kindly and patiently, and I thought I could never die in peace, if I were to reward such an honest, good man with treachery. (The tears came into his eyes.) See, now, whether I am in earnest or not."

*Leon.* "Then never do an injury to any man again."

*Mich.* "With God's help, I will follow your example."

*Ger.* "You will certainly be a happier man if you do."

*Leon.* "Do you wish to go to the bailiff this evening?"

*Mich.* "Yes, if I can."

The mason gave him the half-crown and said: "Do not put him into a passion."

*Ger.* "And don't tell him that we know any thing about it."

*Mich.* "I will be as short as I can; but I will go this moment, and then it

"will be done with. Good-by, Gertrude! I thank you, Leonard! Good night."

*Leon.* "Good-by, Michel." He went away.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE CATASTROPHE DRAWS NEAR.

WHEN the bailiff arrived at home, he found only his wife in the house; and therefore was able, at last, to give vent to all the rage and anger which had been rising in him throughout the day.

At the hall, at Hirzau, and in the fields, it was a different thing. A man like him is not willing to lay open his heart to others.

It will be said: a bailiff who should do so would, indeed, be as simple as a shepherd's lad; and Hummel was never accused of this. He could, for days together, smother his rage, envy, hatred, and vexation, and keep laughing, and talking, and drinking; but when he came home, and, by good or ill-luck, found the house empty, then the rage which he had before concealed, burst forth fearfully.

His wife was crying in a corner, and said: "For heaven's sake, do not go on in this way. This violence of thine will only drive Arner still further. He will not rest till thou art quiet."

"He will not rest, do what I will! He will never rest, till he has ruined me. He is a rogue, a thief, and a dog. The most cursed of all the cursed," said the man.

*Wife* "Do not talk in such a shocking way. Thou wilt go out of thy mind."

*Bailiff.* "Have I not cause? Dost thou not know that he will take my license or my bailiff's coat from me in a fortnight?"

*Wife.* "I know it; but, for heaven's sake, do not go on at this rate. The whole village knows it already. The secretary told the attorney, who has published it every where. I did not know it till tea-time this evening. All the people were laughing and talking on both sides of the street about it; and Margaret, who was at tea with me, took me aside, and told me the bad news. And, besides this, Hans Wust has brought back the eight florins. How comes he by eight florins? Arner must be at the bottom of it. Alas! a storm threatens us on every side!" So said the wife.

The bailiff started, as if he had felt a thunder-bolt, at the words "Hans Wust has brought back the eight florins!" He stood still for a time, staring at his wife, with open mouth—and then said: "Where is the money?—where are these eight florins?"

His wife set the money on the table, in a broken ale-glass. The bailiff fixed his eyes for some time upon it, without counting it, and then said: "It is not from the hall! The squire never pays any body in this coin."

*Wife.* "I am very glad it is not from the hall."

*Bailiff.* "There is something more in this. Thou shouldst not have taken it from him."

*Wife.* "Why not?"

*Bailiff.* "I could have got to know from whom he had it."

*Wife.* "I did think of that; but he would not wait; and I do not think thou couldst have got any thing out of him. He was as short and close as possible."

*Bailiff.* "All comes upon me at once. I know not what I am doing!—give me something to drink!" She set it before him, and he paced up and down the

room in a frenzy—drank and talked to himself. “I will ruin the mason! That is the first thing to be done—if it cost me a hundred crowns. Michel must ruin him, and then I will go after the landmark.” Thus he spoke; and, at that moment, Michel knocked at the door. The bailiff started in a fright, said: “Who can be here so late at night?” and went to look through the window.

“Open the door, bailiff,” called out Michel.

CHAPTER LXXII.—HIS LAST HOPE FORSAKES THE BAILIFF.

“He comes just at the right moment,” said the bailiff, as he opened the door. “Welcome, Michel! What good news dost thou bring?”

*Michel.* “Not much. I only want to tell you—”

*Bailiff.* “Don’t talk outside the door, man. I shall not go to bed for some time. Come into the room.”

*Mich.* “I must go home again. I only want to tell you, that I have changed my mind about Saturday’s business.”

*Bailiff.* “Ay, by G—! that would be complete! No! thou must not change thy mind. If it is not enough, I will give thee more—but come into the room. We are sure to agree about it.”

*Mich.* “At no price, bailiff. There are your two crowns.”

*Bailiff.* “I will not receive them from thee, Michel! Don’t play the fool with me. It can not hurt thee; and, if the two crowns are too little, come into my room.”

*Mich.* “I will not listen to another word about it, bailiff. There is your money.”

*Bailiff.* “By G—, I will not receive it from thee, in this way. I have sworn it, so come into the room.”

*Mich.* “Well, I can do that. There; now I am in the room, and here is your money,” said he, laying it upon the table; “and now good-by, bailiff!” and therewith he turned about, and away he went.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—HE SETS ABOUT REMOVING THE LANDMARK.

THE bailiff stood for a while, stock-still and speechless, rolled about his eyes, foamed with fury, trembled, stamped, and then called out: “Wife, give me the brandy. It must be done. I will go!”

*Wife.* “Whither wilt thou go, this dark night?”

*Bailiff.* “I am going—I am going to dig up the stone—give me the bottle.”

*Wife.* “For God’s sake, do not attempt it.”

*Bailiff.* “It must be done!—I tell thee I will go.”

*Wife.* “It is as dark as pitch, and near midnight; and this week before Easter, the devil has most power.”

*Bailiff.* “If he has got the horse, let him e’en take the bridle too. Give me the bottle. I will go.”

He took a pickaxe, a shovel, and a mattock, upon his shoulder, and went, in the darkness of the night, up the hill, to take away his master’s landmark.

Drunkenness, and revenge, and rage, emboldened him; but when he saw a piece of shining wood, or heard a hare rustling along, he trembled, stopped for a moment, and then went raging on, till at last he came to the landmark—set to work directly, and hacked and shoveled away, with all his might.



## CHAPTER LXXIV.—NIGHT GREATLY DECEIVES DRUNKARDS AND ROGUES, ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY ARE IN TROUBLE.

SUDDENLY a noise startled him, and, looking up, he saw a black man coming toward him. A light shone about the man in the dark night, and fire burned upon his head. "This is the devil incarnate!" said the bailiff. And he ran away, screaming horribly, and leaving behind him mattock, pickaxe, and shovel, with his hat and the empty brandy bottle,

It was Christopher, the poulterer of Arnheim, who had been buying eggs at Oberhofen, Lunkofen, Hirzau, and other places, and was now on his way homeward. He had covered his basket with the skin of a black goat, and had hung a lantern from it, that he might find his way in the dark. This egg-carrier knew the voice of the bailiff, as he was running away; and, as he suspected that he was about some evil deed, he grew angry, and said to himself: "I will give the cursed knave his due for once. He thinks I am the devil."

Then quickly setting down his basket, he took up the mattock, pickaxe, and shovel, and his own iron-bound walking-stick, fastened them all together, dragged them behind him over the stony road, so that they rattled fearfully, and ran after the bailiff, crying out, with a hollow, dismal voice: "Oh!—Ah—Uh!—Hummel! Oh!—Ah!—Uh!—thou art mine—sto—op!—Hummel!"

The poor bailiff ran as fast as he could, and cried out pitifully, as he ran: "Murder! help! watchman! the devil is catching me!"

And the poulterer kept shouting after him: "Oh!—Ah!—Uh! bai—liff—sto—op—bailiff! thou art—mine!—bailiff."

## CHAPTER LXXV.—THE VILLAGE IS IN AN UPROAR.

THE watchman in the village heard the running and shouting upon the hill, and could distinguish every word; but he was afraid, and knocked at some neighbors' windows.

"Get up, neighbors!" said he, "and hear what is going on upon the hill. It sounds as if the devil had got hold of the bailiff. Hark! how he shouts murder! and help! And yet, God knows, he is at home with his wife. It is not two hours since I saw him through the window."

When about ten of them were assembled, they declared they would go altogether, with torches, and well armed, toward the noise; but that they would carry with them, in their pockets, new bread, a testament, and psalter, that the devil might not prevail against them.

The men accordingly went, but stopped first at the bailiff's house, to see whether he were at home.

The bailiff's wife was waiting in deadly fear, wondering how he might be going on upon the hill, and when she heard the uproar in the night, and that men with torches were knocking at the door, she was dreadfully frightened, and called out: "Lord Jesus! what do you want?"

"Tell your husband to come to us," said the men.

"He is not at home; but do tell me what is the matter? Why are you here?" said the woman.

The men answered: "It is a bad business if he is not at home. Hark! how he is crying murder! help! as if the devil were taking him."

The wife now ran out with the men, as if she had been beside herself.

The watchman asked her, by the way: "What the devil is your husband doing now upon the hill? He was at home two hours ago."

She answered him not a word, but screamed terribly.

And the bailiff's dog growled, at its chain's length.

When the poulterer saw the people coming to help the bailiff, and heard his dog bark so fearfully, he turned round, and went, as quickly and quietly as he could, up the hill again to his basket, packed up his booty, and pursued his way.

Kunz, however, who, with the bailiff's wife, was a few steps before the rest, saw that it could not be the devil; and taking the roaring bailiff rather roughly by the arm, said to him: "What is the matter? why dost thou go on in this way?"

"Oh—Oh—let me alone—O—devil! let me alone!" said the bailiff, who in his terror could neither see nor hear.

"Thou fool, I am Kunz, thy neighbor; and this is thy wife," said the man.

The others first looked very carefully, to see whether the devil were any where about; and those who had torches, held them up and down, to examine carefully above and below, and on every side; and each man put his hand into his pocket to feel for the new bread, the testament, and psalter.

But as they still saw nothing, they began to take courage by degrees, and some grew bold enough to say to the bailiff: "Has the devil scratched thee with his claws, or trodden thee under his feet, that thou art bleeding in this manner?"

The others exclaimed: "This is no time for joking! we all heard the horrible voice."

But Kunz said: "I suspect that a poacher or a woodman has tricked the bailiff and all of us. As I came near him, the noise ceased, and a man ran up the hill as fast as he could. I have repented ever since, that I did not run after him; and we were fools for not bringing the bailiff's dog with us."

"Thou art a fool thyself, Kunz! That was certainly no man's voice. It ran through bone and marrow, and a wagon load of iron does not rattle over the streets as it rattled."

"I will not contradict you, neighbors! I shuddered as I heard it. But yet I shall never be persuaded that I did not hear somebody run up the hill."

"Dost thou think that the devil can not run so that one may hear him?" said the men.

The bailiff heard not a word of what they were saying; and, when he got home, he asked the men to stay with him that night, and they willingly remained in the tavern.

#### CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE PASTOR COMES TO THE TAVERN.

In the mean time, the nightly uproar had roused the whole village. Even in the parsonage-house, they were all awake; for they anticipated some evil tidings.

When the pastor inquired what was the cause of the noise, he heard fearful accounts of the horrible adventure.

And the pastor thought he could, perhaps, turn the bailiff's fright (foolish as its cause might be,) to a good use.

He therefore went that night to the tavern.

Quick as lightning, vanished the wine jug as he entered.

The men stood up and said: "Welcome, honorable Herr Pastor!"

The pastor thanked them, and said to the neighbors: "It is a credit to you to be so ready and active when a misfortune happens. But will you now leave me alone with the bailiff, for a short time?"

"It is our duty to do as your reverence pleases. We wish you good-night."

*Pastor.* "The same to you, neighbors! but I must also beg that you will be careful what you relate about this business. It is very disagreeable to have made a great noise about a thing which afterward proves nothing at all, or something very different from what was expected. So far, nobody knows any thing about what has happened; and you know, neighbors, night is very deceitful."

"It is so, your reverence!" said the men, as they left the room; "and a great fool he always is, and will believe nothing!" added they, when they were outside of the door.

#### CHAPTER LXXVII.—CARE OF SOULS.

The pastor began at once: "Bailiff! I have heard that something has happened to thee, and I am come to help and comfort thee, as far as I am able. Tell me honestly what has really happened."

*Bailiff.* "I am a poor unfortunate wretch, and Satan tried to get hold of me."

*Pastor.* "How so, bailiff? where did this happen?"

*Bailiff.* "Upon the hill, above."

*Pastor.* "Didst thou really see any body? Did any body touch thee?"

*Bailiff.* "I saw him as he ran after me. He was a great black man, and had fire upon his head. He ran after me to the bottom of the hill."

*Pastor.* "Why does thy head bleed?"

*Bailiff.* "I fell down as I was running."

*Pastor.* "Then nobody laid hold of thee?"

*Bailiff.* "No! but I saw him with my own eyes."

*Pastor.* "Well, bailiff, we will say no more about that. I can not understand how it really was. But be it what it may, it makes little difference. For, bailiff, there is an eternity when, without any doubt, the ungodly will fall into his hands; and the thoughts of this eternity, and of the danger of falling into his hands after thy death, must make thee anxious and uneasy in thy old age, and during thy life."

*Bailiff.* "O, sir! I know not what to do for anxiety and uneasiness. For heaven's sake, what can I do, what must I do, to get out of his hands? Am I not already entirely in his power?"

*Pastor.* "Bailiff! do not plague thyself with idle and foolish talking. Thou hast sense and understanding, and therefore art in thine own power. Do what is right, and what thy conscience tells thee is thy duty to God and man, and thou wilt soon see that the devil has no power over thee."

*Bailiff.* "O, sir! what must I do to obtain God's mercy?"

*Pastor.* "Thou must sincerely repent of thy faults, amend thy ways, and give back thy unrighteous possessions."

*Bailiff.* "People say I am rich, your reverence! but heaven knows I am not so."

*Pastor.* "That makes no difference. Thou keepest possession of Rudi's meadow unjustly, and Wust and Keibacher have sworn falsely. I know it, and I will not rest till Rudi has got his own again."

*Bailiff.* "O, sir! for heaven's sake, have compassion upon me."

*Pastor.* "The best compassion any one can show thee, is this: to persuade thee to do thy duty to God and man."

*Bailiff.* "I will do whatever you wish, sir."

*Pastor.* "Wilt thou give Rudi his meadow again?"



*Bailiff.* "Yes, I will, your reverence!"

*Pastor.* "Dost thou also acknowledge that thou possessest it unlawfully?"

*Bailiff.* "I can not deny it—but it will bring me to beggary if I lose it."

*Pastor.* "Bailiff! it is better to beg, than to keep unjust possession of poor people's property."

The bailiff groaned.

*Pastor.* "But what wert thou doing upon the hill?"

*Bailiff.* "For heaven's sake, sir, do not ask me that? I can not, I dare not tell you. Have mercy upon me, or I am a lost man."

*Pastor.* "I will not urge thee to confess more than thou desirest. If thou dost it willingly, I will advise thee like a father; but if thou wilt not, then it is thy own fault if I can not give thee the advice which is perhaps most needful to thee. But though I do not seek to inquire after what thou art not willing to tell me, yet I can not see what thou canst gain by concealing any thing from me."

*Bailiff.* "But will you never repeat what I say to you, without my consent, whatever it may be?"

*Pastor.* "I certainly will not."

*Bailiff.* "Then, in plain truth, I will tell you. I wanted to remove one of the squire's landmarks."

*Pastor.* "Gracious heaven! and why wouldst thou injure the excellent squire?"

*Bailiff.* "Because he wants to take away from me either my tavern or my office of bailiff."

*Pastor.* "Thou art indeed an unhappy creature, bailiff! And he was so far from intending any unkindness toward thee, that he would have given thee an equivalent, if thou hadst freely given up thy office of bailiff."

*Bailiff.* "Can that be true, your reverence?"

*Pastor.* "Yes, bailiff, I can assure thee of it with certainty; for I had it from his own lips. He was out hunting on Saturday afternoon, and I met him on the road from Reutihof, where I had been to see the old woman, and there he told me expressly that young Meyer, whom he wished to have for bailiff, should give thee a hundred florins yearly, that thou mightest have no reason to complain."

*Bailiff.* "O, if I had only known this before, your reverence, I should never have come to this misfortune."

*Pastor.* "It is our duty to trust in God, even when we can not see how his fatherly mercy will show itself; and we should hope well from a good master on earth, even when we can not see how he means to manifest his kindness toward us. If we do this, we shall always remain true and faithful to him, and, in all our mischances, find his heart open to compassion and paternal kindness toward us."

*Bailiff.* "O, what an unfortunate man I am! If I had only known half of this before!"

*Pastor.* "We can not alter what is past! But what wilt thou do now, bailiff?"

*Bailiff.* "I know not what in the world to do! To confess it, would endanger my life. What does your reverence think?"

*Pastor.* "I repeat what I told thee just now. I do not wish to force thee to any confession; what I say is merely in the way of advice; but it is my

opinion, that the straight way never turned out ill to any body. Arner is merciful, and thou art guilty. Do as thou wilt, but I would leave it to his compassion. I see clearly that it is a very difficult step to take, but it will also be very difficult to hide thy fault from him, if thou seekest true peace and satisfaction for thy heart."

The bailiff groaned, but did not speak.

The pastor proceeded: "Do as thou wilt, bailiff! I do not wish to urge thee; but the more I consider it, the more it appears to me that it will be the wisest plan to leave it to Arner's compassion: for I must confess to thee, I do not see what else thou canst do. The squire will inquire why thou wert off the road so late at night."

*Bailiff.* "Mercy on me! what a thought is just come into my head. I have left a pickaxe, shovel, and mattock, and I know not what besides, by the landmark, which is half dug up already. This may discover it all. I am in a dreadful fright about the pickaxe and mattock!"

*Pastor.* "If thou art in such a fright, bailiff, about a poor pickaxe and mattock, which may be easily removed before daybreak, think what hundreds of such chances and accidents will occur, if thou concealest it, to poison all the remainder of thy life with uneasiness and constant bitter anxiety. Thou wilt find no rest for thy heart, bailiff, if thou dost not confess."

*Bailiff.* "And there is no chance of my obtaining mercy from God, without it?"

*Pastor.* "Bailiff! if thou thyself thinkest and fearest this, and yet art silent against the voice of thy conscience and thine own conviction, how is it possible that this conduct can be pleasing to God, or restore thee to his favor?"

*Bailiff.* "And is there no other remedy?"

*Pastor.* "God's mercy will assist thee, if thou dost what thy conscience bids thee."

*Bailiff.* "I will confess it."

The moment he said this, the pastor prayed thus, in his presence.

"All praise, and thanksgiving, and adoration, be unto thee Almighty Father! Thou didst stretch forth thy hand toward him, and the work of thy love appeared to him anger and wrath! But it has touched his heart, so that he no longer hardens himself against the voice of truth, as formerly. O, thou, who art all mercy, and compassion, and loving-kindness, graciously accept the sacrifice of his confession, and remove not thy hand from him. Fulfill the work of thy compassion, and let him again become one of thy favored children! O, heavenly Father, the life of man upon earth is erring and sinful, but thou art merciful to thy frail children, and forgivest their excesses and sins when they amend.

"All praise and adoration be unto thee, Father Almighty! Thou hast stretched forth thy hand toward him, that he might turn unto thee. Thou wilt fulfill the work of thy compassion; and he will find thee, and praise thy name, and acknowledge thy mercies amongst his brethren."

The bailiff was now thoroughly moved. Tears fell from his eyes.

"O, sir, I will confess it, and do whatever is right. I will seek rest for my soul, and God's mercy."

The pastor remained some time longer with him, comforting him, and then went home. It was striking five as he arrived at his own house, and he immediately wrote to Arner. His letter yesterday and that to-day were as follows:—

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.—TWO LETTERS FROM THE PASTOR TO ARNER.

## FIRST LETTER.

"HIGH AND NOBLY BORN, GRACIOUS SIR!

"THE bearer of this, Hans Wust, has this day revealed a circumstance to me, which is of such a nature, that I could not do otherwise than advise him to confess it to you, as to his judge. He maintains, on his conscience, that the oath which he and Keibacher took ten years ago, about the affair between Rudi and the bailiff, was a false one. It is a distressing story, and there are some remarkable circumstances belonging to it, relating to the conduct of the late secretary, and of the unhappy assistant of my deceased predecessor, which this confession will bring to light, and thereby I fear give rise to much scandal. But I thank God that the poorest of all my many poor people, the long oppressed and suffering Rudi, with his unhappy family, may, by means of this confession, again obtain possession of what belongs to them. The daily increasing wickedness of the bailiff, and his daring conduct, which he now no longer restrains even on sacred days, convince me that the time of his humiliation is approaching. For the poor unhappy Wust, I earnestly and humbly entreat your compassion, and all the favor which the duty of justice can permit your benevolent heart to show him.

"My wife desires her best respects to your lady, and my children their grateful remembrances to your daughters. They send a thousand thanks for the bulbs, with which they have enriched our little garden. They will be most zealously watched over, for my children have quite a passion for flowers.

"Permit me, high and nobly born, gracious sir, with the sincerest respect and esteem, to subscribe myself

"Your high and nobly born grace's

"Most obedient servant,

"JOACHIM ERNST."

"*Bonnal, 20th March, 1780.*"

## SECOND LETTER.

"HIGH AND NOBLY BORN, GRACIOUS SIR!

"SINCE yesterday evening, when I informed you (in a letter now lying sealed beside me,) of some circumstances relating to Hans Wust, an all-seeing Providence has strengthened my hopes and wishes for Rudi, and my anticipations respecting the bailiff, in a manner which I can not yet either comprehend or explain. Last night there was a general uproar in the village, so violent that I apprehended some misfortune, and, upon inquiring, was told that the devil wanted to seize the bailiff. He screamed pitifully, on the hill, for assistance, and all the people heard the horrible rattling noise of the pursuing devil. I could not help laughing heartily at this intelligence; but many more people came in, who confirmed the fearful story, and at last told me that the bailiff was now returned home again, with the men who had gone to help him; but that he had been so dreadfully dragged about and injured by his terrible enemy, that it was not likely he would recover.

"This was a business quite out of my line—but what was to be done? We must make the best of the world as it is, since we can not alter it. I thought that whatever this affair might be, the bailiff was probably in a state to be worked upon, and that I ought not to lose the opportunity; so I went immediately



to his house. I found him in a pitiful condition. He was firmly persuaded that the devil had really been in pursuit of him. I made a few inquiries, in hopes of getting a clue to the business, but could make nothing out. The only thing certain is, that nobody has touched him, and that the wound on his head, which is but trifling, was caused by a fall. Moreover, as soon as the people approached, the devil ceased his rattling and roaring—but it is time to come to the most important part of the story.

“The bailiff was humbled, and confessed to me two shocking deeds, which he freely permitted me to communicate to your grace. First, that what Hans Wust had told me yesterday was true—namely, that he had deceived your late grandfather about Rudi, and obtained possession of the meadow unjustly. Secondly, that this night he intended to remove one of your grace’s landmarks, and was busy at the work when the fearful accident happened to him.

“I humbly entreat your compassion and forbearance toward this unhappy man also, who appears, God be praised for it, to be brought to repentance and submission. As the circumstances are changed since yesterday, I will not send Hans Wust with his letter, but Wilhelm Abi shall deliver them both. I wait your further commands about them, and remain

“With true regard,

“Your high and nobly born grace’s

“Most obedient servant,

“*Bonnal, 21st March, 1780.*”

“JOACHIM ERNST.”

#### CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE POULTERER’S INFORMATION.

WILHELM ABI set out for Arnburg with the letters, but Christopher, the poulterer, was at the hall before him, and told the squire the whole of what had happened, from beginning to end.

The squire, as he sat in his arm-chair, laughed until he had to hold his sides, at the account of the bailiff’s fright, and of the fearful Oh!—Ah!—Uh! of the poulterer.

His wife Theresa, who was in the next room, heard the bursts of laughter and the poulterer’s exclamations, and called out: “Charles, what is the matter? Come and tell me what it is all about!”

Then the squire said to the poulterer: “My wife wants to hear how you perform the devil: come in.”

And he took the poulterer into his wife’s room.

The man there repeated his tale—how he had driven the bailiff down into the field—how the neighbors had come out by dozens, with spits, and cudgels, and torches, to the poor bailiff’s help—and how he had then crept up the hill again.

The squire and his lady were much diverted, and the squire gave the poulterer some glasses of good wine, and bade him tell nobody a single word of the affair.

In the mean time Wilhelm Abi arrived, with the pastor’s letters.

Arner read them, and was the most touched by Hans Wust’s story.

The negligence of his grandfather, and the misery of Rudi, deeply grieved him; but the pastor’s judicious conduct rejoiced his heart. He gave the letters to Theresa, and said: “My pastor in Bonnal is a most excellent man. Nobody could have acted more kindly and prudently.”

Theresa read the letters, and said: “This is a sad business about Wust! You must help Rudi to recover his property without delay; and, if the bailiff refuses

to give up the meadow, throw him into prison. He is a wretch who must not be spared."

"I will have him hanged, to a certainty!" answered Arner.

"O, no! you will not put any body to death!" replied Theresa.

"Do you think not, Theresa?" said Arner laughing.

"Yes, Charles! I am sure of it!" said Theresa, affectionately kissing him.

"You would not kiss me any more, I suspect, if I were to do so, Theresa," said Arner.

"No, indeed!" said Theresa, smiling.

Arner then went into his own room, and answered the pastor's letters.

#### CHAPTER LXXX.—THE SQUIRE'S ANSWER TO THE PASTOR.

"DEAR AND REVEREND SIR,

"An hour before I received your letters, I had heard the story from the very devil who chased the bailiff down the hill; and who was no other than your old acquaintance, Christopher, the poulterer. I will give you an account of the whole affair, which was very laughable, to-day; for I am coming to the village, where I will hold a parish-meeting about the landmark. I mean at the same time to have a comedy with the people, about their belief in ghosts; and you, my dear sir, must be present at this play. I think you have not been at many, or you would not be so shy, and perhaps not so truly good and contented a man.

"I beg your acceptance of some of my best wine, with my heartfelt thanks for the upright and excellent assistance you have given me, in making amends for my grandfather's failings.

"We will this afternoon drink some of it to his memory. Believe me, he was a good man at heart, though rogues too often abused his kindness and confidence. I thank you, my dear sir, for the pains and care you have taken about Hubel Rudi. I will certainly assist him. This very day he must be in charity with my dear grandfather, and I trust he will never again lament over the recollection of him. I am grieved at heart, that he has suffered so much, and I will do my best, in any way I can, to comfort him for his past distress, by future ease and happiness. We are certainly bound to make good the failings of our parents wherever it is in our power. O, my dear sir, it is a sad mistake, to say that a judge is never answerable, nor obliged to make reparation. How little is he acquainted with mankind, who does not see that all judges are bound, at the risk of their property, continually to rouse and exert all their powers, not only to be honorable, but to be careful and watchful. But I am going from the purpose.

"My wife and children desire me to give their kind regards to your family, and send your daughters another box of flower-roots. Farewell, my dear sir! and do not trouble yourself to get all the rooms into such order, and to provide so many good things, as if I were coming from pure hunger. If you do, I will not visit you any more, dear as you are to me.

"Once more accept my best thanks, and believe me ever

"Your faithful and affectionate friend,

"CHARLES ARNER VON ARNHEIM."

"*Arnburg, 21st March, 1780.*"

"P. S. My wife has just told me that she wishes to be present at the comedy of the poulterer, so we shall pour down upon you, with all the children, in the family coach."

## CHAPTER LXXXI.—A GOOD COW-MAN.

WHEN Arner had dismissed Wilhelm, he went into his cow-house, and, from amongst his fifty cows, he chose out one for Hubel Rudi, and said to his cow-man: "Feed this cow well, and tell the boy to drive it to Bonnal, and put it up in the pastor's cow-house, till I come."

The cow-man replied: "Sir! I must obey your orders; but there is not one amongst the fifty, I would not rather part with. She is such a fine, young, handsome cow; and just at her best time for milking."

"It is to your credit, cow-man, to be so sorry to lose the good cow; but I am glad I chose it, I was looking for the best. She is going to belong to a poor man, cow-man, so don't grieve over her. She will be a treasure to him."

*Cow-man.* "O, sir, it is a sad pity to send her. She will fall off so in a poor man's hands, grow so thin, and lose her looks. O, sir, if I find he starves her, I shall be running off to Bonnal every day, with all my pockets full of bread and salt for her."

*Squire.* "Thou art a good fellow; but the man has an excellent meadow of his own, and plenty of food for her."

*Cow-man.* "Well, if she must go, I do hope she will be well treated."

*Squire.* "Depend upon it, she will want for nothing, cow-man."

The man fed the cow, and sighed to himself, because his master had chosen the best of all his set, to give away. He gave his favorite Spot his own bread and salt from breakfast, and then said to the boy: "Put on thy Sunday coat and a clean shirt, brush thy shoes, and make thyself neat; thou must drive Spot to Bonnal."

And the boy did as the cow-man bade him, and drove away the cow.

Arner stood still for a while, earnestly considering what he should decide about the bailiff.

As a father, when he restrains his wild untoward boys, seeks only the welfare of his children—as a father grieves at the punishment he is obliged to inflict, and would gladly exchange it for forgiveness and approbation—as he shows his sorrow in punishing, and touches his children's hearts still more by his tender regret than by the chastisement—so, thought Arner, must I punish, if I would perform my duty as judge, in the spirit of a father to my dependants.

With these feelings he formed his decisions about the bailiff.

In the mean time his wife and her maidens had hastened dinner, that it might be over sooner than usual.

## CHAPTER LXXXII.—A COACHMAN WHO LOVES HIS MASTER'S SON.

AND little Charles, who had already been more than a dozen times to the coachman, to desire him to make haste and get the coach ready, ran again to the stables and called out: "We have done dinner, Francis! Put to, and drive round to the door, directly."

"You are mistaken, young master; I heard the dinner-bell ring just now."

*Charles.* "How dare you say I am mistaken? I will not bear that, old moustache!"

*Francis.* "Hold, my boy! I will teach you to call me moustache! I will plait the horses' tails and manes, and put on the ribands and the rosettes, and that will take me an hour—and, if you say another word, I will tell your papa that Herod is ill—See how he shakes his head! And then he will leave the



black horses in the stable and take the little carriage, and you can not go with him."

*Charles.* "No, no, Francis! Stop—don't begin to plait their manes. I love you, Francis! and will not call you moustache any more."

*Francis.* "You must give me a kiss then, Charles, in my beard; or I will take the ribands and plait them."

*Charles.* "No, don't do so, pray."

*Francis.* "Why did you call me moustache? You must kiss me, or I will not drive the black horses."

*Charles.* "Well, then, if I must! But you will get the coach ready very soon then."

Francis put down the curry-comb, lifted up the boy, who kissed him; said: "There's a good little fellow!"—put the horses to the coach, and drove quickly round to the hall-door.

Arner was sitting with his wife and children, and Charles begged his papa to let him ride upon the coach-box with Francis. "It is so hot and crowded inside."

"With all my heart," said Arner; and called out to Francis: "Take good care of him."

#### CHAPTER LXXXIII.—THE SQUIRE WITH HIS WORKMEN.

AND Francis drove his spirited horses fast, and was soon on the plain near Bonnal, where the men were breaking stones.

Then Arner got out of the coach, to look at their work, and he found all the men in their right places.

They had got on with their work very well for the time.

And Arner praised the regularity and good appearance of the work, in a manner which convinced the dullest amongst them, that the slightest irregularity or neglect would not have escaped him.

Leonard was very glad of this, for he thought within himself, now they will all see that it is impossible for me to allow any carelessness or neglect.

Arner asked the master which was Hubel Rudi; and, at the moment Leonard pointed him out, poor Rudi, who was pale and evidently very weak, was raising a very heavy stone with his iron crow. Arner called out immediately: "Do not overwork yourselves, my good fellows; and take care not to do yourselves an injury." Then he ordered the master to give them each a glass of wine, and went toward Bonnal.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIV.—A SQUIRE AND A PASTOR, WHO HAVE EQUALLY KIND HEARTS.

HE soon saw the good pastor coming to meet him, and the squire ran quickly toward him, and called out: "You should not have troubled yourself to come out such weather as this? It is not right, with your delicate health;" and he then went into the house with him.

There he told him the whole history of the poulterer, and then said: "I have some business to transact, but will be quick about it, that we may enjoy a couple of hours quietly together."

He sent immediately for young Meyer, and said to the pastor: "The first step shall be to seal up all the bailiff's accounts and books of reckoning; for I am resolved to know who are concerned with him, and he shall settle with them all, in my presence."

*Pastor.* "By doing this, you will get to know a great deal about the people of the village."

*Squire.* "And, as I hope, find out the way to put an end to a great deal of domestic unhappiness; if I can by this means make it clear and evident to every man how irrevocably people ruin themselves when they get ever so little into debt to such grasping men as the bailiff. In my opinion, my good friend, the laws do too little against this ruinous practice."

*Pastor.* "No law can do so much to counteract it, as the paternal kindness of the lord of a manor."

#### CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE SQUIRE'S FEELINGS TOWARD HIS GUILTY BAILIFF.

As they were speaking, young Meyer arrived, and Arner said to him: "Meyer, I mean to dismiss my bailiff; but, notwithstanding his offenses, some circumstances lead me to wish him to receive, for life, a part of the emolument of his office. You are well off in the world, Meyer! and I think, if I were to make you bailiff, you would willingly allow the old man a hundred florins yearly, out of your salary."

*Meyer.* "If your honor thinks me equal to the situation, I shall wish in this, as to every other respect, to do according to your pleasure."

*Arner.* "Well then, Meyer, come to me to Arnburg to-morrow, and I will arrange this business. For the present, I will only tell you that you must take my secretary and Abi, who is a qualified man, with you, and seal up all Hummel's writings and accounts. You must carefully see after it, that not one of his papers or accounts be secreted."

Immediately young Meyer and the squire's secretary took Abi with them, and sealed up the bailiff's papers. His wife went with a wet sponge toward the chalked board; but Meyer saw her, and hindered her from touching it, and had a copy of it taken immediately.

And Meyer, the secretary, and Abi, wondered to see on the board: "On Saturday, 18th, to Joseph, Leonard's man, three crowns." "What was this for?" said they to the bailiff and his wife; but they gave them no answer.

And when the men arrived at the parsonage-house, with the copy of the board, the squire also wondered at the three crowns, and asked the men if they knew the meaning of it.

"We inquired, but nobody would give us an answer," replied the men.

"I will soon find it out," said the squire. "When Flink and the gaoler come, tell them to bring the bailiff and Hans Wust here."

#### CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE PASTOR AGAIN SHOWS HIS KINDNESS OF HEART.

The good pastor had no sooner heard this, than he slipped out of the room, went to the tavern, and said to the bailiff: "For God's sake what is the meaning of these three crowns to Joseph? It will be a double misfortune to thee, if thou dost not tell me. The squire is angry about it."

Then the bailiff sorrowfully confessed to the pastor, the whole affair about Joseph and the money.

And the pastor went immediately back to Arner, and told him all, and how penitently the bailiff had owned it to him; and he again entreated the squire to be merciful toward this unhappy man.

"Be not uneasy, my good friend! You may depend upon finding me humane and compassionate toward him," said Arner.

He then had Joseph taken from his work, and brought before him, with Wust and the bailiff.

The bailiff trembled like an aspen leaf. Wust appeared very sorrowful, but composed and patient.

But Joseph was in a rage, and said to the bailiff: "Thou old wretch, this is all thy fault."

Arner had the prisoners brought, one after the other, into the inner room of the parsonage-house, and there he examined them, in the presence of Meyer, Abi, and the attorney. And when the secretary had written down their depositions, word for word, and read them over to the prisoners, and these had again repeated and confirmed them, he had them all brought to the place where the parish-meetings are held, under the lime-trees, and ordered the bell to be rung, to assemble all the people.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVII.—ON A CHEERFUL DISPOSITION, AND ON GHOSTS.

BUT before this, the squire went for a few moments into the other room, to the pastor, and said: "I will take a draught of something to refresh me, my good friend. For I mean to be merry with the people. It is the best way to convince them of any thing."

"Nothing is more certain," said the pastor.

And the squire made him pledge him, and said: "I wish all clergymen would learn thus to go amongst the people in a straight-forward, unceremonious manner. When people see a man good-humored, and with an open, unrestrained manner, they are half won already."

"Alas, sir!" said the pastor, "this cheerfulness, and open, unrestrained manner, are exactly what we are least allowed to practice."

*Squire.* "It is a misfortune, belonging to your situation, reverend sir."

*Pastor.* "You are quite right. None should go amongst the people with a more unrestrained, cheerful, open manner, than the ministers of religion. They should be the friends of the people, and known to be such. They should be influenced by a regard to them in their speech, and in their silence. They should carefully consider their words, and yet dispense them freely, benevolently, and to the purpose, like their Master. But, alas! they form themselves in other schools, and we must have patience, squire. In all situations of life, there are many impediments to the practice of what is simple and natural."

*Squire.* "It is true. In all ranks people wander continually further and further from the path they should follow. Much time, which ought to be employed upon important duties, is wasted upon ceremonies and nonsense: and there are few men who, under the burthen of forms of etiquette and pedantry, preserve due attention to their duties, and to the really important objects of their lives, as you have done, my dear friend. But, by your side, it is my delight and joy to feel it my happy destination to act the part of a father, and I will endeavor to fulfill it with a pure heart, and, like you, with as little of the ceremony and nonsense of the world as possible."

*Pastor.* "You make me ashamed, my dear sir."

*Squire.* "I feel what I say! but the bell will soon ring. I am impatient for the comedy at the parish-meeting. I do expect, this time, to cure them of some of their superstitions."

*Pastor.* "May God grant you success! This superstition of theirs, interferes sadly with the good one seeks to do them."



*Squire.* "I find, from my own experience, that it often makes them very stupid, timid, and irresolute."

*Pastor.* "It warps a man's understanding, and has a bad effect upon all he does, and says, and thinks. And, what is still worse, it injures his heart, and hardens it with pride and uncharitableness."

*Squire.* "Very true. There is a wide distinction between the pure simplicity of nature, and the blind stupidity of superstition."

*Pastor.* "Yes. The uncorrupted simplicity of nature is alive to every impression of truth and virtue: it is like a blank tablet. But the stupidity of superstition is like melted ore, incapable of receiving any impression, except from fire and flame. And now that you have introduced the subject of this distinction, which is of so much importance to me, in my avocation, will you permit me to say a few more words about it?"

*Squire.* "Pray do. The subject is very interesting to me."

*Pastor.* "Man, in the uncorrupted simplicity of his nature, knows little; but what he does know, is well arranged. His attention is firmly and steadily directed toward what is useful and comprehensible to him. He does not seek to know what he can neither comprehend nor turn to use. But the stupidity of superstition has no clear arrangement in its knowledge. It boasts of knowing what it neither knows nor comprehends; it persuades itself that the disorder of its ideas is heavenly illumination, and that the fleeting splendor of its airy bubbles is divine light and wisdom.

"The simple innocence of nature, makes use of all the senses, judges nothing inconsiderately, examines every thing quietly and attentively, endures opposition, earnestly seeks and desires what is necessary, not what is mere matter of speculation, and conducts itself peacefully, gently, kindly, and benevolently. But superstition believes in contradiction to its own senses, and to the senses of mankind; never rests but in the triumph of its own obscurity, and rages rudely, wildly, and unfeelingly, wherever it exists.

"Man, in a state of simplicity, is guided by his uncorrupted heart, upon which he can always depend; and by his senses, which he uses peacefully.

"But the superstitious man is guided by his opinions, to which he sacrifices his feelings, his senses, and often his God, his country, his neighbor, and himself."

*Squire.* "Every page of history confirms the truth of your statement; and a very small share of experience and knowledge of the world, is sufficient to convince any man that hardness of heart and superstition are inseparable companions, and always followed by pernicious and grievous consequences."

*Pastor.* "From this essential difference between the simplicity of the honest, unprejudiced man, and the stupidity of the superstitious man, it appears that the best method of opposing superstition, is: 'In educating the poor, to ground their knowledge of the truth upon the pure feelings of innocence and love; and to turn their attention chiefly to the surrounding objects which interest them in their individual situations.'"

*Squire.* "I understand you, my good friend! and I think, with you, that by this means superstition and prejudice would lose their sting, their hurtfulness, and their accordance with the passions and desires of wicked hearts, and with the groundless terrors and weak fancies of a busy, speculative knowledge.

"And thus all that would remain of prejudice and superstition would be but empty words, and shades of things without inward poison, and these would die away of themselves."

*Pastor.* "It appears to me in the same light. The education of the poor should be founded upon clear ideas, surrounding objects, and the cautious development of the impulses of human nature; because these are, undoubtedly, the foundation of true human wisdom.

"To fix the attention strongly upon speculative opinions and distant objects, and feebly upon our duties, our actions, and the objects which surround us, is to create disorder in the soul of man. It leads to ignorance about our most important affairs, and to a foolish predilection for information and knowledge, which do not concern us.

"Roughness and hardness of heart are the natural consequences of all pride and presumption; and the source of the inward poison of superstition and prejudice is clearly derived from this: that in the education of the people, their attention is not steadily turned to the circumstances and objects around them, which have a strong and near relation to their individual situation, and would lead their hearts to pure and tender feelings of humanity upon all occasions.

"If people sought thus to instruct them, as earnestly and zealously as they do to teach them particular opinions, superstition would be torn up by the roots, and deprived of all its power; but I feel daily, more and more, how little we are advanced in this good work."

*Squire.* "In the world all is comparatively true, or not true. There have been rude times—times when a man who did not believe in ghosts was esteemed a heretic; times when a man was obliged, on pain of forfeiting his rights and his situation of judge, to order old women to the rack, to make them confess their dealings with the devil."

*Pastor.* "God be praised, those times are gone by; but much of the old leaven still remains."

*Squire.* "Yet, be of good cheer, my friend! One stone after another falls away from the temple of superstition; and it would be well if people were only as zealous to build up the temple of God, as they are to overthrow that of superstition!"

*Pastor.* "There again we are wanting: and this checks and destroys my rejoicing in the attacks made upon superstition; because I see that those who are so active against it, trouble themselves very little about upholding religion, the sanctuary of God, in its strength."

*Squire.* "It is too true. But in all revolutions people will always begin by rejecting good and bad together. They were in the right to purify the Lord's temple; but they will soon perceive that, in their zeal, they have injured the walls, and then they will return and repair them again."

*Pastor.* "I trust it will be so! and, indeed, I see myself that people begin to feel that destructive irreligion strikes at the root of human happiness."

*Squire.* "We must now go; and I will make one attempt this very day to attack superstition, and overthrow the belief in ghosts which exists in Bonnal."

*Pastor.* "May you be successful! I have as yet been able to do very little against it by my arguments and preaching."

*Squire.* "I will not attempt it by words. My poulterer must spare me that trouble, with his basket and lantern, his pickaxe and mattock."

*Pastor.* "I really believe it will succeed admirably. It is certain that, when people know well how to turn such accidents to advantage, they may do more by means of them in a moment, than they can in half a century by all the arts of eloquence."

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—ON GHOSTS, IN A DIFFERENT TONE.

IN the mean time the country people were all assembled at the place of meeting. Yesterday's adventure, and the report of the prisoners, brought them together in crowds. The alarming appearance of the devil had greatly agitated them, and they had already, early that morning, taken council together what was to be done under the circumstances, and had come to a resolution that the pastor ought no longer to be allowed to teach and preach so incredulously, and to laugh at all stories of ghosts. They determined to request Hartknopf, the church-warden, to make a proposal to this effect at the meeting; but young Meyer was against this, and said: "I can not agree that the old miser, who starves his own children, and is constantly hunting about for all sorts of refuse, should speak for us. It will be an eternal shame for us to appoint such a hypocrite."

The men answered: "We know well enough that he is a hypocrite and a miser, and we know that the way in which he and his maid-servant live together is scandalous. It is true, also, that we have not such a liar amongst us, nor one who encroaches so much upon his neighbor's land, or clears his field so carefully at harvest-time; but then, there is not one of us who can talk to a minister, or discuss spiritual matters, as he can. If you can tell us of any one, who will do it only half so well, we will be content." But Meyer knew of nobody.

So the men made their request to the church-warden, in these words: "Hartknopf, you are the man amongst us who best knows how to answer a clergyman; and when the squire holds the meeting to-day, we wish you to make a complaint against the pastor, on account of his unbelief, and to ask for the appointment of a day of prayer, on account of the fearful appearance of Satan."

They did not talk to him publicly about this, but the cleverest amongst them explained the business to him; for the pastor had many friends amongst the poorer part of them. Some of the richer country people disliked him the more on this account, particularly since he had maintained, in one of his morning discourses, that it was not right in them to oppose the division of a waste common, which the squire had proposed for the advantage of the poor.

The church-warden Hartknopf, accepted the appointment, and said: "You have given me rather late notice of this, but I will study the proposition;" and he went away to his own house, and thought over what he had to say, from morning until evening, when the bell rang for the meeting. When those who were in the plot were all assembled together, they wondered why he did not join them, and could not imagine what kept him away. Then Nickel Spitz said: "He is only waiting till you go in form to fetch him."

"What is to be done?" said the men. "We must e'en do as the simpleton wishes, or he will not come."

So they sent three of their officers to fetch him; and these soon returned with him.

The churchwarden saluted the people, with as much dignity as if he had been a pastor; and, with great importance and gravity, assured all those who had entered into the agreement, that he had now studied the proposition.

In the mean time, Arner had told the poulterer that, when he made a signal, by taking a large white handkerchief out of his pocket, he must come forth, and do all that they had agreed upon together.



Then he went with the pastor and the secretary to the meeting.

All the people stood up, and welcomed the worthy squire and the reverend pastor.

Arner thanked them with paternal kindness, and then told the men to sit down upon benches, that all might be done in proper order.

Theresa and the pastor's wife, and the children and servants, from the hall and the parsonage-house, stood in the churchyard, from whence they could see what passed at the meeting.

Arner now ordered the prisoners to be brought forth, one after the other, and their depositions to be read in their presence.

And when they had confirmed them before the meeting, he told the bailiff to kneel down and hear his sentence, and addressed him as follows:—

#### CHAPTER LXXXIX.—A JUDGMENT.

“UNHAPPY MAN!

“It grieves me to the heart, to pronounce against thee, in thy old age, the doom which must follow evil deeds like thine. Thou hast deserved death; not because Hubel Rudi's meadow or my landmark are worth a man's life, but because perjury and daring robbery bring innumerable dangers and evils upon a country.

“The perjured man and the robber becomes a murderer, when circumstances tempt him to it; and is already a murderer in many senses, through the consequences of the error, suspicion, distress, and misery, which he occasions.

“Therefore, thou hast deserved death.

“I will, however, spare thy life, in consideration of thy old age, and because a part of thy crimes were committed against myself, individually.

“This is thy punishment:—

“Thou shalt this day, in the presence of appointed persons and of all who wish to accompany thee, be carried to the landmark, and there, in chains, replace every thing as it was before.

“Thence thou shalt be taken to the village prison, when the pastor will examine thee, for the space of fourteen days, about thy past life, that the causes of thy great recklessness and hardness of heart may be clearly and evidently discerned: and I will myself use my utmost endeavors to discover the circumstances which have led thee to these crimes, and which may lead others of my dependants into similar misfortunes.

“After this fortnight is expired, the pastor will, on the Sunday following, openly, before the whole community, relate the history of thy past life, of the disorders of thy house, thy hardness of heart, thy contempt of oaths and duties, and thy way of keeping accounts against the poor and rich—and the whole must be confirmed by thy own confession.

“I will myself be present; and, with the assistance of the pastor, will endeavor to preserve my dependants from such dangers in future, and to provide them with assistance and counsel against all such sources and causes of domestic misery.

“And with this I would willingly discharge thee, were my people sufficiently peaceable and well brought up to follow after the truth and what pertains to their temporal and eternal welfare, for their own sake, and not from the fear of severe, painful, and loathsome punishment; but, with so many rude, uncontrolled, and boisterous people, as are still amongst us, it is necessary for me to add:—

"That the executioner must conduct thee to-morrow under the gallows at Bonnal, and there bind thy right hand to a stake, and mark the first three fingers with an indelible black stain.

"But it is my express desire, that no man imbitter this thy hour of suffering, by jest or laughter, or any mark of ridicule; but that, on the contrary, all the people look on, without noise or speech, and with their heads uncovered."

The squire then condemned Hans Wust to eight days' punishment in prison. And Joseph, as being a stranger, he immediately expelled from his territories, and forbade him to labor or to appear upon his land any more, on pain of being sent to the house of correction.

In the mean time the pastor's god-father, Hans Renold, had secretly told him what the country people had settled with the church-warden, and that they would certainly and without doubt attack him on account of his unbelief.

The pastor thanked Renold, and told him, laughingly, not to be uneasy; the thing would not end ill.

"This is excellent," said the squire, to whom the pastor told this, "that they should themselves begin the game:" and, whilst he was speaking, the church-warden got up and said:—

#### CHAPTER XC.—THE PROPOSAL OF HARTKNOPF, THE CHURCH-WARDEN.

"HONORED SIR!

"May I be permitted, in the name of your faithful people of Bonnal, to state to you an affair of conscience?"

Arner answered: "I am ready to hear. Who are you? What have you to say?"

The church-warden replied: "I am Jacob Christopher Frederick Hartknopf, church-warden and elder of Bonnal, and fifty-six years of age. And the principal people of the village, being themselves inexperienced and unaccustomed to speak upon spiritual subjects, have chosen and requested me to lay a statement before you."

Arner. "Now then, Mr. Church-warden Hartknopf, to the point."

Then the church-warden began again:—

'HONORED SIR!

"We have received from our forefathers a belief that the devil and his spirits often appear to men; and, since it is now become very evident that this our old belief in spirits is true, as indeed we never for a moment doubted it to be, we are compelled to take the liberty of informing your honor, that our reverend pastor (may God forgive him,) is not of this belief. We well know that your honor is of the same opinion with the pastor on this subject. But since, in sacred things, we must obey God rather than man, we hope your honor will forgive our freedom, when we entreat that the reverend pastor may, in future, teach our children our old belief, about the appearance of the devil, and that he may say nothing to them against ghosts, in which we believe, and will continue to believe. It is also our wish, that some Sunday, at no great distance, may be fixed upon for a day of fasting, and prayer, and humiliation; that we may all, upon an appointed day, penitently implore forgiveness, in dust and ashes, for the increasing sin of want of belief in spirits."

The squire and the pastor, though they were scarcely able to restrain their laughter till he had finished, yet heard him with all possible patience.

But the country people rejoiced in their hearts over this discourse, and re-

solved to accompany this able orator home, by hundreds, though they had sent only three to fetch him.

They now rose up on all sides, and said: "Honored sir! we all agree in what the church-warden has declared."

But the poor, and all those who loved the pastor, were very sorry and grieved about it, and said here and there to each other: "If he had only the luck to believe like other people—he is such an excellent man!" But these durst not speak out, so that his enemies triumphed.

#### CHAPTER XCI.—THE SQUIRE'S REPLY.

THE squire took off his hat, looked earnestly around him, and said:—

"Neighbors! you had no need of an orator for such nonsense as this. The whole affair, and the appearance of the devil, is all a mistake; and your pastor is one of the wisest of ministers. You ought to be ashamed of insulting him through such a poor blockhead as your church-warden. If you had a proper regard for his learning and judgment, you would be wiser, lay aside your belief in old women's tales, and not seek to restrain intelligent people to foolish opinions, which are entirely without foundation."

Here the country people all exclaimed: "But it was only last night that the devil appeared to the bailiff, and sought to lay hold of him."

*Squire.* "You are mistaken, neighbors; and before supper-time you will be ashamed of your credulity. But I hope you are not all equally hardened in your folly. Meyer! are you also of the opinion, that it is past all doubt that it was the devil who frightened the bailiff so terribly upon the hill?"

Young Meyer answered: "What do I know about the matter, your honor?"

The church-warden and many of the men were angry at Meyer for answering thus.

And the church-warden muttered over the bench to him: "How canst thou talk so against thy knowledge and conscience, Meyer?" But many of the men exclaimed: "We all heard the horrible voice of the pursuing devil."

*Squire.* "I know very well that you heard a shout, and a roaring, and a rattling. But how can you tell that all this was the devil? Might it not be a man, or several men, who, unluckily for the bailiff, who seems to have been there at an improper time, wished to frighten him? The wood is scarcely ever without somebody in it, and the high road is near, so that it may as easily have been men as the devil."

*Countrymen.* "Twenty or thirty men could not have made such a noise; and, if your honor had been there and heard it, you would never have thought of its being men."

*Squire.* "Night is deceitful, neighbors! and, when people are once frightened, they see and hear double."

*Countrymen.* "It is of no use to talk of being mistaken. It is impossible."

*Squire.* "But I tell you it is altogether certain that you were mistaken."

*Countrymen.* "No, please your honor, it is entirely certain that we were not mistaken."

*Squire.* "I have a great notion I could convince you that you were mistaken."

*Countrymen.* "We should like to see that, your honor."

*Squire.* "Many things would be more difficult."

*Countrymen.* "Your honor is joking."



*Squire.* "No, I am not joking. If you think I can not do it, I will try. And if you will agree to divide the common, I will perform my promise, and convince you that all the roaring and rattling was made by one man."

*Countrymen.* "That is impossible."

*Squire.* "Will you venture it?"

*Countrymen.* "Yes, sir, we will! We durst venture two commons upon it, that you will not be able to prove this."

Here there arose a murmur amongst the countrymen. Some of them said: "People should take care what they promise." Others replied: "He can no more prove this, than that the devil will go to heaven!" Others again said: "We have nothing to fear; he must give it up. We will venture; he can never prove it."

*Countrymen* (aloud.) "Yes, squire; if you will keep your word; speak on. We are content that if you can prove what you say, that one man made the noise we heard yesterday, we will divide the common. That is to say, if you can prove it entirely to our satisfaction; not otherwise."

The squire took out a large white handkerchief, gave the poulterer the signal, and said to the men: "I must have a quarter of an hour for preparation."

The people smiled all around, and said: "Till to-morrow, squire, if you will."

The squire said not a word in answer to their rudeness; but those who were in the churchyard, and could see the poulterer approaching the place of meeting, laughed heartily.

The men anticipated some mischance when they heard the bursts of laughter, and saw the stranger, with his dark basket and lantern, drawing near.

"What fool is this, who walks with a lighted lantern in broad daylight?" said they.

Arner answered: "It is my poulterer from Arnheim!" and called out to him: "Christopher, what is your business here?"

"I have a tale to tell, please your honor."

"With all my heart," answered Arner.

Then the poulterer set down his basket, and said:—

#### CHAPTER XCII.—SPEECH OF THE POULTERER TO THE MEETING.

"HONORED sir, reverend pastor, and you neighbors, here are the pickaxe, the mattock, the spade, the brandy-bottle, the tobacco-pipe, and the cocked hat of your bailiff, which, in his fright, he left by the landmark last night, when I drove him away from his work on the hill."

*Countrymen.* "And are we to believe that it was you who made all the noise? That can never be. The proof is not sufficient; we beg for another."

*Squire.* "Wait a little longer. He has a lantern by his side. Perhaps it may enlighten you a little." And then he added, loudly and very seriously: "Be silent, if you please, till he has finished what he has to say."

The men obeyed.

Then the poulterer continued: "You are not so civil as people usually are in this country. Why don't you let me finish? Remember the poulterer of Arnheim. If you do not hear every word I have to say, the next newspaper will be full of you; for there is not a syllable of truth in the devil's having appeared to the bailiff. It was I who frightened him! I, the poulterer, just as I now stand before you, with this basket, and this new black goat-skin, which I had put over my basket, because it rained yesterday, and I had hung the lantern before the basket,

as you saw it when I came here. I filled it full of oil at Hirzau, that it might burn well; for it was very dark, and the road, as you well know, is bad near Hirzau. At eleven o'clock I was in the tavern at Hirzau. I can bring the landlord, and at least ten men more, who were there, to prove this. As I came over the top of the hill, it struck twelve at Bonnal; and then I heard the bailiff, not half a stone's throw from the high-road, swearing and working away; and, as I knew him immediately by his voice and his swearing, I began to wonder what he was doing there at that hour of night. I half suspected that he was searching for hidden treasures, and that he might share them with me if I hit the right time. I followed the noise. But the bailiff, it seems, had yesterday, contrary to his usual custom, drunk rather more than was necessary; for, the moment he beheld me, he took me—a poor sinful man—for the devil in a bodily form! and when I saw that he was about removing a landmark in our master's wood, I thought to myself: come, he deserves to be frightened. I will make him think hell is gaping for him! So I bound the mattock, pickaxe, spade, and my walking-stick, all together, dragged them down the hill, over the stones, after me, and shouted out, with all my might: Oh!—Ah!—Uh!—bai—liff!—thou art mine! Hum—mell! And I was not more than a stone's throw from you, when you crept out softly and cautiously with your torches, to the bailiff's assistance. But as I had no wish to frighten innocent folks with making a noise so near them, I gave over, and went up the hill again, with my booty, to my basket, and then took the nearest way home. It was a quarter past two when our watchman met me, and asked why I was carrying workmen's tools upon my egg-basket.

"I forget what I answered, but certainly nothing to the purpose; for I did not wish to say any thing of it, till I had told the squire my story; which I did at six o'clock this morning.

"And now, neighbors, how do you think I could come by this story and these tools so early, if what I tell you is not true?"

Some of the countrymen scratched their heads, others laughed.

The poulterer continued: "If such a thing should happen to you again, neighbors, let me just, in a friendly way, advise the watchman, the authorities, and all the honorable commonalty of Bonnal, to let loose the greatest dog in the village, and he will soon discover the devil."

The poulterer here ceased, and there was a general murmur on every side.

#### CHAPTER XCIII.—THE POOR ARE GAINERS BY THE COMEDY.

*Some countrymen.* "It is as he says, by G—! all the circumstances agree."

*Other countrymen.* "What a set of fools we were."

*Kunz.* "I wanted to run after the rogue."

*Some of the leaders.* "If we had only not staked the common upon it."

*The rich countrymen.* "This is a cursed business."

*The poor.* "Heaven be praised for it."

*Theresa.* "The master-stroke of all, is getting the common divided."

*Pastor's wife.* "The whole is a master-stroke."

*The church-warden.* "It is enough to make the very stones weep blood! Our belief is lost for ever. Elias! Elias! Fire from heaven."

*The children (from the churchyard.)* "Thou art mine!—Oh!—Ah!—Uh!—bailiff!"

*The pastor.* "I never saw the people so much moved."

*The bailiff.* "Am I in a dream, or awake? All was a mistake, and I must go

under the gallows. And yet I feel no anger; no desire of vengeance rages within me."

Thus in a general murmur did every man speak according to his own feelings.

After a while Arner stood up, smiled, and said: "How are you now inclined about the fast-day, on account of the fearful appearance of the devil upon the hill?"

Do what is right! Love God!

And fear God, but neither man nor devil.

This is the old and true belief; and your stories of apparitions and spirits are idle follies, which ruin your heads and hearts.

"Now at last the division of your common is agreed upon, and you will find, in a few years, how useful and beneficial it will be to your children and grandchildren, and how much reason I had to wish for it so earnestly. I have ordered some drink to be brought to you. Drink it to my health, and to the health of your numerous poor, who, in the division of the common, will receive no more than the rest; but to whom it will be a treasure, because they have nothing besides. There is not one of you who knows how much his children may stand in need of it."

Then Arner left the meeting, and told Hubel Rudi to follow him, in a quarter of an hour, to the parsonage-house.

And the squire and the pastor went to their wives in the churchyard, and afterward, with them, to the parsonage-house.

The pastor praised Arner for the wisdom and humanity with which he had treated his flock, and said to him: "I shall never again urge you to show forbearance and compassion toward any body, for your own benevolent heart has exceeded all I could have asked or advised."

#### CHAPTER XCIV.—THE SQUIRE THANKS THE PASTOR.

THE squire replied: "Say no more, my dear friend, I beseech you. I go straight to the point, and am as yet young and without experience. But, with God's assistance, I hope to learn how to manage things better. I am truly rejoiced that you approve of my decisions. But you must not imagine that I am not aware that your exertions have been much greater than mine, and that your care and kindness had prepared every thing, so that little remained for me, but to pronounce the sentence."

*Pastor.* "My dear sir, you go too far!"

*Squire.* "No, my friend. It is the simple truth, and I should be indeed unthankful and unjust, if I did not acknowledge it. You have labored with great care and intelligence to throw light upon my dear grandfather's inconsiderate decisions, and to put an end to their consequences. That good and upright man will rejoice, in heaven, over what you have done, and that the evil has at last been remedied; and he certainly would not forgive me, if I were to leave your goodness unrewarded. Here are the deeds of a small piece of land in your village, which I hope you will accept as a testimony of my gratitude."

Thus saying, he gave him a sealed deed of gift, which was expressed with the greatest warmth of gratitude.

Theresa stood by Arner's side, and presented the pastor with the most beautiful rosegay ever seen in a parsonage-house.

"This is in remembrance of the best of grandfathers, reverend sir," said she.



And in the morning the pastor's wife discovered, for the first time, that it was bound together by a string of pearls.

The good pastor was much overcome: tears filled his eyes, and he could not speak.

"Say not a word about it," added the squire.

"Your heart is worthy of a kingdom!" said the pastor at last.

"Do not make me blush, my dear sir," answered the squire. "Be my friend; and, hand in hand, let us strive to make our people as happy as we can. I hope to see more of you in future, and you will come more to me, will you not? My carriage is always at your service. Send for it, without ceremony, whenever you like to come to me."

CHAPTER XCV.—THE SQUIRE ASKS FORGIVENESS FROM A POOR MAN, WHOM HIS GRANDFATHER HAD INJURED.

IN the mean time Hubel Rudi arrived, and the squire held out his hand to the poor man, and said: "Rudi! my grandfather did you injustice, and deprived you of your meadow by his decision. It was a misfortune. He was deceived. You must forgive him, and not bear malice against him."

Rudi answered: "Alas! your honor! I knew very well that it was not his fault."

"Did you never hate him for it?" said the squire.

*Rudi.* "In my poverty, and particularly at first, I was indeed often very much troubled that I had not the meadow any longer; but I never felt hatred toward his honor."

*Squire.* "Is this really true, Rudi?"

*Rudi.* "It is, indeed, your honor! God knows that it is, and that I never could feel angry with him. I knew in my heart that it was not his fault. What could he do, when the bailiff found false witnesses, who swore an oath against me? The good old squire, whenever he saw me afterward, gave me money, and on all holidays sent me meat, and bread, and wine. May God reward him for it. It often cheered me in my poverty."

Rudi had tears in his eyes, and continued: "Alas! your honor! if he had only talked with us, by ourselves, as you do, many, very many things would never have happened; but the bloodsuckers were always by his side, whenever we saw him, and that spoiled all."

*Squire.* "You must forget this now, Rudi. The meadow is again yours. I have effaced the bailiff's name from the deed, and I wish you joy of it with all my heart, Rudi!"

Rudi trembled, and stammered out: "I can not enough thank your honor."

The squire said: "You have nothing to thank me for, Rudi. The meadow is yours by the laws of God and man."

Rudi clasped his hands together, wept aloud, and said: "O, my mother's blessing is upon me! She died on Friday, your honor! and before she died, she said to me: 'All will go well with thee, Rudi. Think of me, Rudi!' O, sir, I am so grieved for my dear mother!"

The squire and the pastor were much affected, and the squire said: "God's blessing will indeed be upon you, good and pious man."

"O, sir! it is owing to my mother's blessing! The blessing of the most religious, patient woman," said Rudi, weeping.

"How troubled I am, pastor, that this man should have been so long kept out of his right," said the squire.

"It is all over now, sir!" said Rudi, "and suffering and want are blessings from God, when they are gone through. But I can not sufficiently thank you for all; for the work at the church, which cheered and comforted my mother on her death-bed; and then for the meadow. I know not what I ought to say or do, sir. O! if she had only lived to see it!"

*Squire.* "You are an excellent man, and she will rejoice in your welfare, even in heaven. Your sorrow and your filial love have affected me so much, that I had almost forgotten to tell you, that the bailiff is bound to pay you arrears, with costs."

*Pastor.* "Permit me, sir, here to speak a word to Rudi. The bailiff is in very straitened circumstances. He is, indeed, bound to pay you arrears, with costs, Rudi. But I know that you are too kind-hearted to push him to the uttermost, and to bring him to beggary in his old age. I promised, in his affliction, to do all I could to obtain mercy and compassion for him, and I must perform my promise now. Rudi, have pity upon his distress."

#### CHAPTER XCVI.—GENEROSITY OF A POOR MAN TOWARD HIS ENEMY.

*Rudi.* "Say not a word about the arrears, reverend sir; they are out of the question: and, if the bailiff is so poor—I don't like to seem to boast—but I will certainly do what is right toward him.

"The meadow will furnish hay for more than three cows; and, if I keep two out of it, I shall have enough and more than I durst hope for; and I will willingly let the bailiff have enough to keep one cow, as long as he lives."

*Pastor.* "It is acting generously, and like a Christian, Rudi; and God will grant his blessing upon the remainder."

*Arner.* "This is all well and good, my dear sir. But we must not take the good fellow at his word, now. He is overcome by his joy. I admire you for your offer, Rudi; but consider the thing over quietly for a day or two. It will be time enough to promise, when you are sure you will not repent."

*Rudi.* "I am but a poor man, your honor; but not so poor as to repent having promised to do what is right."

*Pastor.* "The squire is right, Rudi. It is enough for the present that you will not exact the arrears. If you find that the bailiff is in want; when you have well considered the thing, you can do what you like."

*Rudi.* "If the bailiff is in want, I am sure I shall wish to do as I have said, your reverence."

*Squire.* "Well, Rudi, I want this to be a happy, cheerful day for you. Would you rather stay and rejoice with us here, or go home to your children? I will take care that you have a good supper in either place."

*Rudi.* "Your honor is very good! but I wish to go home to my children. There is nobody to take care of them. Alas! my wife is in her grave—and my mother also."

*Squire.* "Then go home to your children, Rudi. In the pastor's cow-house, below, you will find a cow, which I give you to reconcile you to my dear grandfather, who did you wrong; and that you may this day rejoice over his memory, with your children. I have also ordered a quantity of hay to be carried from the bailiff's barn, for it is yours. You will find it at home; and, if your cottage

or your cow-house want repairs, take what wood is necessary out of my forest."

#### CHAPTER XCVII.—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE SQUIRE.

RUDI knew not what to say, he was so completely overcome; and this joyful confusion, which could not utter a word, pleased Arner more than any expression of thanks.

At last Rudi stammered out a few words, but Arner interrupted him, and said, smiling: "I see that you are grateful, Rudi." He then again shook him by the hand, and added: "Go, now, Rudi. Drive home your cow, and depend upon my help; whenever I can be of service to you in any way, it will always be a pleasure to me."

Then Rudi left Arner, and drove home the cow.

#### CHAPTER XCVIII.—A SCENE TO TOUCH THE HEART.

THE pastor, and all who were present, had tears in their eyes, and remained silent for some moments after the man left the room.

At last Theresa exclaimed: "What an evening this has been! How fair is creation, and with what pleasure and joy does the face of nature inspire us; but human happiness is more delightful than all the beauties of earth!"

"Yes, my love, it surpasses all earthly beauties," said the squire.

The pastor added: "I thank you, from my heart, sir, for the touching scenes you have brought before us. Throughout the course of my life, I never met with purer and nobler greatness of soul than in the deed of this man. But it is most certain that the purest elevation of the human heart, is to be sought for amongst the unfortunate and distressed."

The pastor's wife pressed her children, who were much affected, to her heart, bent over them, and wept in silence.

After a while, the children said to her: "Let us go and see his poor children, and send them our supper."

And the pastor's wife said to Theresa: "Will you like to go with the children?"

"Very willingly," answered Theresa. And the squire and the pastor expressed their wish to accompany them.

Arner had brought a roasted quarter of veal in the carriage with him, for the poor family; and the pastor's wife had added to this some good nourishing broth, and given orders for it to be taken to them: but now she sent also her own and the children's supper, and Claus carried all to the poor man's cottage.

All the villagers, young and old, men, women, and children, were collected at Rudi's door, and round the hay-cart and the fine cow.

Claus was followed almost immediately by the squire and his lady, the pastor's wife, and all the children. They went into the room and found nothing but sickly, half-naked children, the pictures of hunger and want. All were much affected by the distress of the family; and Arner said to his companions: "Yet this very man is now willing to give the bailiff, who has been the cause of all this misery for so many years, a third part of the hay from his meadow!"

"It ought not to be allowed," said Theresa, hastily, in the warmth of her compassion for so much distress. "This man, with all his children, ought not to be allowed to give a farthing of what belongs to him to that wicked wretch."

"But, my love, would you set bounds to the course of that virtue and



magnanimity which God has raised, through suffering and want, to such a height?—a height which has so deeply affected your own heart, and forced tears from you?"

"No, not for worlds," answered Theresa. "Let him give all he has, if he will. God will never forsake such a man!"

Arner then said to Rudi: "Give your children something to eat."

But Rudeli pulled his father by the arm, and whispered in his ear: "Father, may I take Gertrude something?"

"Yes," said Rudi; "but wait a little."

Arner had heard the word Gertrude, and asked what the little fellow was saying about her.

Then Rudi told him about the stolen potatoes, and his mother's death-bed; and the goodness of Leonard and Gertrude, and that the very shoes and stockings he had on came from them; adding: "This is a blessed day for me, your honor! but I can not enjoy one mouthful, if these people do not come and share it."

How Arner praised them, and how they all admired the quiet goodness of a poor mason's wife, and the holy death of Catharine; and how Rudeli ran with a beating heart to invite Leonard and Gertrude; and how they declined till Arner sent Claus again for them and their children, and then came abashed and with downcast eyes; how Charles and Emily begged their papa and mamma to give them shoes and stockings, and some of their old clothes, for all the children, and helped them to the nicest food; and how kind the pastor's wife was to them; and how Rudeli and his sisters were not content till Gertrude came, and then ran to her, seized hold of her hand, and jumped into her arms. All this I will not seek to describe by many words.

Arner and Theresa stood for some time gazing on the scene, deeply touched by the sight of so much misery, which was now cheered and entirely relieved. At last, with tears in their eyes, they quietly took leave; and the squire said to the coachman: "Drive gently for a mile or two."

Leonard and Gertrude remained with Rudi till eight o'clock, joyfully sympathizing in his good fortune.

#### CHAPTER XCIX.—A PLEASING PROSPECT.

FOR the last few weeks, there has been a general report in the village, that Gertrude wishes to bring about a marriage between Rudi and young Meyer's sister, who is her dearest friend.

And as Rudi's meadow is worth at least two thousand florins, and it is said that the squire has told her brother he should rejoice in the match, people suppose she will not refuse him.

The mason goes on extremely well with the building, and the squire likes him better every day.

#### CHAPTER C.—THE POULTERER'S REWARD.

THE poulterer came in for his share of good fortune. Theresa saw him, as they were driving home, and said to Arner: "He should not go unrewarded; for, in reality, it was he, and his night journey, which brought all this about."

Then Arner called out to the poulterer, and said: "Christopher! my wife

insists upon having you paid for your devil's business:" and he gave him a couple of crowns.

The poulterer made a low bow, and said: "Please your honor, I should like to do such devil's business every day of my life."

"Yes," said Arner; "provided you could be sure of having the dogs kept well chained up."

"Very true, your honor," said the poulterer; and the carriage drove on.

## REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

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THE foregoing pages, although constituting a tale complete in itself, and the whole work as originally published in 1781, are but about one-fourth part of "*Leonard and Gertrude*," as enlarged in subsequent editions.

As introductory to the chapters on the *School in Bonnal*, which are the only portion to be given from the remainder of the work, it will not be improper to give a brief account of all of it.

The first volume of the collected edition of Pestalozzi's works [1818—26,] contains all the portion above printed. The story proceeds with a continuation of Arner's efforts for the improvement of the village, with the help of the pastor, of Gluelphi, a retired military officer who becomes schoolmaster, Meyer, a cotton manufacturer, and Gertrude, whose simple and effective practical methods of managing and instructing her own and Rudi's children, furnish indispensable patterns to the benevolent and well-educated but inexperienced gentry.

The school, though a prominent feature in the story, is only one feature. It includes a combination of measures set on foot by Arner for the moral, social, and physical improvement of the people of the village, both rich and poor. The action of the tale consists of the progress of these measures, and of the opposition to them, resulting from the obstinate adherence of the rich to their long-established habits of oppression and extortion, and from the low vices of falsehood, hypocrisy, &c., which have naturally infected the poor.

One of the chief measures undertaken by Arner for ameliorating the physical condition of the village, is the partition among the landowners of a certain common, into equal shares for rich and poor; a scheme promising material advantage to the latter, and perfectly fair to the former. This is bitterly opposed by the large landowners, however; and the clumsy cunning with which they scheme together to prevent the partition, and the energetic movements of Arner toward the accomplishment of it, form a very curious and graphic picture of the social life of the villagers of the period.

The feudal authority possessed by Arner, however, is too great to admit of any other than underhand and secret methods of opposition to his various reforms; and these would necessarily fail at furthest with the disappearance of the older generation from the scene, and with the gradual substitution in their places of those growing up under the influence of the reformatory measures and better education introduced. But the progress of events renders it proper for Arner to make application to the government for purposes connected with his plans, and some meddlesome



relatives of his take the opportunity to make unfavorable representations to a conservative minister, with the design of breaking off his enterprise. This the minister endeavors to do, from apprehensions of some revolutionary contagion which is to be spread among Arner's peasantry, thence into the vicinity, and thence onward. But no serious injuries ensued; and the whole result of Arner's undertaking was, as might be expected, the beginning of a reform among the younger portion of the community, and an increased degree of outward propriety among the elder.

The career of Hummel, the bailiff, is somewhat elaborately illustrated by an episodical history of his previous life. Two sermons by the pastor, though also digressions from the thread of the story, are not without interest, as giving Pestalozzi's views of what the spirit and methods of popular education should be. Hummel himself, after undergoing public punishment, is exhibited at the close of the work, with more truthfulness than is usual in a story, as relapsing, so far as his failing health and diminished riches and influence permit, into his old habits of vile language, swindling, and bullying.

But the story comes to no regular conclusion at the end of the fourth volume;—it drops all the threads of the village life, suddenly and without any gathering together; although the first volume, which was written a year or two before the others, they being added to it by after-thought, is reasonably complete as a work of art.

The following chapters upon the *School in Bonnal*, are from various parts of the three last volumes; and are selected as furnishing, in their connected succession, a good specimen of the style of the remainder of the work, and as presenting an exemplification of Pestalozzi's favorite doctrine of the intimate relation between domestic and school instruction.

## THE SCHOOL IN BONNAL.\*

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### 1. A GOOD SCHOOL IS FOUNDED.

SINCE the squire had returned from Cotton Meyer's, he had spent every moment he could spare with the lieutenant, in consultation with him on the organization of the new school. They both came to the conclusion that a child is always well-educated, when he has learned to practice skillfully, orderly, and to the benefit of him and his, what is to be his future occupation.

This principal object of all education seemed to them at once the first requisite of a reasonable school for human beings. And they perceived that the lieutenant, and any person proposing to establish a good school for farmers' and factory children, must either himself know and understand what such children need to know and do, in order to become capable farmers and factory workers; or, if he does not himself understand it, that he must inquire and learn about it, and have those at hand who do know and can show him.

They naturally thought first of Cotton Meyer himself, and immediately after this conversation, and their meal, they went to him.

"This is the man of whom I have said so much to you," said the squire to the lieutenant, and then, to Meyer, "And this is a gentleman who, I hope, will encourage you about your school."

Meyer did not understand; but the squire explained to him, saying that this was to be the schoolmaster of the village.

Meyer could not sufficiently wonder at this, and after a time he said, "If the gentleman is willing to take so much pains, we can not thank him enough; but it will require time to become well acquainted with our condition and ways, in the village."

*Lieutenant.* "I presume so; but one must begin some time or other; and I shall not regret any pains I take to examine as thoroughly as possible what is needed, and what your children can properly learn, in order to be well-fitted for their farming and manufacturing."

*Meyer.* "That will be an excellent beginning."

*Lieut.* "I do not know how else I ought to begin; and I shall take every opportunity of becoming acquainted with all manner of house and field labor, so as to learn correctly what training and what example your children need, in order to the right education for their vocation and circumstances."

Meyer's Marcieli was quite at home with the lieutenant. She showed him all about the house, and in the stables, what the children must do, to learn to do in good order whatever was necessary for themselves and their parents; made them dig in the garden and throw earth hither and thither, to even the ground and improve its appearance, and adjust the edges; and to scatter fodder correctly. The more he saw, the more questions he asked; inquired how they

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\* From Part III. of "*Lienhard and Gertrud*," as extracted in Christoffel's "*Pestalozzi's Life and Views*," Zurich, 1847.

measured hay, reckoned tithes, and kept account of the cotton manufacture; what was the difference of wages in different kinds of cotton, and a hundred other things. These they explained to him as far as they could. Then he proposed to teach the children how to spin. But Mareieli said, "We take in some hundred *zentners*\* of yarn in a year, and I have never yet brought them to spin right well. And I can not complain about it, either; for they have to do a good deal in the fields and about the cattle. But if you desire to see a good arrangement for the matter of spinning, you must go to see the mason's wife. With her, there is something to be seen on that point; but not with us."

*Lieut.* "Is not the mason's wife, of whom you speak, named Gertrude?"

*Mareieli.* "It seems that you know her already?"

*Lieut.* "No; but the squire had proposed to go directly from you to her."

*Mar.* "Well; then you will see that I told you correctly."

## 2. A GOOD SCHOOL IS THE FOUNDATION OF ALL GOOD FORTUNE.

Gertrude's room was so full, when they entered, that they could scarcely pass between the wheels. Gertrude, who had not expected to see any strangers, told the children, as the door opened, to get up and make room. But the squire would not let one of them move, but gave his hand first to the pastor and then to the lieutenant, to lead them behind the children, next the wall, to Gertrude's table.

You could not believe how much the scene delighted these gentlemen. What they had seen with Cotton Meyer seemed as nothing, in comparison.

And very naturally Order and comfort, about a rich man, do not surprise. We think, hundreds of others do not do so well, because they have not money. But happiness and comfort in a poor hut, showing so unanswerably that every body in the world could be comfortable, if they could maintain good order and were well brought up—this astonishes a well-disposed mind, almost beyond power of expression.

But the gentlemen had a whole room full of such poor children, in the full enjoyment of such blessings, before their eyes. The squire seemed for a time to be seeing the picture of the first-born of his future better-taught people, as if in a dream; and the falcon eyes of the lieutenant glanced hither and thither like lightning, from child to child, from hand to hand, from work to work, from eye to eye. The more he saw, the fuller did his heart grow with the thought: She has done, and completely, what we seek; the school which we look for is in her room.

The room was for a time as still as death. The gentlemen could do nothing but gaze and gaze, and be silent. But Gertrude's heart beat at the stillness and at the marks of respect which the lieutenant showed to her during it, and which bordered on reverence. The children however spun away briskly, and laughed out of their eyes to each other; for they perceived that the gentlemen were there on their account, and to see their work.

The lieutenant's first words to Gertrude were, "Do these children all belong to you, mistress?"

"No," said Gertrude, "they are not all mine;" and she then pointed out, one after another, which were hers, and which were Rudi's.

"Think of it, lieutenant," said the pastor, "these children, who belong to Rudi, could not spin one thread, four weeks ago."

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\* Hundred weight.



The lieutenant looked at the pastor, and at Gertrude, and answered, "Is it possible!"

*Gertrude.* "That is not remarkable. A child will learn to spin right well in a couple of weeks. I have known children to learn it in two days."

*Squire.* "It is not that which I am wondering at in this room, but quite another thing. These children of other people, since the three or four weeks ago when Gertrude received them, have come to look so differently, that in truth I scarcely knew one of them. Living death, and the extremest misery, spoke from their faces; and these are so gone that no trace of them is left."

The lieutenant replied, in French, "But what does she do to the children, then?"

*Squire.* "God knows!"

*Pastor.* "If you stay here all day, you hear no tone, nor see any shadow of any thing particular. It seems always, and in every thing she does, as if any other woman could do it; and certainly, the commonest wife would never imagine that Gertrude was doing, or could do, any thing which she herself could not."

*Lieut.* "You could not say more to raise her in my estimation. That is the culmination of art, where men think there is none at all. The loftiest is so simple that children and boys think they could do much more than that."

As the gentlemen conversed in French, the children began to look at each other and laugh. Heireli and the child who sat opposite to her made mouths to each other, as if to say, "*Parlen, parlen, parlen.*"

Gertrude only nodded, and all was still in a moment. And then the lieutenant, seeing a book lying on every wheel, asked Gertrude what they were doing with them."

*Ger.* "Oh, they learn out of them."

*Lieut.* "But, not while they are spinning?"

*Ger.* "Certainly."

*Lieut.* "I want to see that."

*Squire.* "Yes; you must show us that, Gertrude."

*Ger.* "Children, take up your books and learn."

*Children.* "Loud, as we did before?"

*Ger.* "Yes, loud, as you did before; but right."

Then the children opened their books, and each laid the appointed page before him, and studied the lesson which had been set. But the wheels turned as before, although the children kept their eyes wholly on the books.

The lieutenant could not be satisfied with seeing, and desired her to show him every thing relating to her management of the children, and what she taught them.

She would have excused herself, and said it was nothing at all but what the gentlemen knew, and a thousand times better than she.

But the squire intimated to her to proceed. Then she told the children to close their books, and she taught them, by rote, a stanza from the song,

"How beautiful the sunbeams' play,  
And how their soft and brilliant ray  
Delights and quickens all mankind—  
The eye, the brain, and all the mind!"

The third stanza, which they were then learning, reads thus:—

“The sun is set. And thus goes down,  
Before the Lord of Heaven’s frown,  
The loftiness and pride of men,  
And all is dusk and night again.”

She repeated one line at a time, distinctly and slowly, and the children said it after her, just as slowly, and very distinctly, and did so over and over, until one said, “I know it now.” Then she let that one repeat the stanza alone, and when he knew every syllable, she permitted him to repeat it to the others, and them to repeat after him, until they knew it. Then she began with them all three of the stanzas, of which they had already learned the first two. And then she showed the gentlemen how she taught them arithmetic; and her mode was the simplest and most practical that can be imagined.

But of that I shall speak again in another place.

### 3. RECRUITING OFFICER’S DOINGS.

The lieutenant was every moment more convinced that this was the right instruction for his school; but he was also convinced that he needed a woman like this, if the giving it was to be not merely possible, but actual.

A Prussian recruiting officer does not contrive so many means of getting into the service a fellow who comes up to the standard, as the lieutenant contrived to decoy into his trap this woman, who came up to his standard in school teaching.

“But, mistress,” he began, “could not the arrangements in your room here be introduced into a school?”

She thought a moment, and replied, “I don’t know. But it seems as if what is possible with ten children is possible with forty. But it would require much; and I do not believe that it would be easy to find a schoolmaster who would permit such an arrangement in his school.”

*Lieut.* “But if you knew of one who desired to introduce it, would you help him?”

*Ger.* (*Laughing.*) “Yes, indeed; as much as I could.”

*Lieut.* “And if I am he?”

*Ger.* “Are what?”

*Lieut.* “The schoolmaster, who would be glad to organize such a school as you have in your room.”

*Ger.* “You are no schoolmaster.”

*Lieut.* “Yes I am. Ask the gentlemen.”

*Ger.* “Yes, perhaps, in a city, and in something of which we know neither gigs nor gags.”

*Lieut.* “No; but, honestly, in a village.”

*Ger.* (*Pointing to the wheels.*) “Of such children?”

*Lieut.* “Yes, of such children.”

*Ger.* “It is a long way from me to the place where schoolmasters for such children look like you.”

*Lieut.* “Not so far.”

*Ger.* “I think it is.”

*Lieut.* “But you will help me, if I undertake to organize my school in that way?”

*Ger.* “If it is far away, I will not go with you.”

*Lieut.* "I shall remain here."

*Ger.* "And keep school?"

*Lieut.* "Yes."

*Ger.* "Here in the room?"

*Lieut.* "No; in the school-room."

*Ger.* "You would be sorry, if you should be taken at your word."

*Lieut.* "But you still more, if you should have to help me."

*Ger.* "No; it would please me."

*Lieut.* "You have said twice that you would help me."

*Ger.* "I have—and I say so three times, if you are our schoolmaster."

Here he and the other gentlemen began to laugh; and the squire said "Yes, Gertrude: he is certainly your schoolmaster."

This perplexed her. She blushed, and did not know what to say.

*Lieut.* "What makes you so silent?"

*Ger.* "I think it would have been well if I had been as silent for a quarter of an hour back."

*Lieut.* "Why?"

*Ger.* "How can I help you, if you are a schoolmaster?"

*Lieut.* "You are looking for excuses; but I shall not let you go."

*Ger.* "I will beg you."

*Lieut.* "It will be of no use; if you had promised to marry me, you must abide by the promise."

*Ger.* "No, indeed!"

*Lieut.* "Yes, indeed!"

*Ger.* "It is out of the question."

*Squire.* "If there is any thing which you know, Gertrude, do it as well as you can; he will not ask any thing more; but, whatever you do to help him, you will do to help me."

*Ger.* "I will, very willingly; but you see my room full of children, and how I am tied down. But, with regard to advice and help in matters relating to work, which a gentleman naturally can not understand, I know a woman who understands them much better than I; and she can do whatever I can not."

*Squire.* "Arrange it as you can; but give him your hand on the bargain."

#### 4. A PROUD SCHOOLMASTER.

The new condition of affairs raised the courage of the pastor, who had been almost in the state of a slave under the old squire; and his acquaintance with the son contributed much toward accomplishing his ancient plans. On the next Sunday he explained to the people some chapters of the Bible; and, at the end of the service, called for whatever else was to be done. Then the squire took the lieutenant by the hand, and told him to say himself to the congregation what he desired to do for their children.

The lieutenant arose, bowed to the squire, the pastor, and the congregation, took off his hat, leaned on his stick, and said:—"I have been brought up with a nobleman, and am myself a nobleman; but I am not for that reason ashamed to serve God and my follow-men in the situation which Providence calls me; and I thank my dear parents, now under the ground, for the good education they gave me, and which enables me now to put your school on such a footing that, if God will, your children shall all their lives be respected for having attended it. But it is not my business to make long speeches and sermons;



but, if it please God, I will begin my school instruction to-morrow, and then every thing will be made plain. Only I will say that each child should bring his work, whether sewing, or spinning cotton, or whatever it be, and the instruments for the same, until the squire shall purchase such for the school."

"And what will he do with spinning-wheels in the school?" said men and women to each other in all their seats, and one, behind him, so loud that he heard it.

The lieutenant turned round, and said aloud, "Nothing, except to make the children learn to read and cipher, of each other."

This the farmers could not get into their heads how the scholars could learn to read and cipher of each other; and many of them said, at the church-door, "It will be with him as it was with the madder-plants, and the beautiful sheep that the old squire had brought from two hundred leagues away, and then let them die miserably at their fodder." But some older and experienced men said, "He does not look at all like the madder-plants; and has not the appearance of a man who talks carelessly."

That evening the lieutenant went into the school-room, and nailed up, immediately opposite to where he was going to sit, a beautiful engraving. This represented an old man, with a long white beard, who, with wrinkled brow, and eyes wide open, lifted up his finger.

The squire and the pastor said, "What is that for?"

*Lieut.* "He is to say to me, 'Gluelphi, swear not, while you sit there before me!'"

They replied, "Then we will not pull him down, he fills too important a place."

*Lieut.* "I have been considering about it."

## 5. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION.

Next morning, the lieutenant began with his school. But I should not readily recommend any other schoolmaster to do what he did, and after such a Sunday's proclamation, which was considered proud by every body, then cause his school to be put in order by a farmer's wife. Still, if he be a Gluelphi, he may do it, and it will not injure him; but I mean a real Gluelphi, not a pretended one.

He let Gertrude put the children in order, just as if she had them at home.

She divided them according to age, and the work they had, as they could best be put together; and placed her own and Rudi's children, who were already accustomed to her management, between others. In front, next the table, she put those who did not know their A, B, C; next behind them, those who were to spell; then those who could read a little, and last those who could read fluently. Then, for the first row, she put only three letters on the blackboard, and taught them to them. Whichever knew them best then was to name them aloud, and the others were to repeat them after him. Then she changed the order of the letters, wrote them larger and smaller, and so left them before their eyes, all the morning. In like manner she wrote up several letters, for the scholars who were learning to spell, and those who could read a little had to spell with these letters. But these, as well as those who could read fluently, were to have their books always open by their spinning-wheels, and to repeat in a low tone of voice after one who read aloud. And every moment they were saying to that one 'Go on.'

For the work, Gertrude had brought a woman with her, named Margaret, who was to come to the school every day; as Gertrude had no time for that purpose.

This Margaret understood her business so well that it would not be easy to find another like her. As soon as any child's hand, or wheel, was still, she stepped up to him, and did not leave him until all was going on in good order again.

Most of the children carried home that evening so much work, that their mothers did not believe they had done it alone. But many of the children answered, "Yes; it makes a difference whether Margaret shows us, or you." And in like manner they praised the lieutenant, their schoolmaster.

In the afternoon he conducted the school, and Gertrude watched him, as he had her in the morning; and things went so well that she said to him, "If I had known that I could finish all my work in helping you organize the school in a couple of hours, I should not have been so troubled on Thursday."

And he was himself pleased that things went so well.

That evening he gave to each of the children over seven years old, a couple of sheets of paper, stitched together, and a couple of pens; and each child found his name written thereon as beautifully as print. They could not look at them enough; and one after another asked him how they were to be used. He showed them; and wrote for them, for a quarter of an hour, such great letters that they looked as if they were printed. They would have watched him until morning, it seemed so beautiful to them, and they kept asking him if they were to learn to do the same.

He answered, "The better you learn to write, the better I shall be pleased." At dismissal, he told them to take care of their paper, and to stick the points of their pens into rotten apples; for that was the very best way to keep them.

"To this, many of the children answered, "Yes, that would be nice, if we had any rotten apples; but it is not winter now."

At this he laughed, and said, "If you have none, perhaps I can get them for you. The pastor's wife has certainly more than she wants."

But other children said, "No, no; we will get some, we have some yet."

#### 6. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION—CONTINUED.

The children all ran home, in order quickly to show their beautiful writing to their parents; and they praised the schoolmaster and Margaret, as much as they could. But many answered, "Yes, yes; new brooms sweep clean;" or some such singular expression, so that the children did not understand what they meant. This troubled the good children, but still they did not cease to be pleased; and if their parents took no pleasure in their beautiful writing, they showed it to whomever they could, to their little brothers in the cradle, and to the cat on the table; and took such care of them as they had never in their lives taken of any thing before. And if the little brother reached out his hand, or the cat its paw, after them, they quickly drew them back, and said, "You must only look at it with your eyes; not touch it." Some of them put theirs away in the Bible. Others said they could not open such a great book, and put them in a chest, among the most precious things they had. Their joy at going to school again was so great that the next morning many of them got up almost before day, and called their mothers to get them quickly something to eat, so that they might get to school in good season. On Friday, when the new writ-

ing-benches, which the squire had had made, were ready, their pleasure was very great. During the first lesson, they would all sit together; but the lieutenant divided them into four classes, in order that there should not be too many of them, and that none should escape him, and none could make a single mark that he did not see.

In this study also, most of the children did very well. Some learned so easily, that it seemed to come to them of itself; and others, again, did well, because they had been more in the habit of doing things that required attention. Some, however, who had never had very much in their hands except the spoon with which they ate, found great difficulties. Some learned arithmetic very easily, who found writing very hard, and who held the pen as if their hands had been crippled. And there were some young loafers among them, who had all their lives scarcely done any thing except run about the streets and fields, and who, nevertheless, learned almost every thing far quicker than the rest.

So it is in the world. The most worthless fellows have the best natural endowments, and usually exceed, in intelligence and capacity, those who do not wander about so much, but sit at home at their work. And the arithmeticians among the farmers are usually to be found at the tavern.

The schoolmaster found these poor children generally much more capable, both in body and in mind, than he had expected.

For this there is also a good reason. Need and poverty make men more reflective and shrewd than riches and superfluity, and teach him to make the best use of every thing that will bring him bread.

Gluelphi made so much use of this fact, that, in every thing he did, and in almost every word he used, in the school, he had the distinct purpose of making use of this basis laid down by nature herself, for the education of the poor and of countrymen. He was so strenuous, even, about the sweat of daily labor, that he claimed that whatever can be done for a man, makes him useful, or reliable for skill, only so far as he has acquired his knowledge and skill in the sweat of his years of study; and that, where this is wanting, the art and knowledge of men is like a mass of foam in the sea, which often looks, at a distance, like a rock rising out of the abyss, but which falls as soon as wind and wave attack it. Therefore, he said, in education, thorough and strict training to the vocation must necessarily precede all instruction by words.

He also maintained a close connection between this training to a vocation and training in manners, and asserted that the manners of every condition and trade, and even of the place or country of a man's abode, are so important to him, that the happiness and peace of all his life depends on them. Training to good manners was thus also a chief object of his school organization. He would have his school-room as clean as a church. He would not even let a pane be out of the windows, or a nail be wrongly driven in the floor; and still less would he permit the children to throw any thing on the floor, eat during study, or any thing else of the kind. He preserved strict order, even in the least thing; and arranged so that, even in sitting down and rising up, the children would not hit against each other.

In muddy weather they were made to leave their shoes at the door, and sit in their stockings. And if their coats were muddy, they had to dry them in the sun, or at the stove, as the case might be, and clean them. He himself cut their nails for many of them, and put the hair of almost all the boys in good order;



and whenever any one went from writing to working, he was obliged to wash his hands. They had, likewise, to rinse out their mouths at proper times, and take care of their teeth, and see that their breath was not foul. All these were things they knew nothing about.

When they came into the school and went out, they stepped up to him, one after the other, and said to him, "God be with you." Then he looked at them from head to foot, and looked at them so that they knew by his eye, without his saying a word, if there was any thing wrong about them. But if this look did not serve to set things right, he spoke to them. When he saw that the parents were to blame for any thing, he sent a message to them; and, not uncommonly, a child came home to its mother with the message, "You, the schoolmaster sends his respects, and asks whether you have no needles, or no thread; or if water is expensive with you," and the like.

Margaret was as if she had been made on purpose to help him about these things. If a child's hair was not in good order, she placed it with its spinning-wheel before her, and braided it up while the child studied and worked. Most of them did not know how to fasten their shoes or their stockings. All these things she showed them; adjusted their neckcloths and aprons, if they were wrong, and, if she saw a hole in their clothes, took a needle and thread and mended it. At about the close of the school, she went through the room, praising or blaming the children, as they had worked well, half-well, or ill. Those who had done well, then went first up to the schoolmaster, and said to him, "God be with you," and he then held out his hand to them and replied, "God be with you, you dear child!" Those who had done only half-well, came then to him; and to them he only said, "God be with you," without holding out his hand to them. Lastly, those who had not done well at all had to leave the room before the others, without daring to go to him at all.

If one of them came too late, he found the door shut, like the gate of a fortress that is closed. Whether then he cried or not, made no difference; the master said to him, briefly, "Go home again, now; it will do you good to think a long time about it. Every thing that is done must be done at the right time, or else it is as if it is not done at all."

#### 7. GOD'S WORD IS THE TRUTH.

Thus, every word he said, was intended, by constantly accustoming the children to what they would in future have to say and do, to lead them into true wisdom in life; for he endeavored, with every word, to plant deep in their minds such a foundation of equanimity and peace, as every man can possess in all circumstances, if the difficulties of his lot are early made to be another nature to him. And this is the central point of the difference between his mode of instructing the children, and that of other schoolmasters.

The efficiency of his labors soon convinced the pastor of Bonnal of the importance of that distinction; and caused him to see that all verbal instruction, so far as it aims at true human wisdom, and that highest end of this wisdom, true religion, must undoubtedly be subordinated to constant exercises in useful domestic labor; and that that mouth-religion which consists in memory-work and controversial opinions may be forgotten, as soon as, by constant exercises in useful practical exertion, a better foundation is laid for good and noble aspirations; that is, for true wisdom and true religion.

But the pastor saw that he himself knew little of any such management of men, and that the lieutenant, and even Margaret, accomplished more in that direction than he did by preaching for hours, or by doing whatever else he could. He was ashamed of himself in the comparison, but he aided their undertaking, learned from both of them whatever he could, and, in every thing which he taught his children, founded upon what the lieutenant and Margaret practiced. But in proportion as these latter accustomed their children to useful labor, so much did he shorten his verbal instructions.

This he would gladly have done long before; but he did not know how to begin it, or how to continue it. He had indeed dreamed of what the lieutenant and Margaret were doing; but he could not deprive his children of such benefits as were derivable from the old system of instruction, for the sake of mere dreams of what he could not execute. But now that he saw a better truth, and the advantage of practice in doing over practice in teaching, he followed after that better truth, and in his age made giant strides in the change of his method of popular instruction.

From this time forward he permitted his children to learn no more dogmas by rote—such, for example, as those apples of discord, the questions which for two hundred years have split good Christians into so many parties, and which certainly, for country people, have not made easier the way to everlasting life; for he was every moment more convinced that man loses little or nothing by losing mere words.

But while he, like Luther, with the help of God, struck down the foolish verbiage of a mere mouth-religion, still he did not serve up instead of it a new one of the same kind, one of his own instead of the strange one; but united his efforts with those of the lieutenant and Margaret, to train his children, without many words, to a peaceful and laborious life in their vocations; by constantly accustoming them to a wise mode of life, to stop up the sources of ignoble, shameful, and disorderly practices, and in this manner to lay the foundations of a quiet and silent habit of worship of God, and of a pure, active, and equally and silent benevolence to men.

To attain this end, he based every word of his brief instructions in religion upon the doings and omissions of the children, their circumstances and duties in life; so that, when he talked with them of God and eternity, he seemed to be speaking of father and mother, of house and home—of things closely connected with this world.

He pointed out to them with his own hand the few wise and pious portions which they were still made to learn by rote from the book. Of the rest of the prolix, quarrelsome gabble, which he desired to empty out of their brains, as the summer melts away the winter snow, he saved nothing at all; and if any one began to talk to him about it, he said that he saw more clearly every day that it was not good for men to have heads filled up with too many whys and wherefores, and that daily experience showed that, just in proportion as men carried about such whys and wherefores in their heads, they lost in their degree of natural understanding, and the daily usefulness of their hands and feet. And he no longer permitted any child to learn a long prayer by heart; saying openly that it was contrary to the express spirit of Christianity, and to the command which the Saviour gave to his disciples, "But thou when thou prayest," &c.

## 8. TO BE AS GOOD AS A MAN CAN BE, HE MUST APPEAR BAD.

The best thing about him was, that he said plainly, all that he did, "If I had not seen the lieutenant and Margaret doing this in their school-room with the children, I should have remained, as to their instruction, even until death, the old pastor in Bonnal, without any change, just as I have been for thirty years. I was not in a condition to undertake the chief parts of the true instruction of these children; and all that I can do for it, even now, is this: not to lay any hindrance in the way of the lieutenant and Margaret."

He was quite right; for of the ordinary employments of men, and of most things upon which the lieutenant based his proceedings, he knew nothing whatever. He both knew men, and did not know them. He could describe them in such a way that you would have to say, "Yes, they are thus." But he did not know them so that he could mingle with them, and correct or accomplish any thing about them. And the lieutenant often told him directly that he was not capable of accomplishing any real reform amongst men; that he would only destroy them with his goodness. For how kind soever the lieutenant might seem always, no one could easily have stricter principles of education than he.

He openly maintained, that "Love is useless in the training of men, except behind or by the side of fear. For they must learn to root up thorns and thistles; and men could never do that willingly, never of themselves, but only when they are obliged, or have become accustomed to. One who would set any thing right with men, or bring them up to any proposed point, must gain the mastery of their evil qualities, must follow up their falsehood, and must make them sweat with pain, for their crooked ways. The education of men is nothing except the polishing of single members of the great chain by which all humanity is bound together. Faults in the education and guidance of men consist mostly in this, that we take single links out of the chain and undertake to ornament them, as if they were isolated, and were not links belonging to that great chain; and as if the power and usefulness of that single member depended upon its being gilded, or silvered, or set with precious stones; and not upon its being well-knit to its next neighbors without any weakening, and being strongly and pliantly adapted to the daily vibrations of the whole chain, and to all its movements."

Thus spoke the man whose strength consisted in his knowledge of the world, to the clergyman, whose weakness consisted in his ignorance of it.

But it was the labor of the life of the former to acquire a knowledge of men; and he always felt gratitude to his deceased father, for having made this his design from youth up. His father had thought many men good who were not, by reason of insufficient knowledge with them; and the sorrow therefrom resulting cost him his life. A few days before his death, he called Gluelphi, then eleven years old, to his bedside, and said, "Child, trust no one, all your life, until you have experience of him. Men betray and are betrayed; but to know them, is worth gold. Respect them, but trust them not; and let it be your daily task to write down every evening what you have seen and heard."

And therewith the last tears came from his eyes, and soon they were closed. And from that day, Gluelphi had not omitted, any evening, to follow the death-bed advice of his father. He had also preserved all his written records, from youth. They are to him a treasure of knowledge of human nature; and he calls them by no name except the good bequest of his dear deceased father;



and he often moistens them with tears. They make a thousand heavy hours pleasant to him, and have been, in his school also, a guide which has quickly led him to the object he has desired.

He knew the children in a week, better than their parents in seven years; and, according to his principles, set himself to make them sweat for pain if they undertook to keep any thing secret from him, and especially to keep their hearts always open to his eyes.

9. HE WHO SEPARATES THE PRINCIPLES OF ARITHMETIC AND OF SUSCEPTIBILITY TO TRUTH, PUTS ASUNDER WHAT GOD HAS JOINED.

But how much soever he cared for the hearts of his children, he took as much care for their heads; and required whatever went into them should be as clear and comprehensible as the silent moon in the heavens. He said, "Nothing can be called teaching, which does not proceed in that principle; what is obscure, and deceives, and makes confused, is not, teaching, but perverting the mind."

This perversion of the mind, in his children, he guarded against, by teaching them, above all, to see and hear closely; and by laboriously and industriously teaching them habits of cool observation, and at the same time by strengthening in them the natural capacity which every man possesses. To this end, he practiced them especially in arithmetic; in which he carried them so far, within a year, that they very soon yawned if any one began to talk to them about the wonderful puzzles with which Hartknopf's friends so easily astonished the rest of the people in the village.

So true is it, that the way to lead men away from error is, not to oppose their folly with words, but to destroy the spirit of it within them. To describe the night, and the dark colors of its shadows, does not help you see; it is only by lighting a lamp, that you can show what the night was; it is only by couching a cataract, that you can show what the blindness has become. Correct seeing and correct hearing is the first step toward living wisely; and arithmetic is the means by which nature guards us from error in our searches after truth; the basis of peace and prosperity, which children can secure for their manhood only by thoughtful and careful pursuit of their employments.

For such reasons, the lieutenant thought nothing so important as a right training of his children in arithmetic; and he said, "A man's mind will not proceed well, unless it gains the habitude of apprehending and adhering to the truth, either by means of much experience, or of arithmetical practice, which will in great part supply the place of that habitude."

But his methods of teaching them arithmetic are too extended to be given here.

10. A SURE MEANS AGAINST MEAN AND LYING SLANDERS.

In this matter also he succeeded with the children as he desired; and it could not but happen that one, who accomplished so much for them, should become dear to many people. But it was far from being the case that all were satisfied with him. The chief charge against him was, that he was too proud for a schoolmaster, and would not talk with the people at all. He said one thing and another to defend himself, and tried to make them understand that he was using his time and his lungs for their children; but the farmers said that, notwithstanding all that, he might stop a moment or two when any one wanted to say something to him; and, if pride did not prevent him, he would.

All the children, to be sure, contradicted their parents in this, and said that he certainly was not proud, but they replied, "He may be good to you, and may be proud nevertheless."

But the rainy weather, in the third week of his school-keeping, accomplished for him, what the good children could not do, with all their talking.

It was an established principle in Bonnal, that an old bridge, in front of the school-house, decayed for twenty years, should not be replaced; and so, whenever it rained for two days together, the children had to get wetted almost to their knees, to get to the school. But the first time that Gluelphi found the street so deep in water, he stood out in the street, as soon as the children came, in the middle of the rain, and lifted them, one after another, over the stream.

This looked very funny to a couple of men and their wives, who lived just opposite the school-house, and who were exactly those who had complained most that his pride would scarcely let him say good day and good night to people. They found great pleasure in seeing him get wet through and through, in his red coat, and thought he would never keep at it a quarter of an hour, and expected every moment that he would call out to them to know whether nobody was coming to help him. But when he continued right on with his work, just as if not even a cat lived any where near him, not to say a man, and was dripping wet, clothes and hair, and all over, and still showed no shadow of impatience, but kept carrying over one child after another, they began to say, behind their windows, "He must be a good-natured fool, after all, to keep it up so long, and we seem to have been mistaken about him. If he had been proud, he would certainly have stopped long ago."

At last they crept out of their holes, and went out to him, and said, "We did not see, before, that you were taking so much trouble, or we would have come out to you sooner. Go home and dry yourself; we will carry the children over. We can bear the rain better than you. And, before school is out, we will bring a couple of planks, too, so that there shall be a bridge here, as there used to be."

This they did not say merely, but did it. Before eleven o'clock, there was actually a bridge erected, so that after the school the scholars could go dryshod over the brook. And, also, the complaints about his pride ceased; for the two neighbors' wives, who had been the loudest in making them, now sang quite another song.

If this seems incredible to you, reader, make an experiment yourself, and stand out in the rain for the sake of other people's children, without being called on to do so, or receiving any thing for it, until you are dripping wet; and then see whether those people do not then willingly speak good of you, and do good to you; and whether they say any thing evil of you, except in regard to something actually and very evil, or something which they absolutely can not see and understand to be otherwise than bad.

## 11. FOOLISH WORDS, AND SCHOOL PUNISHMENTS.

But it was not long before the people had something else to complain about; and, indeed, something worse than before. The Hartknopf party in the village, that is, discovered that the lieutenant was not a good Christian; and began quietly to make good and simple people in the village believe it. One of the first to find comfort in this story, and to endeavor to propagate it, was the old school-master. He could not endure that all the children should so praise and love

the new schoolmaster. As long as he had been schoolmaster, they had hated him; and he had become so used to this, in thirty years, that he believed it must be so; and asserted that the children, not being able to understand what is good for them, naturally hate all discipline, and consequently all schoolmasters. But he made not much progress with this theory; and he fancied people were going to tell him that the children loved their present schoolmaster because he was good to them.

This vexed him; for he could not endure, all his life, to have it flung at him that his own foolishness was the reason that the children did not love him, although it was the honest truth. If he observed the least thing which he disapproved, the first word was, "You are killing me, body and soul; you will bring me into my grave. If you did not deserve hell for any other reason, you deserve it on account of me;" and the like.

Such language, especially to children, does not cause good feelings; and they must have been much more than children to be able to love a fool, who spoke to them in that way every moment. They knew whom they were dealing with, and when he was most enraged, they would say to each other, "When we kill again, and bring him some sausages and meat, we shall not go to hell any more, at least as long as he has any of them left to eat."

With the new schoolmaster the case was quite otherwise. His harshest reproofs to the children, when they did wrong, were, "That is not right," or "You are injuring yourself," or "In that way you will never arrive at any thing good," &c. Little as this was, it was effectual, because it was the truth.

Gluelphi's punishments consisted mostly in exercises intended to help the faults which they were to punish. For instance, if a child was idle, he was made to carry stone for the guard-fence, which the teacher was making some of the older boys construct, at the sand-meadow, or to cut fire-wood, &c. A forgetful one was made school-messenger, and for four or five days had to transact whatever business the teacher had in the village.

Even during his punishments, he was kind to the children, and scarcely ever talked more with them than while punishing them. "Is it not better for you," he would often say to a careless one, "to learn to keep yourself attentive to what you do, than every moment to be forgetting something, and then to have to do every thing over again?" Then the child would often throw himself upon him with tears, and, with his trembling hand in his, would reply, "Yes, dear Herr schoolmaster." And he would then answer, "Good child. Don't cry; but learn better; and tell your father and mother to help you overcome your carelessness, or your idleness."

Disobedience, which was not carelessness, he punished by not speaking publicly to such a child, for three, or four, or five days, but only alone with him; intimating to him, at the close of school, to remain. Impertinence and impropriety, he punished in the same way. Wickedness, however, and lying, he punished with the rod; and any child punished with the rod, was not permitted, during a whole week, to join in the children's plays; and his name and his fault stood entered in the Register of Offenses, until he gave unmistakable evidence of improvement, when they were stricken out again.

So great was the difference between the old and the new organization of the school.



## CHRISTOPHER AND ALICE.

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In the year 1782, Pestalozzi, with a view of directing the attention of the readers of "*Leonard and Gertrude*" from the story to the moral lessons which it was intended to convey, and to correct some erroneous impressions which the people had got from the picture he had drawn of the depravity of subordinate functionaries in the villages, published his "*Christopher and Alice*," (*Christoph and Else*.) This work consists of a series of dialogues, in which Christopher, an intelligent farmer, discusses with his family, chapter by chapter, the history of Bonnal. The principal interlocutors are, besides Christopher, his wife Alice, Josiah, his head-servant, and Frederic, his eldest son. Some of his neighbors occasionally drop in, and take part in the discussion, which is replete with the soundest views of life, and of parental duty, and opportunity, conveyed in homely but expressive language. But it lacked the interest of action, and never reached the class of people for whose special benefit it was intended.

We extract the principal portion of one of the dialogues, in which Pestalozzi exalts the training office of the mother and the home above that of the schoolmaster and the school room—a leading principle of his educational labors through life—one of the earliest and latest of his aspirations for the advancement of his father-land, and of humanity.

### HOME AND SCHOOL TRAINING. DOMESTIC EDUCATION.

"That is my chapter, father!" said Alice, when Christopher had read the twelfth chapter of our book;\* "a pious mother, who herself teaches her children seems to me to be the finest sight on the earth."

"It is a very different one from a school room, at all events," said Josiah.

*Alice.* "I did not mean to say that schools are not very good."

*Christopher.* "Nor would I allow myself to think so."

*Josiah.* "Well, and it is true, after all, that nothing of what the schoolmaster can say will ever reach children's hearts in the same way as what their parents teach them; and, generally speaking, I am sure there is not in school-going all the good that people fancy there is."

*Christopher.* "I am afraid, Josiah, thou art rather straining thy point. We ought to thank God for all the good that there is in the world; and, as for the schools in our country, we can't thank Him enough for them."

*Josiah.* "Well spoken, master. It is well that there are schools; and God forbid that I should be ungrateful for any good that it has done to us. But, with all this, I think that he must be a fool who, having plenty at home, runs about begging; and that is the very thing which our village folks do, by forgetting all

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\* This chapter represents Gertrude in the midst of her children, teaching them, at the same time that they are engaged in spinning.—B.

the good lessons which they might teach their children at home, and, instead thereof, sending them every day to gather up the dry crumbs which are to be got in our miserable schools. I am sure that is not quite as it ought to be."

*Christopher.* "Nor is it, perhaps, quite as thou hast put it."

*Josiah.* "Nay, master! but only look it in the face, and thou'lt surely see it the same as I do. That which parents can teach their children is always what they stand most in need of in life; and it is a pity that parents should neglect this, by trusting in the words which the schoolmaster makes them get by heart. It is very true, they may be good and wise words, and have an excellent meaning to them; but, after all, they are only words, and coming from the mouth of a stranger, they don't come half as near home as a father's or a mother's words."

*Christopher.* "I can not see what thou would'st be at, Josiah."

*Josiah.* "Look, master! The great point in bringing up a child is, that he should be well brought up for his own house; he must learn to know, and handle, and use those things on which his bread and his quiet will depend through life; and it seems to me very plain, that fathers and mothers can teach that much better at home, than any schoolmaster can do it in his school. The schoolmaster, no doubt, tells the children of a great many things which are right and good, but they are never worth as much in his mouth as in the mouth of an upright father, or a pious mother. The schoolmaster, for instance, will tell the child to fear God, and to honor his father and mother, for that such is the word of God; but the child understands little of what he says, and mostly forgets it again before he comes home. But if, at home, his father gives him milk and bread, and his mother denies herself a morsel, that she may give it to him, the child feels and understands that he ought to honor his father and mother, who are so kind to him, and he will not forget his father's words, which tell him that such is the word of God, as easily as the empty word of the schoolmaster. In the same way, if the child is told at school to be merciful, and to love his neighbor as himself, he gets the text by heart, and perhaps thinks of it for a few days, till the nice words slip again from his memory. But at home he sees a poor neighbor's wife calling in upon his mother, lamenting over her misery, her hunger, and nakedness; he sees her pale countenance, her emaciated and trembling figure, the very image of wretchedness; his heart throbs, his tears flow; he lifts up his eyes full of grief and anxiety to his mother, as if he himself was starving; his mother goes to fetch some refreshments for the poor sufferer, in whose looks the child now reads comfort and reviving hope; his anguish ceases, his tears flow no longer, he approaches her with a smiling face; at last his mother returns, and her gift is received with sobs of gratitude, which draw fresh tears from the child's eye. Here then he learns what it is to be merciful, and to love one's neighbor. He learns it, without the aid of words, by the real fact; he sees mercy itself, instead of learning words about mercy."

*Christopher.* "I must own I begin to think thou art not quite mistaken in saying that too much value is put upon the schoolmaster's teaching."

*Josiah.* "Of course, master! If thou sendest thy sheep up into the mountain, thou reliest upon their being well kept by the shepherd, who is paid for it, and thou dost not think of running about after them thyself; but if thou hast them at home, in thy own stables, thou lookest after them thyself. Now it is just the same thing with the school; only there is this difference, that it is easy to get for the sheep pasture which is infinitely better than the food they have in the

stable; but it is not so easy to find a school in which the children are better taught than they might be at home. *The parents' teaching is the kernel of wisdom, and the schoolmaster's business is only to make a husk over it, and there even is a great chance whether it turn out well.*"

*Alice.* "Why, Josiah, thou makest one's brains whirl all round, about one's children. I think I see now what thou art at; and I fancy many a poor, ignorant mother, who now sends her children to school, without thinking any thing about it, merely because it is the custom to do so, would be very glad to be taught better."

*Josiah.* "There is yet another part of the story, master. What helps the common people to get through the world, thou knowest, and to have their daily bread, and a cheerful heart, is nothing else but good sense and natural understanding; and I have never found in all my life a useful man who was what they call a good scholar. The right understanding with the common people is, as it were, free and easy, and shows itself always in the proper place and season; so that a man's words don't fit but at the very moment when they are spoken, and a quarter of an hour before or after they would not fit at all. But the school understanding, brings in all manner of sayings which are fit at all times, in summer and winter, in hot and cold, in Lent and at Easter; and that is the reason why this school understanding does not do any good to common people, who must regulate themselves according to times and seasons; and that is the reason, again, why their natural understandings, which are in them, ought to be drawn out more. And for this, there are no better teachers than the house, and the father's and mother's love, and the daily labor at home, and all the wants and necessities of life. But if the children must needs be sent to school, the schoolmaster should, at least, be an open-hearted, cheerful, affectionate, and kind man, who would be as a father to the children; a man made on purpose to open children's hearts, and their mouths, and to draw forth their understandings, as it were, from the hindermost corner. In most schools, however, it is just the contrary; the schoolmaster seems as if he was made on purpose to shut up children's mouths and hearts, and to bury their good understandings ever so deep under ground. That is the reason why healthy and cheerful children, whose hearts are full of joy and gladness, hardly ever like school. Those that show best at school are the children of whining hypocrites, or of conceited parish-officers; stupid dunces, who have no pleasure with other children; these are the bright ornaments of school rooms, who hold up their heads among the other children, like the wooden king in the ninepins among his eight fellows. But, if there is a boy who has too much good sense to keep his eyes, for hours together, fixed upon a dozen letters which he hates; or a merry girl, who, while the schoolmaster discourses of spiritual life, plays with her little hands all manner of temporal fun, under the desk; the schoolmaster, in his wisdom, settles that these are the goats who care not for their everlasting salvation. . . ."

Thus spoke good Josiah, in the overflowing of his zeal, against the nonsense of village schools, and his master and mistress grew more and more attentive to what he said.

"Well, I trust," said Christopher, at last, "there still may be some other light to view the matter in."

But Alice replied: "There may be twenty more lights to view the matter in, for aught I know. But I care not; I know this one thing, that I will have my



children more about me in future ; it seems very natural, indeed, that fathers and mothers should themselves teach their children as much as they possibly can. I think there is a great deal in what Josiah says, and one really shudders, when one comes to reflect what sort of people our village schoolmasters generally are. There are many of them, I know, Christopher, whom thou wouldst not trust with a cow, or a calf, over winter ; and it is very true, that one ought to look more one's self after one's children, and not fancy all is well, provided one sends them to school."

## HOW GERTRUDE TEACHES HER CHILDREN.

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THIS work was written in 1801, and is in the form of letters to Pestalozzi's friend Gesner, of Zurich, son of the author of "*The Death of Abel*;" and was, indeed, drawn up at his request. Its purpose is to present in a condensed form the history of the development of Pestalozzi's views on the principles and practice of instruction, up to the period of the composition of the work.

The name is not appropriate to the actual contents of the book; for instead of containing such details of rudimentary instructions as mothers might give, it is mainly a careful and condensed compend of an extended course, adapted to the minds of teachers of some experience. The title was given with reference to the previous work, "*Leonard and Gertrude*," in which Gertrude is represented as a pattern teacher for young children; and it signifies merely that the present work sets forth at greater length the principles and practice of the former one. It has an allusive propriety only.

The work commences with reference to Pestalozzi's early confusion of ideas respecting education, and states briefly his early labors for improving the condition of the poor. But he says his early hopes, as expressed in Iselin's "*Ephemerides*" (1782,) were no less comprehensive than his later ones. His progress had been in working out the details of the application of his principles to practical instruction. In the course of the unsuccessful experiment at NeuhoF, he proceeds, he had acquired an acquaintance with the real needs of the Swiss people, altogether deeper than that of his cotemporaries. In the despondent years then following, he endeavored to do something toward supplying those needs, by composing and publishing his "*Inquiries into the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind*." But Pestalozzi was not made for a master of theories, whether in social or mental philosophy, or elsewhere. His work neither satisfied him nor commanded the attention of the public.

Pestalozzi then traces his career as a practical educator, beginning with his sudden resolution to become a schoolmaster, and his bold assumption, single-handed and without money, books, apparatus, or any thing except a ruinous old building, of the charge of the school of homeless poor children at Stanz, and pausing to give brief accounts, partly autobiographical, of his three assistants, Krüsi, Buss, and Tobler.\*

Besides the exposition of his practical views, of which the following pages present an abstract in his own words, the work contains a consider-

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\* These autobiographies will be found in the "*American Journal of Education*," Vol. V., p. 155.

able portion of polemic matter, directed against cotemporary evils and errors in received modes of education. A principal origin of the superficial and unsubstantial character of these modes he finds to have been the introduction of printing, which, according to him, has caused an excessive devotion to mere language, without regard to thought, and has resulted in making book-men, instead of thinkers.

The latter portion of the work contains a somewhat obscure and unsatisfactory statement of the position of religious education in his system, and of the mode of giving it; which, however, is by no means to be taken as an adequate presentation of Pestalozzi's views on this point.

The positive part of the book may be considered as an extended answer to the question, "What is to be done to give the child all the theoretical and practical knowledge which he will need in order to perform properly the duties of his life, and thus to attain to inward contentment?"

This answer professes to discuss both the theory and the practice referred to in the question; but the former is predominant, although there is an honest effort to give the latter its proper place.

The following pages will sufficiently present the chief features of the most important portion of the work, that which sets forth the system of instruction within the three primary divisions of Number, Form, and Speech.



## PESTALOZZI'S ACCOUNT OF HIS OWN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE.

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POPULAR education once lay before me like an immense marsh, in the mire of which I waded about, until I had discovered the sources from which its waters spring, as well as the causes by which their free course is obstructed, and made myself acquainted with those points from which a hope of draining its pools might be conceived.

You shall now follow me yourself for a while through these labyrinthine windings, from which I extricated myself by accident rather than by my own art or reflection.

Ever since my youthful days, the course of my feelings, rolled on like a mighty stream, was directed to this one point; namely, to stop the sources of that misery in which I saw the people around me immersed.

It is now more than thirty years since I first put my hand to this same work, which I am still pursuing. Iselin's "*Ephemerides*" bear witness that my present dreams and wishes are not more comprehensive than those which I was even then seeking to realize.

I lived for years together in a circle of more than fifty pauper children; in poverty did I share my bread with them, and lived myself like a pauper, to try if I could teach paupers to live as men.

The plan which I had formed for their education embraced agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. But, young as I was, I knew not what attention, and what powers, the realization of my dreams would require. I allowed myself to be guided by a deep and decided feeling of what seemed to me essential to the execution of my project; and it is true that, with all the experience of after life, I have found but little reason to modify the views I then entertained. Nevertheless my confidence in their truth, founded upon the apparent infallibility of my feeling, became my ruin. For it is equally true, on the other hand, that in no one of the three departments above-mentioned did I possess any practical ability for the management of details, nor was my mind of a cast to keep up a persevering attention to little things; and, in an insulated position, with limited means, I was unable to procure such assistance as might have made up for my own deficiencies. In a short time I was surrounded with embarrassments, and saw the great object of my wishes defeated.

In the struggle, however, in which this attempt involved me, I had learned a vast deal of truth; and I was never more fully convinced of the importance of my views and plans than at the moment when they seemed to be for ever set at rest by a total failure. My heart too was still aiming at the same object; and, being now myself plunged into wretchedness, I had a better opportunity, than any man in prosperity ever can have, of making myself intimately acquainted with the wretchedness of the people, and with its sources. I suffered even as the people suffered; and they appeared to me such as they were, and as they would not have shewn themselves to any one else. For a length of

years I sat amongst them like the owl among the birds. I was cast away by men, and their sneers followed after me. "Wretch that thou art!" they exclaimed; "thou art less able than the meanest laborer to help thyself, and yet thou fanciest thyself able to help the people!" Yet amidst the scorn which I read on all lips, the mighty stream of my feeling was still directed to the same point; to stop the sources of the misery in which I saw the people around me sinking; and in one respect, at least, my power was daily increased. My misfortune was a school, in which Providence had placed me to learn truth for my great object; and I learned of it more and more. That which deceived no other, has ever deceived me; but what deceived every one else, now deceived me no longer.

I knew the people in a manner in which no one around me knew them. The glitter of prosperity arising from the newly-introduced manufactures, the freshened aspect of their houses, the abundance of their harvests, all this could not deceive me; nor even the Socratic discoursing of some of their teachers, nor the reading associations among bailiffs' sons and hair-dressers. I saw their misery, but I lost myself in the vast prospect of its scattered and insulated sources; and while my knowledge of their real condition became every day more extensive, my practical capability of remedying the evils under which they labored, increased in a far less proportion. Even "*Leonard and Gertrude*," the work which sympathy with their sufferings extorted from me, was, after all, but the production of my internal inability to offer them any real help. I stood among my contemporaries like a monument which bespeaks life, but is in itself dead. Many cast a glance upon it; but they could appreciate me and my plans no better than I myself was able to form a correct estimate of the various powers, and the details of knowledge, necessary to carry them into effect.

I grew careless; and, being swallowed up in a vortex of anxiety for outward action, I neglected to work out to a sufficient depth, within my own mind, the foundations of what I intended to bring about.

Had I done this, to what internal elevation might I have risen for the accomplishment of my purposes! and how rapidly should I then have reached my aim! I attained it not, because I was unworthy of it; because I sought it merely in the outward; because I allowed my love of truth and of justice to become a passion which tossed me about, like a torn-up reed, on the waves of life, nor would permit me to take root again in firm ground, and to imbibe that nourishment and strength of which I stood so much in need for the furtherance of my object. It was far too vain a hope, that some one else would rescue that loose reed from the waves, and secure it in the ground in which I myself neglected to plant it.

Oh, my dear friend! Who is the man that has but one feeling in common with my soul, and knows not how low I must now have sunk? And thou, my beloved Gesner, before thou readest on, wilt consecrate a tear to my course. . . . .

Deep dissatisfaction was gnawing my heart; eternal truth and eternal rectitude were converted by my passion into airy castles. With a hardened mind I clung stubbornly to words and sounds which had lost within me the basis of truth. Thus I degraded myself every day more with the worship of common-places, and the trumpeting of those quackeries, wherewith these modern times pretend to better the condition of mankind.

I was not, however, insensible to this internal abasement, nor did I fail to struggle against it. For three years I toiled, more than I can express, over my "*Inquiries into the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind*," chiefly with a view to get settled in my own mind as to the progress of my favorite ideas, and to bring my innate feelings into harmony with my notions of civil right and moral obligation. But this work, likewise, is no more than a testimony of my internal incapacity; a mere play of my reflective faculties. The subject is not comprehensively viewed, nor is there a due exercise of power to combat myself, or a sufficient tendency to that practical ability which was requisite for my purposes. It only served to increase that deficiency within myself, arising from a disproportion between my power and my knowledge, which it was indispensable that I should fill up, though I grew every day more unable to do so.

Nor did I reap more than I sowed. My book produced upon those around me the same effect as did every thing else I did; hardly any one understood me; and in my immediate neighborhood there were not two men to be found, who did not hint that they considered the whole book as a heap of nonsense. And even lately, a man of importance, who has much kindness for me, said with Swiss familiarity: "Don't you now feel yourself, Mr. Pestalozzi, that when you wrote that book you did not know what you wanted to be at?" Thus, however, to be misunderstood and wronged was my lot: but instead of profiting by it, as I ought to have done, I warred against my misfortune with internal scorn and a general contempt of mankind; and by thus injuring the foundation, which my cause ought to have had within myself, I did it infinitely more harm than all those could do, by whom I was misunderstood and despised. Yet I had not lost sight of my aim; but my adherence to it was no more than the obstinacy of a perverted imagination and a murmuring heart; it was on a profaned soil that I sought to cherish the sacred plant of human happiness.

I, who had just then, in my "*Inquiries*," declared the claims of civil right as mere claims of our animal nature, and therefore essential impediments to moral purity, the only thing that is of real value to human nature, now descended so low, that amidst the violent convulsions of the revolution I expected the mere sound of social systems, and of political theories, to produce a good effect upon the men of my age, who, with few exceptions, lived upon mere puff and swell, seeking power, and hankering after well-set tables.

My head was gray; yet I was still a child. With a heart in which all the foundations of life were shaken, I still pursued, in those stormy times, my favorite object; but my way was one of prejudice, of passion, and of error. To bring to light the inveterate causes of social evils, to spread impassioned views of the social constitution and the unalterable basis of man's rights, nay, to turn to account the spirit of violence which had risen up amongst us, for the cure of some of the ills under which the people suffered; such were the means by which I hoped and sought to effect my purpose. But the purer doctrines of my former days had been but sound and word to the men among whom I lived; how much less, then, was it to be expected, that they should apprehend my meaning in the view which I now took. Even this inferior sort of truth they contaminated by their filth: they remained the same as ever; and they acted toward me in a manner which I ought to have anticipated, but which I did not anticipate, because the dream of my wishes kept me suspended in mid-air, and



my soul was a stranger to that selfishness by which I might have recognized them in their true colors. I was deceived not only in every fox, but also in every fool; and to every one that came before me, and spoke well, I gave full credit for the sincerity of his intentions. With all this I knew more than any one else about the people, and about the sources of their savage and degraded condition; but I wished nothing further than that those sources might be stopped, and the evils which sprang from them arrested; and the new men, (*novi homines*) of Helvetia, whose wishes went further, and who had no knowledge of the condition of the people, found, of course, that I was not made for them. These men, in their new position, like shipwrecked women, took every straw for a mast, on which the republic might be driven to a safe shore; but me, me alone, they took for a straw not fit for a fly to cling to.

They knew it not, they intended it not; but they did me good, more good than any men have ever done me. They restored me to myself; for, in the amazement caused by the sudden change of their ship's repair into a shipwreck, I had not another word left, but that which I pronounced in the first days of confusion: "I will turn schoolmaster." For this I found confidence. I did turn schoolmaster. Ever since I have been engaged in a mighty struggle, and compelled, as it were, in spite of myself, to fill up those internal deficiencies by which my purposes were formerly defeated.

To lay before you, my friend, the whole of my existence, and my operations, since that period, is my present task. Through Legrand I had made some interest with the first Directoire for the subject of popular education, and I was preparing to open an extensive establishment for that purpose in Argovie, when Stanz was burnt down, and Legrand requested me to make the scene of misery the first scene of my operations. I went; I would have gone into the remotest clefts of the mountains, to come nearer to my aim; and now I really did come nearer. . . . But imagine my position. . . . Alone, destitute of all means of instruction, and of all other assistance, I united in my person the offices of superintendent, paymaster, steward, and sometimes chambermaid, in a half-ruined house. I was surrounded with ignorance, disease, and with every kind of novelty. The number of children rose, by degrees, to eighty: all of different ages; some full of pretensions; others inured to open beggary; and all, with a few solitary exceptions, entirely ignorant. What a task! to educate, to develop these children, what a task!

I ventured upon it. I stood in the midst of these children, pronouncing various sounds, and asking them to imitate them; whoever saw it, was struck with the effect. It is true it was a meteor which vanishes in the air as soon as it appears. No one understood its nature. I did not understand it myself. It was the result of a simple idea, or rather of a fact of human nature, which was revealed to my feelings, but of which I was far from having a clear consciousness.

## PESTALOZZI.—METHODS OF ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.

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### 1. THE ELEMENTARY MEANS OF INSTRUCTION DEPEND UPON NUMBER, FORM, AND SPEECH.

IDEAS of the elements of instruction were for a long time working in my mind, vividly though indistinctly, until at last, like a "*Deus ex machina*," the conception that *the means of the elucidation of all our intuitional knowledge proceed from number, form, and speech*, seemed suddenly to give me new light on the point which I was investigating.

After long consideration of the subject—or rather, uncertain dreams about it—I at last set myself to conceive how an educated man proceeds, and must proceed, when endeavoring to abstract, and gradually make clear, any subject now floating confusedly and dimly before his eyes.

In such a case, he will—and must—observe the three following points:—

1. How many subjects, or how various ones, are before him.
2. How they look; what is their form and outline.
3. What they are called; how he can recall each to mind by means of a sound, a word.

The doing this evidently presupposes, in such a man, the following developed powers:—

1. The power of considering unlike objects in relation to their forms, and of recalling to mind their material.
2. That of abstracting these objects as to their number, and of distinctly conceiving them either as one or as many.
3. That of repeating by language, and fixing, so as not to be forgotten, the conception of an object as to number and form.

Thus I conclude that number, form, and speech are commonly the elementary means of instruction, since they include the whole sum of the external qualities of an object, so far as relates to its extent and number, and become known to my intellect through speech. Instruction, as an art, must thus, by an invariable law, proceed from this threefold basis, and endeavor

1. To teach the children to consider any object brought before their consciousness, as a unity; that is, as separate from whatever it seems to be bound up with.

2. To teach them an acquaintance with the form of each such object; its size and relations.

3. To make them as early as possible acquainted with the whole circle of words and names of all the objects known to them.

The instruction of children being to proceed from these three elementary points, it is evident, again, that the first efforts of the art must be directed to develop, establish, and strengthen, with the utmost psychological skill, the fundamental knowledge of numbering, measuring, and speaking, upon whose correct attainment depends the right knowledge of all visible objects; and after-

ward to bring the means of developing and training these three departments of mental attainment to the highest degree of simplicity, of perfection, and of agreement together.

The only difficulty which occurred to me upon the recognition of these three elementary points was this: Why are not all those conditions of things, which we recognize through the three senses, not elementary in the same sense, as number, form, and speech? But I soon observed that all possible objects have number, form, and name; but that the other attributes, recognized through the five senses, are not possessed in common with all others as those are, but only sometimes one and sometimes another of them. Between the three attributes of number, form, and name, and others, I also found this substantial and distinct difference—that I was unable to make any of the others elementary points of human knowledge; while, on the contrary, I saw just as clearly that all other such attributes of things as are recognized by the five senses, permit themselves to be put into immediate relations with those three; and in consequence, that in the instruction of children, knowledge of all the other qualities of subjects must be deduced immediately from the preliminary knowledge of form, number and name. I saw that by my acquaintance with the unity, form, and name of an object, my knowledge of it becomes *definite* knowledge; that by gradually aiming to know all its other qualities, I acquire a *clear* knowledge; and by understanding the relations of all facts relative to it, I acquire an *intelligent* knowledge.

I now proceeded further, and found that all our knowledge proceeds from three elementary faculties, namely:—

1. The active faculty, which renders us capable of language.
2. The indefinite power of mere perception by the senses, which gives us our consciousness of all forms.
3. The definite power of perception not by the senses alone, from which must be gained the consciousness of unity, and through it the power of counting and computing.

I thus concluded that the art of educating our race must be based upon the first and simplest results of these three fundamental elements—sound, form, and number; and that instruction in any one department could and would never lead to a result beneficial to our nature, considered in its whole compass, unless these three simple results of our fundamental faculties should be recognized as the universal starting-points for all instruction, fixed as such by nature herself; and unless these results were accordingly developed into forms proceeding universally and harmoniously from them, and calculated efficiently and surely to carry instruction forward to its completion, through the steps of a progression unbroken, and dealing alike and equally with all three. This I concluded the only means of proceeding in all three of these departments, from indistinct intuitions to definite ones, from intuitions to clear perceptions, and from clear perceptions to intelligent ideas.

Thus, moreover, I find art actually and most intimately united with nature, or rather with the ideal by means of which nature makes the objects of the creation known to us; and so was solved my problem, *viz.*, to discover a common origin of all the means of the art of instruction, and, at the same time, that form of it in which the development of the race is defined by the constitution itself of our nature:—and the difficulty removed, in the way of applying the



mechanical laws, which I recognized as at the foundation of human instruction, to that system of instruction which the experience of thousands of years has given to the human race for its own development; that is, to writing, arithmetic, reading, &c.

## 2. THE FIRST ELEMENTARY MEANS OF INSTRUCTION IS, ACCORDINGLY,

### SOUND.

From this arise the following subdivisions of instruction:—

- A. In Tones; or, the means of training the organs of speech.
- B. In Words; or, the means of becoming acquainted with single objects.
- C. In Language; or, the means of becoming able to express ourselves with clearness relatively to such objects as become known to us, and to all which we are capable of seeing in those objects.

To repeat these subdivisions.

A. *Instruction in Tones.* This, again, divides itself into instruction in speaking tones, and singing tones.

#### a. Speaking tones.

With respect to these, it should not be left to chance whether they are heard by the child at an early or late period; and in great number or in small. It is important that he should hear all of them, and as early as possible.

His knowledge of them should be complete, before he has attained the ability to form them; and in like manner his power of imitating them all and with facility should be completely developed, before the forms of the letters are laid before him, and before his first exercises in reading.

The spelling-book must therefore contain all the sounds of which language consists; and should in every family be daily repeated by the child who is studying them, in the presence of the child in the cradle; so that the knowledge of those sounds may thus by frequent repetition become deeply impressed upon the latter, and indeed be made quite indelible, even before it is able to repeat one of them.

No one who has not seen it can imagine how the pronunciation of such simple sounds as ba, ba, ba, da, da, da, ma, ma, ma, la, la, la, &c., excites the attention of young children, and stimulates them; or of the gain to the general powers of acquisition of the child which comes from the early acquaintance with these sounds.

In accordance with this principle of the importance of the knowledge of sound and tones, before the child can imitate them, and in the conviction that it is equally important what representations and objects come before the eyes of young children, and what sounds come to his ears, I have composed a "*Book for Mothers*;" in which I explain, by illuminated wood-cuts, not only the fundamental points of number and form, but also the most important other attributes with which the five senses make us acquainted; and in which, by an acquaintance with many names, thus assured, and rendered vivid by much actual inspection, future reading is prepared for and made easy. In the same way also, by practice in sounds, preparatory to spelling, I prepare and facilitate this study also; for by this book, I make these sounds at home and, I may say, quarter them upon the child's mind, before the child can pronounce a syllable of them.

I intend to accompany these cuts, for the youngest children, with a book of

methods, in which every word which must be said to the child upon each subject elucidated, shall be stated so clearly that even the most inexperienced mother can sufficiently attain my purpose; for the reason that not a word will need to be added to those which I shall set forth.

Thus prepared from the "*Book for Mothers*," and acquainted by actual practice from the spelling-book with the entire extent of sounds, the child must, as soon as his organs become trained to articulation, become accustomed to repeat over the various columns of sounds in the spelling-book, with as much ease as he does such other purposeless sounds as people give him to imitate.

This book differs from all previous ones in this: that its method is universal; and that the pupil himself proceeds in a visible manner, beginning with the vowels, and constructing syllables by the gradual addition of consonants behind and before, in a manner which is comprehensive, and which perceptibly facilitates speech and reading.

My method is: to take each vowel with all the consonants one after another, from b to z, and thus to form at first the simple easy syllables, ab, ad, af, &c.; and then to put before each of these simple syllables such consonants as are actually so placed in common language; as, for instance, before ab, in succession, b, g, sch, st, &c.: making bab, gab, schab, &c. By going through all the vowels in this manner, with this simple prefixing of consonants, I formed first easy syllables, and then, by prefixing more consonants, more difficult ones. This exercise necessitated manifold repetitions of the simple sounds, and a general and orderly classification of all the syllables which are alike in their elements; resulting in an indelible impression of their sounds, which is a very great assistance in learning to read.

The advantages of the book are explained in it, as follows:—

1. It keeps the child at spelling single syllables, until sufficient skill is acquired in the exercises.

2. By the universal employment of similarities of sound, it renders the repetition of similar forms not disagreeable to the child, and thus facilitates the design of impressing them indelibly on the mind.

3. It very rapidly enables the children to pronounce at once every new word formed by the addition of new consonants to syllables already known, without being obliged to spell them over beforehand; and also to spell these combinations by heart, which is afterward a great assistance in orthography.

In the short introduction prefixed to the book, explaining the use of it, mothers are required themselves to repeat daily to their children, before they can read, these series of sounds, and to pronounce them in different successions, so as to attract attention, and to give an acquaintance with each separate sound. This recitation must be prosecuted with redoubled zeal, and begun again from the beginning, as soon as the children begin to speak, to enable them themselves to repeat them, and thus to learn quickly to read.

In order to make the knowledge of the written characters, which must precede spelling, easier to the children, I have annexed them to the spelling-book, printed in a large character, in order to make their distinctions more easily discernible by the eye.

These letters are to be pasted separately on stiff paper, and put before the children. The vowels are in red, to distinguish them, and must be learned thoroughly, as well as their pronounciation, before going further. After this

they are by little and little to be taught the consonants, but always along with a vowel; because they can not be pronounced without a vowel.

As soon as the children, partly by their exercise, partly by the spelling which I am about to describe, begin to have a sufficient knowledge of the letters, they may be set at the threefold series of letters, also appended to the book; where, in a smaller type, is given, over the German printed letter, the German written, and the Roman printed letters. The child, reading each syllable in the form of letter already familiar to him, and then repeating it in the other two, will learn to read in all three alphabets, without any loss of time.

The same principle is still to be adhered to in these exercises: that every syllable is nothing but a sound constructed by the addition of a consonant to a vowel; the vowel being thus always the foundation of the syllable. The vowel should be laid down first—or slid out on the spelling-board hung up on the wall, which should have a groove at the upper and lower side, in which the letters should stand and move easily backward and forward—and the consonants added, in the order given in the book. Each syllable should at the same time be pronounced by the teacher and repeated by the children, until indelibly impressed on their minds. Then the teacher may ask for each letter, in its order or out of it; and make them spell the syllables when covered up out of sight.

It is very necessary, especially in the first part of the book, to proceed slowly, and never to proceed to any thing new until what precedes it has been learned beyond the power of forgetting; for upon this depends the foundation of the whole course of instruction in reading, upon which what follows is to be built by small and gradual additions.

When in this way the children have arrived at a certain degree of facility in spelling, it may be interchanged with exercises of another kind. Thus, for example, a word may be spelled by beginning with one letter and adding the others, one after another, until it is complete, pronouncing it as each letter is added; as, p, pi, pin. Then the reverse process may be followed, by taking away one letter after another, and thus going backward in the same manner; repeating it until the children can spell the word by heart, correctly. The same thing can also be done by beginning at the end of the word, instead of the beginning.

Lastly, the word may be divided into syllables, the syllables numbered, and repeated and spelled promiscuously by their numbers.

Great advantages may be gained in schools, by teaching the children, from the beginning, to repeat the words all together at the same moment; so that the sound produced by all shall be heard as a simple sound, whether the words were repeated to them, or pointed out by the number of the letters or syllables. This keeping time together renders the instructor's part quite mechanical, and operates with incredible power upon the senses of the children.

When these exercises in spelling have been gone through with on the tablet, the book itself is then to be put into the child's hand, as a first reading-book; and he is to be kept at work upon it until he has acquired the most complete facility in reading it.

So much for instruction in the sounds of speech. I have to add a word, on the sounds of singing. But as singing proper can not be reckoned a means of proceeding from indistinct intuitions to clear ideas, that is, as one of the means of instruction which I am at present discussing, but is rather a capacity, to be



developed from other points of view, and for other purposes, I put off its consideration to the time when I shall consider the system of education; saying at present only this: that singing, according to the general principle, begins with what is simplest, completes this, and proceeds only gradually from it, when completed, to the beginning of what is new.

B. The second department of the domain of sound, or of the special elementary means of instruction derived from sound, is—

Instruction in words, or rather in names.

I have already remarked that the child must receive its first instruction in this department, also, from the "*Book for Mothers*." This is so arranged, that the most important subjects of the world, and especially those that, as generic names, include whole classes of subjects within themselves, are discussed; and the mother is enabled to make the child well-acquainted with the most important of all these names. By this course of proceeding, the child is prepared, even from its earliest years, for instruction in names; that for the second special means of instruction depending on the power of uttering sounds.

The instruction in names is given by means of series of names of the more important subjects, from all the realms of nature, history, geography, and human vocations and relations. These columns of words are put into the child's hand immediately after the end of his studies in the spelling-book, as a mere exercise in learning to read; and experience has shown me that it is possible for the children to have completely committed to memory the columns, within no more time than is required to learn to read them readily. The advantage of so complete a knowledge of such various and comprehensive views of names at this stage, is immeasurable, in relation to the facilitation of subsequent instruction.

C. The third special means of instruction proceeding from the faculty of sounds is—

Instruction in language itself.

And here is the point at which begins to be developed the proper method by which the art of instruction, by taking advantage of the development of the capacities of the human mind, can give an acquaintance with language which shall keep up with the course of nature in general development. But I should say, rather, here begins to develop itself the method by which, according to the will of the Creator, man can secure himself from the hands of mere natural blindness and natural capability for instruction, to be put into the hands of the higher powers which have been developing in him for thousands of years; the method by which the human race, independently—man—can secure for the development of his powers that more definite and comprehensive tendency and that more rapid progress, for which nature has given him power and means but no guidance, and in which she can never guide him while he is man only; the form in which man can do all this without interfering with the loftiness and simplicity of the physical development of nature, the harmony that exists in our merely-sensuous development; without taking away any part of ourselves, or a single hair of that uniform protection which mother nature exercises over even the mere physical development.

All these attainments must be reached by means of a finished art of teaching language, and the highest grade of psychology; thus securing the utmost perfection in the mechanism of the natural progression from confused intuitions to

intelligent ideas. This is, in truth, far beyond my powers; and I feel myself to be, on this subject, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

But the Egyptian, who first fastened a shovel with a crooked handle to the horn of an ox, and thus taught him to perform the labor of a man at digging, thus prepared the way for the invention of the plow, although he did not bring it to perfection. .

My services are only the first bending of the shovel-handle, and the fastening of it to a new horn. But why do I speak by similitudes? I ought to and will state what I mean, plainly, and without circumlocution.

I desire to remove the imperfections from school instruction; both from the obsolete system of stammering servile old schoolmasters, and from the later system which has by no means taken its place—in the common schools; and to knit it to the immovable power of nature herself, and to the light which God kindles and ever maintains in the hearts of fathers and mothers; to the desires of parents that their children may be respectable before God and man.

In order to define the form of our instruction in language, or rather the various forms in which its object can be gained, that is, through which we are to become able to express ourselves distinctly on subjects with which we are acquainted, and as to every thing which we see about them, we must inquire:—

1. What is man's ultimate object in language?
2. What are the means, or rather what is the progression, through which nature herself, by the gradual development of the faculty of language, brings us to this end?

The answer to the first question is, evidently: To bring our race from obscure intuitions to intelligent ideas; and to the second: The means by which she gradually brings us to this end have, unquestionably, this order of succession, viz.:—

- a. We recognize an object generally, and designate it as a unity—an object.
- b. We become generally acquainted with its characteristics, and learn to designate them.

c. We acquire, through language, the power of defining more in detail these traits, by verbs and adverbs, and making clear to ourselves their modifications by modifications in words themselves, and in their juxtaposition.

1. On the effort to learn the names of objects, I have already spoken.
2. Efforts to comprehend and to teach the names of the qualities of objects as desirable, are divided into—

a. Efforts to teach the child to express himself with distinctness in relation to number and form: (Number and form, as qualities possessed by all things, are the two most comprehensive universal abstractions of physical nature; and are the two central points to which are referred all other means of rendering our ideas intelligent.)

b. Efforts to teach the child to express himself with distinctness upon all other qualities of things, besides number and form; as well those qualities which are perceived through the five senses, as those which are perceived, not by means of a simple intuition of them, but by means of our faculties of imagination and judgment.

Children must early become accustomed to consider with ease form and number, the first physical universal qualities which the experience of thousands of years has taught us to abstract from the nature of all things; and to

consider them, not merely as qualities inherent in each particular thing, but as physical universal qualities. He must not only learn early to distinguish a round and a triangular thing as such, but must as early as possible have impressed upon his mind the idea of circularity, and triangularity, as a pure abstraction; so that he may be able to apply the proper term, expressing this universal abstract idea, to whatever occurs to him in nature which is round, triangular, simple, fourfold, &c. Here also comes up clearly the reason why speech is to be and must be treated as a means of expressing form and number, in a special manner, differing from its treatment as a means of expressing all the other qualities which we observe in natural objects by the five senses.

I therefore began, even in the "*Book for Mothers*," to lead the children toward the clear knowledge of those universal qualities. This book furnishes both a comprehensive view of the most usual forms and the simplest means of making the first relations of numbers intelligible to the child.

More advanced steps toward this purpose must, however, together with the corresponding exercises in language, be put off to a later period, and must be connected with the special exercises in number and form, which two, as the elementary points of our knowledge, must be taken up after a full course of exercises in language.

The cuts in the elementary manual for this instruction, the "*Book for Mothers*," or for the earliest childhood," are so selected as to bring forward all the universal physical qualities of which we become aware through the five senses; and as to enable mothers readily to give their children the command of the most definite expressions relative to them, without any pains of their own.

As relates, next, to those qualities of things which become known to us, not immediately through the five senses, but through the separating powers of our faculty of comparison, imagination, and faculty of abstraction, in regard to them also, I adhere to my principle, not to endeavor to bring any human opinion to a premature ripeness, but to make use of the necessary knowledge of the appropriate abstract terms by the children, as a mere exercise of memory; and also to some extent as a light nourishment for the play of their imaginations and of their powers of forethought.

In reference to such objects as we recognize immediately by the five senses, and in reference to which it is necessary to teach the child as quickly as possible to express himself with precision, I take from a dictionary substances whose most prominent qualities are such as we can distinguish by the five senses, and put down with them the adjectives which describe those qualities; as—

(*Aal*.) Eel. Slippery, worm-shaped, tough-skinned.

(*Aas*.) Carcass. Dead, offensive.

(*Abend*.) Evening. Quiet, cheerful, cool, rainy.

(*Achse*.) Axle. Strong, weak, greasy.

(*Acker*.) Field. Sandy, clayey, sowed, manured, fertile, profitable, unprofitable.

Then I reverse this proceeding, and in the same way select from the dictionary adjectives expressing distinguishing qualities of objects recognized by the five senses, and set down after them the substantive names of objects possessing them; as—

Round. Ball, hat, moon, sun

Light. Feather, down, air.



Heavy. Gold, lead, oak-wood.  
 Hot. Oven, summer-day, fire.  
 High. Tower, mountain, giants, trees.  
 Deep. Oceans, seas, cellars, graves.  
 Soft. Flesh, wax, butter.  
 Elastic. Steel-springs, whalebone.

I did not endeavor, by completing these explanatory suffixes, to diminish the field of the child's independent intellectual activity; but only gave a few terms, calculated to appeal distinctly to his senses, and then inquired, in continuation: What else can you mention of the same sort?

In far the greatest number of cases the children found that their experience furnished them additional terms, frequently such as had not occurred to the teacher; and thus their circle of knowledge was widened and elucidated in a manner either impossible by the catechetical method, or possible only with a hundred times greater expenditure of art and exertion.

In all proceedings by catechisation, the child is constrained, in part by the limits of the defined idea respecting which he is catechised, in part by the form in which it is done, in part by the limits of the teacher's knowledge, and lastly, and more important, by the limits of a painful care lest they should get out of the regular artistic track. What unfortunate limitations for the child! but in my course they are avoided.

Having finished this portion of study, I proceed, by means of the dictionary, to communicate to the child, now variously acquainted with the objects of the world, a further increase of the gradually growing clearness of his knowledge of objects so far as known to him.

For this purpose, I divide language, that great witness of the past respecting all that now exists, into four chief heads, viz. :—

1. Geography.
2. History.
3. Nature.
4. Natural History.

But in order to avoid all unnecessary repetition of the same words, and to make the form of instruction as brief as possible, I divide these chief heads into some forty subheads, and bring the names of objects before the children only under these latter subdivisions.

I then turn attention to that great object of my intuitions, myself; or rather, to that whole series of terms in language which relate to myself; by bringing all that language, that great witness of the past, says upon man under the following chief heads.

*First head.* What does language say of man, considered as a merely physical being; as a member of the animal world?

*Second head.* What does she say of him as striving toward physical independence by means of the social state?

*Third head.* What does she say of him as a reasoning being, striving for inner independence; or self-improvement?

I then divide these three chief heads, as before, into some forty subheads, and bring them before the children only under the latter.

The first exhibition of these series of names, both relating to men and to the other subjects of the world, must be strictly alphabetical, without any inter-

mixture of any opinion, and not as any consequence of any opinion; but a gradually increased clearness in the knowledge of them must be attained merely by the juxtaposition of similar intuitions, and similar intuitional ideas.

When this has been done, when the witness of the past as to all that now exists has thus been made useful in the whole simplicity of her alphabetical arrangement, I propose this question:—

How does the method arrange these subjects further, for fuller definition? To answer this, a new labor begins. The same columns of words with which the child has become acquainted in seven or eight columns, in an alphabetical order, almost beyond the possibility of forgetting them, are laid before him again, in the same columns, but in a classified manner, by which the method arranges them very differently, and enables the child himself to arrange them on the new principle.

The plan is this: The different heads, under which the words are to be newly arranged, are put in a row, and distinguished by a series of numbers, abbreviations, or some other arbitrary marks.

The child must, during his first studies in reading, become thoroughly master of this series of heads; and he may then find, in the columns of words, against each word, the mark of that head under which it belongs; and thus he can, at first sight of the figure, tell under what head it belongs, and thus himself alter the alphabetical nomenclature into a scientific one.

I do not know that this plan needs to be illustrated by an example; but, though it seems to me almost superfluous, I will still give one, on account of the newness of the plan. Thus, for instance, one of the subdivisions of Europe is Germany. Let the child first become acquainted, beyond the power of forgetting them, with the subdivision of Germany into ten circles. Now let the names of the cities of Germany be laid before him in alphabetical order, to be read; there being, at the name of each city, the number of the circle in which it lies. As soon as he can read these names of cities fluently, let him be shown how the numbers annexed to them refer to the heads above, and the child will after a few lessons be able to locate all the cities of Germany according to the heads thus set above them. Let there be put before him, for instance, the following names of German places, with figures:—

|               |                |                |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Aachen, 8     | Allendorf, 5   | Altona, 10     |
| Aalen, 3      | Allersperg, 2  | Altorf, 1      |
| Abendberg, 4  | Alschausen, 3  | Altranstädt, 9 |
| Aberthan, 11  | Alsleben, 10   | Altwasser, 13  |
| Acken, 10     | Altbunzlau, 11 | Alkerdissen, 8 |
| Adersbach, 11 | Altena, 8      | Amberg, 2      |
| Agler, 1      | Altenau, 10    | Ambras, 1      |
| Ahrbergen, 10 | Altenberg, 9   | Amöneburg, 6   |
| Aigremont, 8  | Altenburg, 9   | Andernach, 6.  |
| Ala, 1        | Altensalza, 10 |                |
| Allenbach, 5  | Altkirchen, 8  |                |

He may then read these as follows:—

Aachen is in the Westphalian circle.

Abendberg is in the Franconian circle.

Aacken is in the Lower Saxon circle; &c.

The child will thus evidently be enabled, at the first glance at the number or

mark which distinguishes the head under which any word belongs, to determine it; and thus, as was said, to change the alphabetical nomenclature into a scientific one.

And having gone so far, I find myself, in this direction, at the limit of my course, as peculiar to me; and the powers of the children so developed, that they can, in any department of the method to which their disposition inclines them, and to which they are inclined to attend, make an independent use for themselves of the means of assistance which already exist in all these departments, but which are of such a character that, hitherto, only a few fortunate persons have been able to use them. To this point, and no further, have I sought to attain. What I desired, and desire, was, not to teach the world any art or science—for I know none—but to make more easy for the people at large the mastery of the points of commencement of all arts and sciences; to open to the powers of the poor and weak in the country, neglected and given up to desolation, the approaches to learning, which are the approaches to humanity; and, if possible, to burn down the barrier which keeps the more lowly of the citizens of Europe far behind the barbarians of the north and south in respect to independent intellectual power, which is the basis of all efficient acquirement. It keeps them so, because, notwithstanding our windy boastings on universal enlightenment, it deprives ten men to one of the right of all men in society, the right of being instructed; or at least of the possibility of making use of this right.

May that barrier, after my death, burn up with a bright flame! But yet I know that I myself am only one feeble coal, lying among wet straw. But I see a wind, and that not far off, which shall kindle the coal into a blaze; the wet straw around me will gradually dry, grow warm, kindle, and at last burn. Yes, however wet it is round me now, it will burn, it will burn!

But I have occupied so much time with the second of the special means of instruction in language, that I find I have not yet said any thing of the third of those means, by which is to be attained the last purpose of instruction, the rendering our ideas intelligent. It is this:—

c. The endeavor to enable the child correctly to define, by language, the connections of objects with each other, and their intermodifications by number, time, and relation; or, rather, to make still better understood the existence, the qualities, and the powers of all those objects of which knowledge has been gained by the study of names, and made clear to a certain extent by juxtaposition of their names and their qualities.

From this point of view we may discern the foundations on which a real grammar is to be constructed, and, at the same time, the further progression by which, through this means, we are to arrive at the last purpose of instruction, the rendering intelligent of ideas.

Here, also, I prepare the children for the first steps by very simple but still psychological instruction in speaking; and, without a word of any form or rule, I cause the mother first to repeat to the child, as mere exercises in speaking, sentences, which are to be repeated after her, almost as much on account of the training of the organs of speech, as of the sentences themselves. The two objects, practice in speaking and the learning of words as language, must be kept apart from each other; and the former must also be attended to by itself, by proper exercises. In the exercises for both purposes at once, then, the mother repeats to the child the following sentences:—



The father is kind.  
 The butterfly has variously-colored wings.  
 Cattle eat grass.  
 The pine is straight-stemmed.\*

When the child has pronounced these so often that it is easy for him, the mother inquires, "Who is good? What has various-colored wings?" And again, "What is the father? What has the butterfly?" And so on, as follows:—

Who is? What are?  
 Carnivorous beasts eat flesh.  
 Deer are light-footed.  
 Roots are spread out.  
 Who has? What has?  
 The lion hath strength.  
 Man has reason.  
 The hound has a keen scent.  
 The elephant has a trunk, &c., &c.

Thus I proceed, through the whole extent of the declensions and conjugations, to unite the first and second steps of these exercises; going also, in particular, into the use of the verbs, after a mode of which I give the following examples:—

*Simple Connection.*

Regard—the teacher's words.  
 Breathe—through the lungs.  
 Bend—a tree.  
 Tie—a sheaf, the stockings, &c.

After this comes the second species of exercise, in verbs in composition; as,

Regard. I regard (*achte*) the teacher's words, my duty, my estate. I regard one person more than another; I judge (*erachte*) whether a thing is so, or otherwise; I take an important matter into consideration (*obacht*); I watch over (*beobachte*) a man whom I do not trust, an affair which I am desirous of arranging, and my duty; a good man honors (*hochachtet*) virtue, and despises (*verachtet*) vice.

So far as a man regards any thing, he is attentive (*achtsam*) to it; so far as he does not regard it, he is inattentive (*unachtsam*.)

I regard myself more than every thing else; and care more for (*achten auf*) myself than every thing else.

Then I proceed to enlarge the sphere of these exercises by additions gradually more extensive, and thus progressively more variously developed and more definite; as, for instance:—

I shall.  
 I shall gain.  
 I shall gain my health by no other means.  
 I shall gain my health, after all that I have suffered, by no other means.  
 I shall gain my health, after all that I have suffered in my illness, by no other means.  
 I shall gain my health, after all that I have suffered in my sickness, by no other means than by temperance, &c., &c.

All these sentences are then each to be carried through the whole tense-conjugation; as,

I shall gain.  
 Thou wilt gain, &c.  
 I shall gain my health.  
 Thou wilt gain thy health, &c.

The same may then be carried through the different tenses.

Care is taken to select, for these sentences, so firmly to be fixed in the child's

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\* In the German, all these sentences are constructed precisely like the first; and are as simple.—*Trans.*

mind, such as shall be particularly instructive, elevating, and suitable to his condition.

With them I join examples of description of material objects, in order to exercise and strengthen in the children the powers which these exercises develop in them. For instance:—

A bell is a bowl or vessel, open below, wide, thick, round, usually hanging free, growing smaller from below up, egg-shaped at the top, and having in the middle of it a perpendicular bar, hanging loose, which, upon a violent motion of the bell, strikes it from below on both sides, and thus occasions the sound which we hear from it.

Go. To move forward step by step.

Stand. To rest on the legs with the body upright.

Lie. To rest upon any thing with the body horizontal, &c., &c.

I would gladly leave these exercises in language, at my death, as a legacy to my pupils, making them, by means of brief observations annexed to the more important verbs, a vehicle for conveying to their minds the same impressions which have been made upon my own, by the experiences of my life on the subjects of their significance. Thus I would make these exercises in words a means of imparting truth, correct views, and pure feelings on all the doings and failings of men. For example:—

Breathe, (*athmen*.) Thy life depends upon a breath. Man! when thou snorest like a tyrant, and inspirest the pure air of the earth like poison into thy lungs, what doest thou but to hasten to become breathless, and so free humanity, weary of thy snorting, from thy presence.

But I must leave this part of the subject.

I have dwelt at length upon language as a means of the gradual clearing up of our ideas. But it is the most important means for that purpose. My method of instruction is distinguished especially in this, that it makes more use of language, as a means of lifting the child from obscure intuitions to intelligent ideas, than has heretofore been the case; and also in this, that it excludes from the first elementary instruction all combinations of words which presuppose an actual knowledge of language. Any one who admits how nature leads to intelligent comprehension of all things by a clear comprehension of single things, will admit also that single words must be clearly understood by the child before he can intelligently comprehend them in connection; and any one who admits this, rejects at once all the received elementary books of instruction; for they all presuppose an acquaintance with language in the child before they communicate it to him. It is a remarkable fact that even the best school-book of the last century forgot that the child must learn to talk before he can be talked with. This omission is remarkable, but it is true; and since I observed it, I have wondered no longer that we can develop children into other men than were trained by those who had so far forgotten both the piety and the wisdom of antiquity. Language is an art—an immeasurable art; or, rather, the compendium of all the arts which our race has acquired. It is in a peculiar sense the reflection of all the impressions which the whole extent of nature has made upon our race. As such I use it, and seek, by means of its spoken sounds, to produce in the children the same impressions which have occasioned the production of the sounds by mankind. The gift of speech is a great one. It gives the child, in a moment, what it has taken nature thousands of years to give mankind. It is said of the poor beast, What would he be if he knew his strength? And I say of man, What would he be if he knew his strength—through language?

It is a great defect in the very heart of human education, that we have been so forgetful of what was proper, as not only to do nothing toward teaching the lower classes to speak, but as to have permitted the speechless to learn by rote isolated abstract terms.

In truth, the Indians could not do more in order to keep their lower classes eternally in stupidity, and in the lowest ranks of humanity.

Let these facts be denied by any one who dares. I appeal to all clergymen, all authorities, all men who live among the people, who, in the midst of their so great carelessness, are subjected to such a distorted and mistaken model of fatherly care. Let any one who has lived among such a people stand forward, and testify whether he has not experienced how difficult it is to get any idea into the heads of the poor creatures. But all are agreed on the point. "Yes, yes," say the clergy; "When they come to us they do not understand one word of our instructions." "Yes, yes," say the judges; "However right they are, it is impossible for them to make any one understand the justice of their cause." The lady says, pitifully and proudly, they are scarcely a step in advance of beasts; they can not be trained to any service. Fools, who can not count five, look upon them as more foolish than themselves, the fools; and villains of all sorts cry out, each with the gesture natural to him, "Well for us that it is so! If it were otherwise, we could no longer buy so cheaply, nor sell so dearly."

Nearly the same is the speech of all the boxes of the great European Christian comic theater, regarding the pit: and they can not speak otherwise of it; for they have been for a century making the pit more mindless than any Asiatic or heathen one would be. I repeat my position once more:—The Christian people of our portion of the world is sunken to this depth, because, for more than a century, in its lower schools, a power over the human mind has been accorded to empty words, which not only in itself destroyed the power of attention to the impressions of nature, but destroyed the very susceptibility itself of men to them. I say, once more, that while this has been done, and has made of our European Christian people the most wordy, rattle-box people on the face of the earth, *they have not been taught to speak*. This being the case, it is no wonder that the Christianity of this century and this part of the world has its present prospects; it is, on the contrary, a wonder that, considering all the bungling methods which have been proved upon it in our wordy and rattle-box schools, it has retained so much of its native force as can still be recognized every where in the hearts of the people. But, God be praised! the folly of all these apish methods will always find an end, an antagonist in human nature itself; and will cease to injure our race, when it has reached the highest point of its apishness which can be endured. Folly and error, in whatever garb, contain the seeds of their own transitoriness and destruction; truth alone, in every form, contains within itself the seeds of eternal life.

The second elementary means, from which all human knowledge, and consequently the existence of all means of instruction, proceeds and must proceed, is

#### FORM.

Instruction in form must precede the conscious intuition of things having form; whose representation, for purposes of instruction, must be deduced in part from the nature of the means of intuition, and in part from the purpose of instruction itself.

The whole sum of our knowledge comes,



1. Through the impressions derived from all things around us, when brought into relation with our five senses. This mode of intuition is without rule, confused, and its progress is very confused and tedious.

2. Through whatever is brought before our senses by the intervention of methodic guidance, so far as this depends upon our parents and teachers. This mode of intuition naturally corresponds to the intelligence and activity of our parents and teachers, in respect to comprehensiveness and connection; and is of a more or less correct psychological character; and, according to the same rule, it pursues a course more or less rapid, and leading with more or less speed and certainty toward the purpose of instruction, the attainment of intelligent ideas.

3. Through our own determination to attain to knowledge, and to obtain intuitions by our independent striving after the various means of them. Knowledge thus attained possesses a positive and proper value; and, by giving to the results of our intuitions a free existence within ourselves, brings us nearer to the attainment of a moral influence upon our own education.

4. Through the results of effort and labor in our callings, and all activity which has not mere intuition as its object. This department of knowledge connects our intuitions with our situations and relations; brings the results of those intuitions into agreement with our duty and with virtue; and, both by the constraining force of its progress and by our purposelessness as to its results, a most important influence upon the correctness, completeness, and harmony of our views, as related to the attainment of our purpose, intelligent ideas.

5. Through a means analogous to our intuitional knowledge; inasmuch as it instructs us in the properties of things not pertaining properly to our intuitions, but in which we perceive a similarity to things which we know by our intuitions. This mode of intuition enables us to make our progress in knowledge, which, as a result of actual intuition, is only the work of the five senses, the work of our minds and of all their powers; so that thus we enjoy as many kinds of intuition as we have powers of mind. But the term intuition, in this latter sense, has a more extended meaning than in the common usage of language; and includes the whole range of feelings which are by nature inseparable from my mind.

It is important to be acquainted with the distinction between these two kinds of intuitions; in order to be able to comprehend the rules which apply to each of them.

With this purpose, I return to the course of my discussion.

From the consciousness of intuition of things having form, comes the art of geometry. This however depends upon a power of intuition which it is important to distinguish from the primary means of knowledge, as well as from the mere simple intuition of things. From this power of intuition are developed all the departments of geometry and those deduced from them. But this very faculty of intuition leads us, by the comparison of different objects, beyond the rules of surveying, to a freer imitation of the relations between those objects—to drawing; and, lastly, we make use of the art of drawing in writing.

#### GEOMETRY.

This presupposes an intuitional A B C; that is, the power of simplifying and defining the rules of geometry by the accurate distinction of all the dissimilarities which come before the intuition.

I will draw attention again to the empirical succession which led me to my views on this subject, and will give for this purpose an extract from my Report.

In this I say, "Having granted the principle that intuition is the basis of all knowledge, it follows irresistibly that correct intuition is the proper basis of the most correct opinions.

"But with reference to the method of education, thorough correctness of intuition is evidently a result of measuring the subject to be judged of, or else of a faculty of perceiving relations, so far developed as to make such measuring superfluous. Thus a readiness at measuring correctly has, in education, an immediate relation to the necessity of intuition. Drawing is a linear definition of forms, whose shape and contents are correctly and fully defined by means of a developed power of measuring.

"The principle that practice and readiness in measuring should precede practice in drawing, or at least must keep pace with it, is as obvious as it is unused. But the process of our methods of education is, to begin with incorrect seeing; to build awry, then to pull down, and so on ten times over, until after a long time the sense of relations becomes developed, and then at last we come to what we should have begun with—to measuring. Such is the proceeding of our methods, and yet we are so many thousands of years older than the Egyptians and Etruscans, whose drawings all depend upon a trained power of measuring, or in fact were at bottom nothing than measurings.

"And now the question comes up, By what means is the child to be trained to this basis of all art, the right meaning of objects which come before his eyes? Evidently by a succession including the whole of all possible intuitions; and by an analysis of the square, according to simple, certain, and definite rules.

"Young artists, in the absence of such elementary exercises, find the means, by long practice in their art, of acquiring greater or less facility in so placing any object before their eyes and imitating it as it is in nature. And it can not be denied that many of them, by painful and long-continued efforts, have, from the most confused intuitions, attained to a sense of relations so far advanced that the measuring of objects is superfluous to them. But then each individual had a different system; none of them had any nomenclature, for none of them had any distinct conscious comprehension of the system; and, accordingly, they could not properly communicate it to their scholars. The latter were thus in the same condition in which their teachers had been, and were obliged to attain the same result—correct sense of relations—with the extremest exertion and by long practice, and with their own means, or rather with no means at all. Thus art remained in the possession of a few fortunate individuals, who had time and leisure to travel by such an incommodious road to the requisite attainment. Art could not be considered as concerning all men, nor could instruction in it be demanded as a universal right, although it is such. At least, this can not be denied by any one who admits that it is the right of living men, in an enlightened state, to be able to learn reading and writing; for the tendencies to draw, and the capacity for measuring, develop naturally and freely in the child; while the painstaking efforts which must be made in order to bring him to spell and read, must be applied either with great skill or with harshness and violence, if they are not to injure him more than reading is worth to him. And drawing, if it is to promote the aim of instruction, the attainment of intelligent ideas, is necessarily connected with the measuring of forms. The child

before whom an object is placed to be drawn before he can represent to himself its proportions in their whole form, and express himself upon it, can never make the art, as it should be, an actual means of proceeding from obscure intuitions to intelligent ideas; nor procure from it the actual substantial advantage, throughout his whole education and in harmony with the great purpose of it, which it ought to and can afford him."

In order to establish the art of drawing upon this basis, it must be subordinated to that of geometry; and the subdivisions into angles and curves which proceed from the rudimental form of the square, as well as the divisions of curves by straight lines, must be arranged into regularly classified geometrical forms. This has been done; and I believe that I have arranged a series of geometrical forms, whose use will as much facilitate the child's acquisition of geometry, and his acquaintance with the proportions of all forms, as does the alphabet of sounds his studies in language.

This intuitional alphabet\* is a symmetrical subdivision of an equilateral square into fixed geometrical forms, and evidently requires a knowledge of the origin of the square; that is, of horizontal and perpendicular lines.

The subdivision of the square by right lines produces means of determining and measuring angles, circles, and all curves.

This is brought before the child in the following manner:—

The qualities of the right line are first explained to him by itself alone, and drawn in various arbitrary directions; until a variety of exercises has given him a clear apprehension of it, without reference to any ulterior application. He is next made acquainted with right lines, as horizontal, perpendicular, and oblique, and to distinguish them as inclining or extending toward the right or left; then with various parallel lines and their names, as horizontal, perpendicular, and inclined parallels; then with the names of the different varieties of angles formed by the intersection of these lines, so that he can distinguish them as right, acute, and obtuse angles. He is then made acquainted with the primitive of all geometrical forms, the equilateral triangle, which is formed by the junction of two angles, and with its divisions into halves, fourths, sixths, &c.; and then with the circle and its variations, and to recognize and name them and their forms.

All these definitions are to be done merely by the power of the eye; and the names of the geometrical forms are, in this part of the studies, merely square; horizontal and perpendicular quadrilateral, or rectangle; circle, semicircle, quarter-circle; first-oval, half-oval, and quarter-oval; second, third, &c., oval; and thus he must be introduced to the use of these forms as means of geometrical study; and must learn the nature of the relations by which they are generated.

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\* I should here observe that the alphabet of intuition is the indispensable and only true means of instruction in judging correctly of the forms of all things. Yet it has hitherto been entirely neglected, until it is entirely unknown. For instruction in number and speech, on the contrary, there are a hundred such means. But this want of means of instruction in form is not merely a simple defect in the system of education to human knowledge—it is also a breach in the necessary foundations of all knowledge. It is a defect of knowledge upon a point to which knowledge of number and speech must be subordinated. My alphabet of intuition will supply this serious defect in instruction, and assure the basis upon which all other means of instruction must be founded. I beg such Germans as may be inclined to form an opinion on the subject, to consider this position as the basis of my method; upon whose correctness or incorrectness depends the value or worthlessness of all my researches.



The first means of reaching these results is—

1. The endeavor to teach the child to recognize and name the relations of these geometrical forms.

2. To enable him to know and make use of them independently.

Preparation for this purpose has already been made in the "*Book for Mothers*;" and various objects set before him—triangular, round, oval, wide, long, and narrow. After this, various detached portions of the alphabet of intuition are set before him, as a quadrilateral in quarters, eighths, sixths, &c., and circles, and half and quarter-circles, ovals, and half and quarter-ovals; thus furnishing him in advance with an obscure consciousness of the clear conception which he must acquire under the instruction of the method, and the subsequent application of these forms. He is also prepared for this conception and application in the "*Book for Mothers*," in which are given, on one hand, the rudiments of a definite nomenclature for these forms, and, on the other, the commencement of arithmetic, which presupposes geometry.

The study of the alphabet of intuition will lead toward the same end; for in that alphabet speech and number, the means before used for attaining an obscure consciousness, are made more clearly applicable to the definite aim of geometry, and thus the pupil will gain a more assured power of expressing himself definitely as to the number and proportion of all forms.

3. The third means of attaining this purpose is the copying of forms themselves; by means of which the children, using at the same time the two other means above-mentioned, will generally gain not only intelligent ideas as to each form, but the power of laying off each form with certainty. In order to gain the first of those steps, the relations of the forms known to them in the first course as horizontal and perpendicular quadrilaterals, are now to be brought out by teaching them that "Horizontal quadrilateral, two are twice as long as wide; perpendicular quadrilateral, two are twice as high as wide," &c.; going through all the parts of the figure also. In this exercise, also, on account of the various directions of the inclined lines of some quadrilaterals, it must be shown that, of the horizontal ones, some are once and a half times as high as wide, &c., until the description is easy. In like manner are to be studied the various directions of inclined lines, and of acute and obtuse angles, as well as the various subdivisions of the circle, and the ovals and their parts, arising from the subdivisions of the square.

By the recognition of these definite forms, the geometrical faculty develops from an uncertain natural faculty of intuition to an artistic power according to definite rules; from which comes that power of judging correctly of the relations of all forms, which I call the power of intuition. This is a new power; which must precede the former usual and recognized views of the artistic cultivation of our powers, as their common and actual basis.

By means of it, every child arrives, in the simplest manner, at the power of rightly judging of every object in nature according to its inner relations, and its relations to other objects; and of expressing himself with distinctness relatively to it. By this method of proceeding he becomes able, when he sees any figure, to define it accurately, not only as to the proportion between height and breadth, but as to the relations of every variation of its form from the equilateral triangle, in curves and crooked outlines; and to apply to all these the names by which these variations should be designated in the alphabet of intuition. The

means of attaining this power are within geometry itself, and are to be developed still further by drawing, especially by linear drawing; and carried to such a point, that his power of definitely measuring objects, with such a degree of skill and accuracy, that after completing his course of elementary exercises he will no longer need, even in the case of the most complicated objects, to proceed by actual geometrical rules, but can without assistance correctly determine the relations of all their parts amongst each other, and express himself distinctly respecting them.

Even children of inferior capacity attain to indescribably great results by the development of this power. This assertion is no dream. I have taught children on these principles; and my theory on this subject is nothing except a result of my experience upon it. Let any one come and see the children. They are still at the beginning of the course, but their beginning has carried them so far that it must be a very extraordinary kind of man who can stand by and not quickly be convinced; and still their progress is by no means extraordinary.

#### DRAWING

Is the ability to represent to one's self, in similar lines, the outlines of any object and what is contained within them, by means of merely looking at the object, and thus to imitate it correctly.

This art is facilitated out of all measure by the new method, since it is, throughout, an easy application of forms which have not only been brought before the intuition of the child, but by practice in imitating which he has acquired actual geometrical ability.

The mode pursued is as follows:—As soon as the child can correctly and readily draw the straight horizontal lines with which the alphabet of intuition begins, there are sought for him, out of the chaos of intuitions, figures whose outline requires nothing but the application of the horizontal lines which are already easy to him, or at most only a not noticeable departure from them.

Then we proceed to the perpendicular line, and then to the right-angled triangle, &c.; and, in proportion as the child is more assured in the simple application of these forms, we gradually pass from them to the application of them. The results of the application of this rule, entirely coincident with the essence of physico-mechanical laws, are no less in drawing than are those of the use of the alphabet of intuition upon the geometrical powers of the child. In this course they become thoroughly acquainted with the first elements of drawing before going further; and accordingly, even in the first stages of their progress, there is developed in them a perception of what the consequences of the thorough mastery of the whole subject will be, and with this an endeavor after perfection, and a perseverance in the attainment of their object, such as the foolishness and disorderliness of the usual methods would never produce. The basis of this progress is not merely in the cultivation of the hand; it is founded upon the innermost powers of human nature; and practical books of geometrical forms coming in succession afterward, enable the children, pursuing this course on correct psychological principles, and under the proper conditions of physico-mechanical laws, gradually to attain the desired point, namely, that the further use of geometrical lines to be employed by the eye shall gradually become entirely superfluous, and that, of the means of attaining their art, nothing shall remain but the art itself.

## WRITING.

Nature herself subordinates this art to drawing, and to all the means by which the latter is taught to the child and carried to perfection; and, accordingly, is actually and especially subordinate to geometry.

Writing ought, even still less than drawing, to be begun and pursued without previous training in linear geometry; not only because it is itself a kind of linear drawing, and does not allow arbitrary variations from the fixed lines of its forms, but more particularly because, if facility is acquired in it before drawing, it must necessarily injure the hand for the latter, by confirming it in particular forms before it has been sufficiently trained to a universal capacity for all forms, such as drawing requires. It is another reason why drawing should precede writing, that it beyond measure facilitates the proper formation of the letters by the child, thus saving him a great loss of time spent in weaning himself from wrong forms which he has been acquiring for years together. This, again, is of advantage to him during his whole course, in that, even in the first beginnings of study, he becomes conscious of the power to be acquired by the mastery of it; so that, even in the first part of his studies in writing, he becomes resolved not to leave any thing incomplete or imperfect, in his rudimentary acquirements.

Writing, like drawing, must be first commenced on the slate, with a pencil; children being competent to make a perfect letter on the slate, at an age when it would be infinitely difficult to teach them how to guide the pen.

This use of the slate-pencil before the pen is to be recommended, both in writing and drawing, for the additional reason that it admits of the easy rectification of errors; while, by the remaining on the paper of a faulty letter, a worse one is always made next.

And I shall cite, as a material advantage of this method, that the child will wash from the slate even perfectly good work; an advantage incredible to all who do not know the importance of educating children without presumption, and so as to prevent them from vanity in attaching value to the work of their hands.

I divide the study of writing into two epochs:—

1. That in which the child is to become familiar with the forms of letters and their connection, independently of the use of the pen; and
2. That in which his hand is to be trained to the use of the pen, the proper instrument for writing.

During the first of these epochs I place the letters before the child, in strictly correct forms; and have caused a copy-book to be engraved, by means of which the child, if he has the advantages consequent upon pursuing my whole method, can acquire facility in writing almost by himself without assistance.

The characteristics of this writing-book are:—

1. It dwells sufficiently long upon the rudimentary and fundamental forms of the letters.
2. It proceeds gradually, only from the simple forms of the letters to the complex.
3. It practices the child in the combination of several letters, beginning from the moment when he can correctly write a simple one; and goes on, step by step, in the writing of such words as contain those letters only which he is already able to make perfectly.



4. Lastly, it has the advantage of being cut up into single lines; so that the line to be written upon can always be made to stand immediately under the copy.

In the second epoch, in which the child is to be introduced to the use of the pen, the proper instrument for writing, he is practiced in the forms of the letters and in their combinations, even to a higher degree of perfection; and the teacher's work is then only to apply this perfected skill in drawing these forms to writing proper, by the use of the pen.

But the child must here also come at the new step in his progress with those he has already made. His first copy for the pen is precisely like his copy for the pencil; and he must commence his practice with the pen by writing the letters as large as he drew them, and only gradually becoming accustomed to imitating the smaller usual forms of writing.

The psychology of all departments of education requires a clear distinction to be preserved between their means; and a keen discrimination as to which of them the child can and should be made to practice at any age. As in all departments, I apply this principle in writing also; and by a steady adherence to this principle, and with the help of the book of slate-pencil copies founded on it, which has been prepared for children of four and five years of age, I confidently assert that by this method even an unskillful schoolmaster, or a very inexperienced mother, can instruct children, up to a certain point, in both plain and ornamental writing, without having themselves been previously able to do it. It is, in this particular, as every where, the main design of my method to make home instruction again possible to our neglected people; and to enable every mother, whose heart beats for her child, to follow my elementary exercises in a progressive order, quite to their end; and to practice them throughout with her children. To do this, she need be but a little way forward of the child itself.

My heart is lifted up by the blessed wishes that spring from this idea. But when I first expressed distantly something of these hopes, I was answered, from all sides, "The mothers among the people at large will not approve of it;" and not only men from the common people, but men who teach the common people—who teach them Christianity!—said to me, scoffingly, "You may search all our villages up and down, but you will find no mother who will do what you require from her." I answered them, "Then I will, by the use of these means of mine, enable heathen mothers from the furthest north to do it; and, if it is really true that Christian mothers in peaceful Europe—that Christian mothers in my fatherland—can not be carried forward as far as I will carry heathen mothers from the wild north;—then I will call upon these gentlemen, who are to-day thus insulting the people of the fatherland, whom they and their fathers have hitherto taught, instructed, and directed; and, if they dare wash their hands of the blame, and say, "We are guiltless of this inexpressible shame of the people in peaceful Europe, we are guiltless of this unspeakable disgrace of the best natured, most teachable, and patient of all the European nations, the Swiss"—if they dare say, "We and our fathers have done what it was our duty to do, in order to remove from our father-land the nameless unhappiness of this inhuman condition of our country and our father-land, to prevent this decay of the first foundations of morality and religion in our country and our father-land"—to these men, who dared to tell me, "You may

search the land up and down, but its mothers will not do nor desire what you wish," I will reply, "Cry out to these unnatural mothers of our father-land, as did Christ to Jerusalem, 'Mothers, mothers, how often have we wished to gather you under the wings of wisdom, humanity, and Christianity, as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!'" If they dare do this, then I will be silent, and believe their assertion and their experience, instead of believing in the mothers of the country, and in the hearts which God has put into their breasts. But if they dare not, I will not believe in them, but in the mothers, and in the hearts which God has put in their breasts; and will moreover meet the miserable statement with which they have rejected from themselves the people of the land, like the production of an evil creation, and proclaim it an insult to the people, to nature, and to truth; and will go my way, like a wanderer who in a distant forest hears a wind whose blowing he does not feel. I must go my way, for the sake of what I desire to speak. I have all my life seen all manner of such word-men, hardened in systems and ideals, with no knowledge or respect for the people; and the appearance of those who to-day are, as I have shown, insulting the people, is more similar to theirs than any other that I know. Such men believe themselves to be upon an eminence, and the people at a depth far below them; but they are mistaken on both points, and like wretched apes, by the arrogance of their miserable nature, hindered and made incapable of right judgment on the real value of actual animal power, or that of real human endowments; thus these wretched word-men are, even by the loftiest attainments of their unnatural course, become incapable of observing that they are walking on stilts, and that they must get down from their wretched wooden legs, in order to be planted as firmly as common people are, upon God's earth. I am forced to pity them. I have heard many of these wretched word-men say, with such a mixture of nun-like innocence and rabbinical wisdom, "What can be better for the people than the Heidelberg catechism and the psalter?" that I have been forced, out of consideration for humanity, to give up my respect for even the foundation of this error. And even if I would excuse the error, it would still be an error, and will be. Men are ever like themselves; and book-learned men, and their pupils, have likewise been so. I will therefore open my mouth no longer against the verbiage of their human sayings, and the tinkling bells of their ceremoniousness, and the delightful foolish frame of mind which must naturally thence arise; but will only say, with that greatest of men, who ever beneficially advocated the cause of truth, the people, and love, against the errors of the book-learned, "Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

But to return: The study of writing seems to appear, in the third place, as an introduction to learning speech. It is, indeed, essentially, nothing but a peculiar and special application of the latter.

As, therefore, writing, considered as a study of form, comes according to my method into connection with geometry and drawing, and thus enjoys all the advantages derivable from the early development of those studies, so, as a special department of the study of speech, it comes into connection with all that has been done, from the cradle upward, by the method for the development of that faculty, and enjoys the same advantages which were secured and established for it, from the previous training of it by the "*Book for Mothers*," and the spelling and reading-book.

A child taught by this method knows the spelling-book and the first reading-book almost by rote; he knows, to a great extent, the basis of orthography and speech; and when he has acquired facility in the forms of writing, by means of the pencil-book and the first exercises, so far as concern single letters and their connection, he will need no special copies to proceed in his studies in writing, for he will then, by means of his knowledge of speech and orthography, have the substance of all the copies in his head, and can write down, from the acquaintance he has acquired with the spelling and reading-books, whole series of words; by which his knowledge of language is continually increased, and his memory and imagination trained.

The advantages of exercises in writing thus arranged, and connected with those in language, are as follows:—

1. They continually increase the grammatical facility which the child has already acquired, and make its basis in his mind more firm. This can not fail to be the case; for the arrangement of the reading-book, in which nouns, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, &c., stand in separate columns, enables him to write them down as they stand; by which means he acquires the power of determining at once in which series any word belongs that comes before him. In this manner even the rules applicable to these classes of words will shape themselves in his mind.

2. By these exercises in language, according to the method, is also cultivated the general power of arriving at intelligent ideas; for the child may, as a writing-exercise, write out his dictionary, according to the headings and distinctions of the series of subdivisions which he has already learned, into groups of words, and thus arrange for himself orderly, generalized views of the various classes of things.

3. The means of gradually attaining to intelligent ideas by writing-exercises are re-enforced in two ways: first, because the pupil gains practice both by the writing and reading-lessons, through the elucidatory juxtapositions of the important nouns, verbs, adverbs, &c.; and, second, he gains independent power in discovering and adding the ideas derived from his own experience to the various series of terms whose chief conceptions he has made his own while engaged in studying reading.

Thus, in the writing-exercises, for example, he sets down not only the names of what he has learned in the reading-book to call "high" and "pointed," but he practices himself, and the very task stimulates him to do so, in remembering and adding such objects as he recollects, within his own experience, of that form.

I will give an example, to illustrate the investigating spirit of children as to such additions.

I gave out to them the word "Three-cornered;" of which, along with a country schoolmaster, they furnished the following instances:—

Three-cornered: Triangle; plumb-level; half a neck-cloth; carpenter's square; a kind of file; bayonet; prism; beech-nut; engraver's scraper; wound left by leech; blade of a sword-cane; buckwheat kernel; leg of a pair of dividers; the under surface of the nose; leaf of "Good Henry;" spinach leaf; seed-pod of tulip; figure 4; seed-pod of shepherd's pouch.

They found still others on tables, and in round windows, which they were unable to give names for.

The like is the case with reference to the addition of adjectives to the nouns.



For instance, the children annexed to the nouns eel, egg, evening, not only all the adjectives which they had learned as annexed to them in the reading-book, but those also which their own experience enabled them to add as appropriate. Thus, by this mode of collecting the qualities of all things, they arrive, by the simplest of processes, at the means of becoming acquainted and familiar with the nature, essence, and qualities of all things, from various directions, and in a mode harmonizing with their own experience. The same is true of verbs; as, for instance, if the children are to elucidate the verb "to observe," by adding nouns and adverbs to it, they would elucidate or accompany them, not only with the words which they had found accompanying them in the reading-book, but would add others, as in the previous case.

The consequences of these exercises are far-reaching. The descriptions which the children have learned by rote, as of the bell, going, standing, lying, the eye, the ear, &c., become definite and universal guides to them, by means of which they become able to express themselves, both orally and in writing, as to every thing with whose form and contents they become acquainted. It will of course be observed, that this result can be reached, not by isolated, exclusive practice in writing, but by connecting it with the whole series of means by which the method gradually elevates its pupils to the attainment of intelligent ideas.

It is also, as standing in connection with the whole course of instruction, that I say of the study of writing, that it should be completed, not merely as an art, but as a business acquirement; and that the child should be carried to such a degree of facility in it, that he shall be able to express himself as distinctly respecting it, and use it as easily and as universally, as speaking.

The third elementary means of our knowledge is

#### NUMBER.

While sound and form lead us toward the intelligence of ideas, and the intellectual independence which are attained through them, by the use of various means of instruction subordinate to themselves, arithmetic is the only department of instruction which makes use of no such subordinate means, but seems, throughout the whole extent of its influence, to be only a simple result of the primitive faculty, by which we represent clearly to ourselves, in all cases of intuition, the relations of greater and less, and, in cases where measurement is impossible, to form a perfectly clear idea of the relation.

Sound and form often, and in various ways, contain within themselves a germ of error and delusion; but number, never: it alone leads to infallible results; and, if geometry makes the same claim, it can be only by means of the application of arithmetic, and in conjunction with it; that is, it is infallible, as long as it arithmetizes.

Since, therefore, this department of instruction, which leads with most certainty toward the purpose of all instruction—intelligent ideas—must be honored as the most important of all the departments, it is therefore evident that it must also be pursued universally, and with the utmost care and wisdom; and that it is of the utmost importance for the attainment of the ultimate object of education; and also that it should be put in a form which shall admit all the advantages which a profound psychology and a most comprehensive knowledge of the invariable laws of the physical mechanism of instruction can secure. I

have, therefore, made the utmost efforts to bring arithmetic before the intuition of the child, as the clearest result of these laws; and not only to reduce the element of it in the mind to that simplicity which they wear in the actual phenomena of nature, but also to preserve this same simplicity, without any variation, strictly and without exception, in every step of onward progress; in the conviction that even the furthest attainments in this study can only be the means of true enlightenment—that is, means of attaining to intelligent ideas and correct views—so far as it is developed in the human mind in the same order of progress in which it proceeds from nature herself, from the very beginning.

## ARITHMETIC.

This arises wholly from the simple collocation and separation of several unities. Its primitive formula is evidently as has been stated. One and one make two, and one from two leaves one. Every figure, whatever its value, is in itself only a mode of abbreviating this rudimentary form of all computation. It is, however, important that the recollection of the primitive form of the relations of numbers should not be weakened in the mind by the abbreviated means of arithmetic; but that they should, by means of the forms in which the study is pursued, be carefully and deeply impressed upon it; and that all progress in this department toward the end proposed should be founded upon that deeply-seated consciousness of the material relations which lies at the basis of all arithmetic. If this does not happen, the very first means of attaining intelligent ideas would be degraded to a mere plan of memory and imagination, and thus made powerless for its real object.

This must, of course, be the case; for if, for instance, we learn by rote that three and four are seven, and then proceed to use this seven as if we *really* knew that three and four made it, we should deceive ourselves; for the inner truth of the seven would not be in us, since we should not be conscious of the material basis which alone can give the empty words any truth for us. The fact is the same in all the departments of human knowledge. Drawing, in like manner, if not based upon the geometry from which it is deduced, loses that internal truthfulness by means of which only it can lead us toward intelligent ideas.

I begin, in the "*Book for Mothers*," to endeavor to make upon the child that firm impression of the relations of numbers, as such actual interchanges of more and less, as may be observed in objects discernible by the eye. The first tables of that work contain a series of objects intended to bring distinctly before the eyes of the children the ideas of one, two, three, &c., up to ten. Then I let the children select from the pictures the objects which represent one; then the twos, threes, &c. Then I make the same relations familiar to them by their fingers, or with peas, small stones, or such other objects as may be at hand; and I daily renew the consciousness of the numbers hundreds and hundreds of times, by the division of words into syllables and letters on the spelling-board, and asking, How many syllables has that word? What is the first? The second? &c. In this manner the primitive form of all arithmetic becomes deeply impressed upon the children's minds, by which means they become familiar with the means of abbreviating it, by figures, with the full consciousness of their inner truth, before proceeding to the use of the figures, without keeping this background of intuition before their eyes. Aside from the advantage of thus

making arithmetic a basis for intelligent ideas, it is incredible how easy the study thus becomes, even to children, through this assured preparation of the intuition; and experience shows that the beginning even is difficult only because this psychological rule is not used to the proper extent. I must, therefore, go somewhat more into detail upon such of my rules as are here applicable.

Besides the steps already mentioned, and after them, I make use of the spelling-tablets also as a means of teaching arithmetic. I call each tablet one, and begin with the child at a time when it can learn its letters, to instruct it in the knowledge of the relations of numbers. I lay down one tablet, and ask the child, "Are there many tablets?" He answers, "No; only one." Then I put one more, and say, "One and one. How many is it?" The child answers, "One and one are two." And so I go on, adding only one at a time, then two, three, &c., at a time.

When the child has thoroughly mastered the combinations of one and one, as far as ten, and states them with entire facility, I put the spelling-tablets before him in the same manner, but vary the question, and say, "If you have two tablets, how many times one tablet have you?" The child sees, reckons, and answers correctly, "If I have two tablets, I have twice one tablet."

When he has thus, by the limited and often-repeated computation of their parts, gained a clear understanding of the number of ones in each of the first numbers, the question is varied again, and he is asked, with the tablets in sight as before, "How many times one are two? how many times one are three?" &c.; and again, "How many times is one in two; in three?" &c. When the child has thus become acquainted with the simplest rudimentary forms of addition, multiplication, and division, and intuition has enabled him to master the essence of the processes, the next step is to make him thoroughly acquainted, in like manner, by intuition, with the rudimentary forms of subtraction. This is done as follows:—From the whole ten tablets together I take away one, and ask, "If you take away one from ten, how many remains?" The child reckons, finds nine, and answers, "If I take one away from ten, there remain nine." Then I take away another, and ask, "One less than nine is how many?" The child reckons again, finds nine, and answers, "One less than nine is eight." And so it proceeds to the end.

This mode of explaining arithmetic can be practiced by means of the following series of figures:—

|   |      |      |      |     |
|---|------|------|------|-----|
| 1 | 11   | 11   | 11   | &c. |
| 1 | 111  | 111  | 111  | &c. |
| 1 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | &c. |

When the additions in one of these columns are finished, they may be used for subtraction; e. g.:—

If one and two are three, and two and three make five, and two and five make seven, &c., up to twenty-one; then two tablets may be removed, and the question asked, "Two less than twenty-one is how many?" and so on, until none are left.

The knowledge of the greater or less number of objects, which is awakened in the child by the laying before him of actual movable bodies, is strengthened again by the use of arithmetical tables, by means of which the same successions of relations are set before him in lines and points. These tables are used as guides, in reference to computing with real objects, as the spelling-book is in



connection with writing words on the blackboard; and when the child has proceeded as far, in reckoning with real objects, as these tables, which are entirely based on intuition, his apprehension of the actual relations of numbers will have become so strengthened, that the abbreviated modes of proceeding by the usual figures, even without the intuition of objects, will be incredibly easy to him, while his mind will have been preserved from error, defects, and fanciful instructions. Thus it may be said, with strict correctness, that such a study of arithmetic is exclusively an exercise of the reason, and not at all of the memory, nor any mechanical routine practice; but the result of the clearest and most definite intuitions, and leading to nothing except to intelligent ideas.

But as increase and decrease takes place, not only by increase and decrease of the number of single objects, but by the division of single objects into several parts, there thus arises a second form of arithmetic, or, rather, a method is offered by which each single object may itself be made the basis of an infinite partition of itself, and an infinite division into single parts existing within it.

And as, in the previous form of arithmetic, the number one was taken as the starting-point for the increase and decrease in the number of single objects, and as the basis of the intuitional knowledge of all their changes, in like manner a figure must be found in the second form of arithmetic which shall occupy the same place. It must be infinitely divisible, and all its parts alike; a figure by which the parts in fractional arithmetic, each first as part of a whole, and again as independent, undivided unities, may be brought before the intuition in such a way that every relation of a fraction to its integer may be presented to the child's eye as definitely and accurately as, by our method, in the simple form of arithmetic, the number one was seen by him to be distinctly contained three times in three.

No figure will serve this purpose except the equilateral square.

By means of this figure we can place before the eye of the child the relation of the parts to unity; that is, the progressive series of fractions, beginning with the universal starting-point of all increase and decrease, the number one, with as much distinctness as we formerly set before him in a sensible form the increase and decrease of whole unities. I have also prepared an intuitional table of fractions, in eleven columns, each consisting of ten squares. The squares in the first column are whole, those in the second are divided into two equal parts, those in the third into three, &c., as far as ten. This simply-divided table is followed by a second, in which these simple intuitional divisions are continued in a further progression. The squares, which in the first table are divided into two equal parts, are now divided into two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty parts; those in the next column into three, six, nine, twelve, &c.

As this intuitional alphabet consists of geometrical forms, which are derived from the tenfold subdivision of an equilateral square, it is evident that we have established a common source for the alphabet of intuition, and this arithmetical alphabet; or, rather, that we have established such a harmony between the elementary means of instruction in form and number, that our geometrical forms are made the primary basis of the relations of numbers, and the fundamental relations of numbers, on the other hand, the primary basis of the geometrical forms.

In this manner we arrive at the conclusion that we can not teach children

arithmetic, under our method, except by the use of the same alphabet which we used previously as an alphabet of intuition in the more restricted sense; that is, as a basis for measuring, writing, and drawing.

The child's apprehension of the actual material relations of all fractions will become so clear by the use of this table, that the study of fractions in the usual figures, as in the case of the arithmetic of integers, will become incredibly easy. Experience shows that by this method the children arrive four or five years earlier at a proper facility by this method than could possibly be the case without its use. These exercises also, as well as the previous ones, preserve the child's mind from confusion, omissions, and fanciful instructions; and in this respect also it may be said, with distinctness, that this mode of studying arithmetic is exclusively a training of the reason; in no sense a mere exercise of memory, nor any routine mechanical process. It is the result of the clearest and most definite intuitions; and leads, by an easy path, through correct understanding, to truth.

## TEACHING AS THE FATHER OF A FAMILY.

[FROM BIBER'S LIFE OF PESTALOZZI.]

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THE spirit in which Pestalozzi presided over his house can not be better described than by his own words, in the discourses which he addressed to the whole family every Christmas Eve and New-Year's Day. One of these, delivered on Christmas Eve, 1810, will be read with interest, as it is not only a faithful expression of the tone which he maintained in his establishment, but affords, at the same time, a pleasing picture of that peculiarity of continental custom, by which Christmas Eve and New-Year's Day are consecrated as the two great family festivals.

Children, sons and daughters of this house, and ye matured men, my friends and brethren!

What is there in this day that calls for rejoicing! For nearly twice ten centuries, this hour has ever been an hour of gladness! Is its joy, peradventure, worn out with age, and do we possess no more than the dregs and forms of its sacred solemnity? If so, I would rather not partake in it; I would not rejoice, but mourn, in this hour of ancient joy. And I ask: That ancient joy, what was it? And I look around me, to see what it is now. I have heard of the ancients, and I have partly seen it in my own days, that Christmas Eve was a night on the earth above all earthly nights. Its shades were brighter than the noon-day of highest earthly joy. The anniversaries of national emancipation from the thralldom of tyranny were not to be compared to that heavenly night, the night of heavenly rejoicing. Through the holy silence of its service resounded the words: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and unto men purity of heart." It was as if the angels were again gathering together over the heads of men in that hour, praising God that a Saviour was born unto the world. Oh! in those days, Christmas Eve was indeed a holy night, whose joys no words can describe, its bliss no tongue declare. The earth was changed into a heaven every such night. God in the highest was glorified, on earth there was peace, and gladness among the children of men. It was a joy flowing from the innermost sanctuary of the heart, not a joy of human affection. The joys of human affection are tied to place and outward circumstances; they are individual joys. But the joy of our ancient Christmas Eve was a universal joy, it was the common joy of humankind; for it was not a human, but a divine rejoicing.

Friends and brethren, and ye, my children; Oh that I could lead you back to Christendom of old, and show you the solemnity of this hour in the days of simplicity and faith, when half the world was ready to suffer death for the faith in Christ Jesus!

My friends and brethren! Oh that I could show you the joys of Christmas



Eve in the mirror of those days! The Christian stood at this hour in the midst of his brethren, his heart filled with the Holy Ghost, and his hand with earthly gifts. Thus stood the mother among her children, the master among his workmen, the landlord among his tenants. Thus assembled the congregation before its pastor; thus the rich entered the cottage of the poor. This was the hour in which enemies offered each other the hand of reconciliation, in which the heavily laden sinner knelt down, praying in tears for the pardon of his transgressions, and rejoicing in his heart that a Saviour was born to take away sin.

This hour of heavenly joy was an hour of sanctification; the earth was a heaven-like earth, and, though the dwelling-place of mortal man, breathed the breath of immortality. Death and sorrow seemed to have departed from the earth. The holy joys of that night lightened the burdens of the poor, and eased the pangs of the wretched. Prisoners, who had long been shut out from the light of day, were liberated on that night, and returned, as if led by an angel of God, to their desolate homes, to their wives and children, who were kneeling, weeping, and praying for their deliverance; for the heart of the judge had softened itself in the joy, that to him too a Saviour was born, and it had grown milder toward his fellow-men, his enemy, and his captive. Even the criminal under sentence of death, whom no human power could rescue from his fate, was more kindly treated; words of peace, words of life everlasting, instilled comfort into his trembling nerves. He felt not merely his guilt and misery; he felt the pardon of iniquity, and when his hour drew near, he went to meet his end with manly composure. Many thousands, entangled in debt by the necessity or the weakness of life, and persecuted by the arms of the law with merciless rigor, obtained in this sacred interval remission of their debts from the more generous feelings of their creditors, who, in the joy of having a Redeemer born to them, became themselves the redeemers of unfortunate debtors.

Oh, what a night was Christmas Eve to ancient Christendom! Oh that I could describe its blessings, and your hearts would be moved to seek God's Holy Spirit, and your hands would tremblingly give and receive human gifts sanctified by the solemnity of this hour; for you would remember, that in this hour was born unto you Christ the Saviour, and you would rejoice in him with a holy joy.

Oh that Christ Jesus would now appear to us in spirit! that we might all be like unto our children, to whom the invisible love of God is made manifest in the Christ-child\* under the form of an innocent babe, like unto them in appearance, but descending from heaven, with pleasant gifts. Oh that the joy of this hour, wherewith we rejoice over the birth of our Saviour, could enable us to see in spirit the divine love of Christ Jesus, giving himself up to death to be a ransom for us. Let us rejoice in the hour in which he was made flesh, in the hour in which he brought into the world the great gift of his death to be deposited on the altar of divine love. From this hour was he the Lord's High Priest, the victim for our sins.

My friends, my brethren and sisters! let us pray: "Bring back, Oh Lord, bring back unto the world those happy days, when mankind were truly rejoicing

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\* Christmas Eve abroad is the time when children receive gifts of every kind from their parents, godfathers, &c; but instead of "Christmas boxes," they are "Christmas trees,"—young fir-stems, lighted up with little wax-tapers, on the twigs of which all the glittering gifts are hung. The preparation of the "Christmas tree" is a family mystery, and if the child ask from whence all the goodly things come, the answer is, "The Christ-child brought them."—B.

in their Saviour Jesus Christ, and in the hour of his birth. Bring back unto us those times, when at this hour the hearts of men were filled with the Holy Ghost, and their hands with gifts of brotherly love. Oh heavenly Father, thou wilt bring them back if we seek for them. And, as one of old asked Jesus Christ: 'Lord, what must I do to be saved?' even so let us ask: 'Lord, what must we do, that Christmas Eve may bring unto us those blessings which it brought to the Christian world in its better days? what must we do that the joy of Christmas may be an universal joy to our house, as it was in the days of old to all mankind?' "

It is by answering this question, my friends and brethren, that I will endeavor to edify you in the solemn moments of this festival, so sacred to the Christian's heart.

My friends, my brethren! the joy of Christmas was to our fathers a universal joy, the common joy of humankind, because it was the joy of holy and heavenly love. In like manner in our house, the joy of Christmas will become a universal joy only if it become among us a joy of holy and heavenly love. The fellowship of love is the only true source of fellowship in rejoicing; its divine power alone can break the bonds by which joy is restrained in the human breast. In the absence of that love, our joy is only the joy of individuals in single objects, in whose excitement selfishness is enthroned. The troop of the joyful is separated from the multitude of the mournful; and the latter are left to their fate without one feeling of sympathy, while the former, full of envy and anxiety, are jealously guarding the sources of their joy, lest any of those that are rejoicing with them should divert its streams into their own channels. Such is the joy which, fettered by the bonds of human selfishness, is unable to rise into a holy and divine feeling.

My friends and brethren! wherever the fellowship of love is wanting, the fellowship of joy is precluded. If, then, we desire to make Christmas Eve a festival to our hearts, as it was to the hearts of our fathers, the fellowship of love must first be established and secured among us. But this is wanting wherever there is not the mind of Jesus Christ and the power of his Spirit.

My friends and brethren! unless that mind and that power be in the midst of us, our house will prove to be built on sand. In vain shall we seek for the fellowship of joy, if we have not that of love.

My friends and brethren! if there be no other but human and temporal ties to bind us, we are inwardly divided already, and our external union will and must be broken up, as a spider's web by the strong wings of a wasp, or by a gush of wind.

My friends and brethren! it is no small thing for men to be united for a holy purpose. They must sanctify themselves in their union, that their purpose may remain to them a holy purpose, and that the work of their hands also may be holy. But it is far more common for men to corrupt than to sanctify themselves by their union.

My friends and brethren! let us not overlook the dangers of every union between man and man. Wherever men unite in their human capacities, then union will not lead to their purification or sanctification. It is only where a divine life forms the tie of union, that man by his union with other men can become purified and sanctified; but the union in the tie of a divine life is only possible by the fellowship of the mind of Christ and the communion of his Holy Spirit. Whoever has not the mind of Christ, nor his Spirit, will not be ennobled by any union with man. Let us not be blind, therefore, my brethren, to the dangers of our union. They are great, very great. It is the work of thy mercy, Oh Lord,

that they have not ensnared us already. For how variously has in our union the human nature of the one attached itself to the human nature of the other! how manifold has been among us the fellowship of weakness! Have we not endeavored each of us to make the weakness of others a cloak wherewith to cover his own. Oh, how little has the success of our undertaking effected toward raising us to a higher state, and strengthening in us the power of divine grace! How often have we rejoiced with a merely human joy, unsanctified by the divine Spirit, in that outward success which became the more illusory as we took a merely human view of it! Oh Lord, how little have we been strengthened, and how much have we been enfeebled, by our prosperity. My friends and brethren! let us not conceal this matter from ourselves; the history of our union is nothing else than the history of the merciful dealings of divine grace, with the weakness of men united together for a holy purpose. We have pursued this purpose after the fashion of men, but the Lord has blessed our labors with the blessing of heaven. Of that blessing we have proved ourselves unworthy, for in the midst of his loving kindness toward us, our weaknesses not only remained the same, but they were often increased.

My friends and brethren! the days of our prosperity have not, as they ought to have done, prepared and strengthened us for the days of adversity; and yet adversity must necessarily come upon us, lest we should be subdued by our human weaknesses, which are in open conflict with the divine purpose of our union. My friends and brethren! are we to give way to those weaknesses of our human nature, and see our house stride on toward dissolution; or shall we, by elevating ourselves above them, save our work from destruction?

My friends and brethren! is the coming Christmas to be to us a day of deep mourning, or a joyful day of triumph, to celebrate our conquests over ourselves and our infirmities? The decisive moment is come. We must no longer rely upon outward prosperity for the success of our undertaking; for there is no prosperity that can now become really conducive to its progress; nothing but righteousness can any longer advance the object of our union. You are left, my friends, almost without a leader. My strength is gone. I am no longer an example for you of what you ought to be day by day, as members of our family. Your task is an important one. You are to educate yourselves as well as the children intrusted to our care. You are to resist the world and its vain works, and yet you are to satisfy men who have grown grey-headed in its vanities. You are to pave a new road through impervious tracts, and to walk on it as if it had been paved long ago. You are to act the parts of youths in your development, and that of men in your position to the world.

My friends! our meeting together was on a less high, it was on a human ground; nor has our temporal connection raised us to such an elevation; and yet it is indispensable for the attainment of our end, that we should rise to that point.

Oh my friends, my brethren! in what a sublime light does this purpose present itself to my view. Oh that it were possible for me to present it to you in the like manner as I did the Christmas joy of our forefathers. The purpose of our union is not founded upon our human nature, but upon the divine spark implanted within it; it is on this account that it embraces the whole of humankind; it is a universal purpose, because it addresses itself to that divine seed which God has universally deposited in the hearts of men. Our means likewise are not derived



from our human nature ; they emanate from a divine life within us. So far only as we are alive to that purpose in its divine character, so far as it is unfolded in us by divine means, so far only has it in us a real foundation ; and it is so far only, that the attainment of it can become to us a source of universal peace and tranquillity.

My friends and brethren ! if that be wanting among us, our union for the purpose of education is no more than a vain dream ; from which when we wake, we shall find our eyes filled with tears.

My friends and brethren ! if we be united by no better tie than that which binds men together in the vanity of their common pursuits, our union will share the fate of all vain human associations. The fetters of this vain world will then keep our union in an unholy bondage, and we shall sink, as man always does in union with man, except he be raised above the degrading influence of merely human relationship by sanctification in a divine bond. Mean selfishness will then preside among us, as it presides every where in human society, and it will cause our union to perish in itself, like a house thrown on a heap by an earthquake, in the same manner as it has ruined before thousands of human associations. Fix your view upon this prospect, my friends ; do not turn your eyes from this picture. How should we feel if all this should be fulfilled in us ? Oh ! do not turn away your eyes from this picture of truth. If ever we should be overcome by our own weakness, and obliged to separate ; if any of us should forsake the common cause and look to their private interests, some in the apparent calmness and satisfaction of selfishness, and some in the selfish sorrow of weakness ; if we should part from each other ; if those that are strong among us should abandon the weak ones to their fate ; if any of us should become intoxicated with the narcotic of vain glory, or should endeavor for the sake of contemptible gain to obtain for themselves the credit due to all. \* \* \* \* \* My friends and brethren ! is it possible for you to place this picture of dissolution, degradation and ruin before your eyes, and not to feel a sacred determination kindled in your bosom, to do all in your power to avert the day of such a calamity ?

It is impossible, my friends, my brethren, that you can be indifferent to that prospect : you will, I know you will, be elevated and united. Oh ! let us deliver ourselves and our cause from danger, by elevation and unity of spirit. Can we do otherwise ? Could we have cherished for years the idea of raising the condition of the people by a better education, and now allow it to sink into oblivion ? Is it possible for us to forget those sacred hours in which our hearts were filled with pious enthusiasm at the recollection of our great purpose ; those hours in which, separated from the world, and firmly united among ourselves, we acknowledged each other as devoted instruments of that purpose, and gave each other the solemn promise, which also we have openly declared before men, that we would consecrate ourselves to the holy cause for which we are called, and assist each other in its pursuit, until every one of us should have obtained strength and ability to pursue it by himself, independently of any farther assistance ? Who that has for a moment felt in his bosom the spirit of our union, could consent to abandon the least among us that is truly attached to our cause, instead of lending him a helping hand, and leading him to become a mature instrument for the common purpose ? Is it possible to see our blooming youth, whom none can equal in cheerfulness, in native wit, in intelligence and practical acquirements, in physical power and agility, whose whole education is so evidently superior to that commonly

imparted, and not to mourn at the thought that our union should ever be dissolved? Is it possible to view the improvements produced in the method of instruction, by rendering it conformable to the nature of the human mind, and to be indifferent to the idea that the experiment, out of which these improvements arose, should be interrupted? No, it is impossible. I know you, and though I may have to complain of much frailty among you, yet I am sure, that many of you would rather die, than suffer the blessed fruits of our union to be arrested in their growth by your failings.

No, no! my brethren! let the voice of union be raised among us with a shout in the solemn hour of this festival: the voice of that union which has raised us to the privilege of becoming the servants of our brethren. Let us be faithful to that union, let us not depart from the path prescribed to us by the love of mankind. Let our object be now and forever, to consecrate ourselves to our holy calling, and to remain faithful to each other in coöperating for the attainment of our great purpose; to remain faithful to the beloved children who grow up in the midst of us, in the flower of youth; to remain faithful to truth and love in all the means that we adopt; and in the whole sphere of our exertions to preserve purity of heart.

My friends and brethren! let this day, consecrated to the remembrance of a Saviour's birth, be the day of a holy renovation of our union! let it be the day of a holy renovation of ourselves for the purposes of our calling! let the joy that Jesus Christ came in the flesh, be one with the joy that we are united in his service; let our joy be the joy of faith and love in Him! Let the sacred, the divine character of our calling, raise us far above ourselves, and above the dangers of human weakness, which exist in our union as in the union of all our brethren. Let us be sincere with ourselves, let us not deceive ourselves by the vain jingle of words, let us not contaminate the holy night of our Lord by the delusion of selfishness! Whoever seeks in our union to serve himself only, let him depart from us! Whoever makes our union a scene for the freer indulgence of his weakness, let him depart from us! Whoever feels that in our union he grows more frail and faulty than he would have allowed himself to become elsewhere, let him depart from us!

We are brought together by chance; it could not be otherwise; but let not chance keep us together like fishes caught in a net, who must all perish together. No, no! the hour is come to separate the wheat from the chaff. The hour is come, when our union must cease to afford food for the wicked. It is enough! It is enough! The goodness of God has given to each of us a time of grace and long suffering. For those who have abused that time, it is now at an end, it must be at an end! Whoever does not serve the holy purpose of our union, whoever disturbs it by his presence, let him depart from us!

My brethren! The ties of chance must this day be broken! No other tie can henceforth be suffered to exist among us than that of love and righteousness. Let us part rather than perish! We must either part and follow every one his own appointed way, or else we must stand together this day, before God and men, with one heart and one soul! resolved to follow our common calling. Such is our duty this day!

My friends, my brethren! let us be faithful to that calling; let us cheerfully run our race together! I am the weakest among you, but I am ready to bring any sacrifice that may be required of me for the attainment of our holy purpose.

My friends and brethren! be you also ready to bring those sacrifices which will

be required of you! They will not be small. It is no small matter to put one's hand to the work of educating mankind; to stand forward among men, and to say: "Come to us and see the great thing which we propose to do for improving the education of the human race, for benefiting the world, and securing the welfare of our species."

My friends and brethren! This is the view which has been taken of the object of our union, and we ourselves have represented it nearly in the same light. Feeling the corrupt state into which education has fallen, and suffering under its mistakes, the world has awarded confidence to the language of my enthusiasm, and has crowned us with laurel, when we had hardly begun to search after the means by which a beautiful dream might be realized. I was myself under a great mistake. I thought the way to my end much shorter than it actually is; while the incense with which we were perfumed, as well as the unexpected success of some unripe experiments, confirmed us in that mistake, and had a prejudicial influence on our union and our institution. The seeds of corruption began to unfold themselves among us. We contradicted one another with our unripe opinions in dogmatical arrogance, and ills began to spring up in our house, which, when the fashion of praising us had grown old, afforded the world an opportunity of abusing us, likewise as a matter of fashion. Our time of trial is come, but it is better for us than the hour of vain praise. Let us not deceive ourselves. The voice of censure is becoming severe against us, and times of trouble are at hand. My poor house! thy lovers are become thy accusers, and know thou that the accusations of lovers are severe, and that their blame will become a testimony against thee in the mouth of thy enemies. My poor house! thou art grown up as a beautiful flower of the field; the gardeners envy thy beauty, because it shakes the faith of the world in their hot-houses, and verily they will take vengeance upon thee!

My friends, my brethren! despise not this time of tribulation! Our gold will be purified, and the heat of the refiner's fire will bring the dross to the surface! The world will for awhile see nothing but dross, and will lose for a time all faith in the gold, which is underneath the drossy bubbles.

My friends, my brethren! let not this offend you, but rejoice rather that your dross shall be separated from the gold of our holy cause. If the dross be permitted to swim on the surface, and all that is good and valuable among us be hidden from the eyes of the world, which can not see beyond the surface, rejoice ye! The hour of purifying will pass over; the vain dross of our labors will be thrown away, and be lost like chaff in the fire, but that which is purified will remain. Think on this, pass it not over lightly! Ask yourselves: "What then will remain! much, very much, of what we consider as gold, is now boiling up with the dross. But be ye not offended. The gold of our cause is not to be found in our outward labors, in our outward success; it is within you; there you must seek it, there you shall find, there you must value it. Our cause can have no value to us, except that which we possess in ourselves; and that value is great, it can not be little; nor must we allow ourselves to lose it in the unstable estimation formed of our external undertaking, like a diamond in a heap of sand. No! the intrinsic value of our cause is great. It requires an uncommon elevation of heart, singleness of sight, absolute submission to the guidance of Providence, indefatigable exertion, undaunted courage, constant self-denial, the humility of love, and the strength of heroes.



My friends, my brethren! let us not deceive ourselves, our aim is one which heroes only can hope to reach. Whence shall we get that heroic strength of which we stand in need?

My brethren! remember that the strength of the Lord is made perfect in weakness. The Saviour came into the world, lying in a manger, a helpless infant; and the glory of the only begotten of the Father was declared unto poor shepherds that kept watch over their flocks.

May the holy reminiscences of this day inspire us with a high and holy courage for our work. My brethren! if we are able to celebrate this festival in the spirit of our noble-hearted ancestors, in the spirit of genuine Christians, then are we capable likewise of accomplishing our work. The Lord Jesus has said: "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain: 'Remove hence to yonder place!' and it shall remove." My friends, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, though obstacles should lie in your way like mountains, whose feet are rooted in the depth of the earth, and whose tops reach unto heaven, ye shall say to them: "Remove hence to yonder place!" and they shall remove. My friends! if we celebrate this holy festival in true faith, we shall in the same faith accomplish our task. Cast back your looks upon the times of old, and see how this festival was celebrated by true faith. His heart filled with the Holy Spirit, and his hand with gifts of human kindness, the Christian stood at this hour in the midst of his brethren. The solemn hour of heavenly joy was an hour of sanctification to our species. The earth was at this hour a heavenly earth. The dwelling-place of mortal man was filled with the breath of immortality.

If we celebrate this hour in the spirit of ancient Christendom, in the spirit of better days that are gone by, our hearts will be filled with the Holy Spirit, as well as our hands with earthly gifts. Thus shall every one of us stand in the midst of his brethren, in the cheerful circle of our children. With the hand of kindness will we seek their hands, and their eye shall find in ours the beam of love. Then will the joys of this day be to us heavenly joys, then shall we be sanctified in the rejoicing of this hour. Then, my friends, my brethren, will our house be a heavenly house, and the dwelling-place of our weakness be filled with the breath of immortality.

My friends, my brethren! the fellowship of our joy will then be a fellowship of love, and our house will no longer be built on sand. Selfishness and sensual appetite will then no longer rule over our pleasures, nor embitter our sufferings. Our union will no longer be disturbed, for heartless indifference will be banished from among us, and whoever sins against love, will stand confounded before the image of offended and weeping love. Then shall our union rest, not upon a human but upon a divine basis, and then it will and must become a source of blessing to all its members. The pangs of the suffering, the sorrows of the afflicted, and the burden of the oppressed, will then disappear. I may then adopt with truth the language of internal tranquillity, and say: "I cast my burden upon thee, Oh Lord; thou wilt sustain me." My friends, my brethren! our cause is secured, if the fellowship of love dwell among us. Oh heavenly Father, grant Thou us the grace of fellowship in Thy Spirit!

All human fellowship disturbs the high fellowship of love, which is only to be found in a divine fellowship, and of this none can partake but those who have the mind of Christ Jesus, and follow after him in the strength of his Spirit.

My friends, my brethren! let this holy night be consecrated by earnest prayer

to God for the mind of Christ Jesus, and for the strength of his Spirit, that our house may be established, and the work of our calling accomplished in the fellowship of love.

And you, my beloved children, who celebrate this Christmas in the simplicity of your hearts, what shall I say to you? We wish to be partakers of your simplicity, of your child-like joy. We know, that except we be converted and become as little children, except we be elevated to the simplicity of a child-like mind, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, we shall not attain the fellowship of love, by which alone our house can be established on a sure foundation. Beloved children! it is for your sakes that we are united in one family; our house is your house, and for your sakes only is it our house. Live in our family in the simplicity of love, and trust in our faithfulness and our paternal affection toward you. Be ye children, be ye innocent children in the full sense of the word. Let this festival establish you in the holy strength of a child-like mind. Behold Christ Jesus, the Saviour of the world; behold him with the graces of holy childhood at the bosom of his mother; behold him in the manger with the sweet look of holy innocence. Remember him, how he grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and how the grace of God was upon him; how he was subject unto his parents; how in fear and love toward them he increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man; how, being yet a child, he sat in the temple in the midst of the wise men, and astonished all that heard him by his understanding and answers; how grace and love never departed from him all his days; how he drew the souls of men toward him by the excellency of his life; how he took unto him little children, and declared their sweetness and simplicity to be the source of life everlasting in and with God; how his grace and love was made manifest in his sufferings and death, as the power of God to the salvation of mankind; how it forsook him not even in the last hour, that in the midst of its torments his lips instilled consolation into the soul of his mother. Oh, my children, may this solemn hour inspire you with that spirit of grace and love that was in Him, and may you be preserved in it all the days of your lives! We too, my children, stand in need of your grace and love, to nourish and to strengthen these paternal feelings, which we pray God that he may grant unto us, and without which we can not render you any service of love and righteousness.

Children, let the graces of childhood elevate our souls, and purify us of all contamination of anger and wrath, and hastiness in your education. May your love animate our hearts and refresh our spirits, that we may not grow weary in the duties of our office.

Children, I must conclude: I will again speak to you in a little while. For the present let it suffice. Children, young men, men, friends and brethren, let our Christmas be unto us a day of holiness! May God in heaven sanctify it unto us! Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and meekness of heart among the children of men! Amen!

## PESTALOZZI.—NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS, 1809.

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\* \* \* I bow down my face, fall down, and ask myself, 'Am I worthy of the benefactions of my Father? Am I worthy of that salvation of my work, and of all the value which God has given, during the past year, to me, and to my house? O God! dare I even ask it? Is man ever worthy of God's benefits? and dare I, for a moment, imagine myself worthy of the wonderful manner in which the paternal goodness of God has carried our existence, with all its weaknesses, through the dangers of the past year? The year was an important one for us. We saw what our work requires more clearly than ever before; we saw its power, and felt our own weakness, more clearly than ever. The force of circumstances had nearly swallowed up our existence. The means we used, to extricate ourselves from perils beyond our strength, increased the evil. Let an everlasting veil fall over the human part of our labors. Let the first festive hours of this day be devoted to the gratitude which we owe to the Saviour of our work, the Father of our life, the everlasting source of all that is holy or good within our association. I will thank him. I will look within myself, and acknowledge how little I was worthy of his goodness; how little I was worthy that he should thus rescue the labor of my life. O thou good God, how much did it require, even to undertake that work! Father in Heaven, what an expanse of duty did even the dream of my work lay before me! I myself dare scarcely think of the accomplishment of all those duties. Fear and shame must seize hold upon me, when I reflect what is officially required of me by the religious and human duties, and the extent, of my house. What have I done, in taking such extensive burdens on my shoulders? Near the grave, feeling more than ever the need of rest, too weak for ordinary duties, uneasy at almost every occurrence, unforeseeing its almost every danger, inconsiderate in almost every conclusion, unskillful, helpless, and unpractical in almost every thing which I begin and ought to finish. I see myself placed in relations to you, which demand the utmost calmness, the greatest foresight, the deepest deliberation, and the utmost skill and practical dexterity, that any one human task ever required. I have had nothing to oppose to all these defects of mine, except my love, and my presentiment of the possibility of good results; which have never left me. But this presentiment, and this love, were not re-enforced for my work, either by corresponding inner powers nor corresponding outward means. Thus stood my enterprise for years. Yet it was not my enterprise: I did not seek what I found; I did not know the ocean in which I was to swim, when I threw myself into the stream which has borne me into it. What I do, is not my work; I did not begin what I now see completed here; nor am I completing what I began. I stand here, surrounded by benefits from my fate, which fate yet controls; by benefits from God, which he yet controls; by friends, whom God himself has given to me, and whom he yet controls. My work exists, my friends, through you, who are around me; my work exists through you. I have ever the least share in it. My powers of sharing it, how small soever, are continually becoming smaller. What has-



come to pass, has come to pass through you ; and what is to come to pass, must happen through you. God's providence will never leave me to lose you, and to be obliged to seek out new supports for my work. I could thank you—but what words could render thanks for what you are to me, and to my work ? Sorrow takes hold upon me. How little am I to you, in comparison with what you are to me ! I look within myself, and acknowledge how much I have been wanting to my work ; how my weaknesses have almost hindered my work more than they have advanced it. . . .

. . . Deeply beloved children ; you too should, in this festive hour, raise your hearts to your Father in heaven, and promise him to be his children ; with thanks and devotion, to be his children. Children, your good fortune is great. At a time when the great majority of children go on in neglect and abandonment, with only want for their teacher, and their passions for their guides ; in days when so many, so innumerable many, better and more fortunate children, suffering under a combination of harshness, violence, and bad guidance, diverted from the paths of nature, not educated, but trained only into a one-sided, empty show of knowledge, and an equally one-sided pretense and fashion of practical efficiency, and thus offered up to the world ; in such a time, you are not given over to abandonment and neglect : want is in no respect your bad counselor ; nor are the dubious impulses of passion used in your training. Amongst us, neither vanity nor fear, neither honor nor shame, neither reward nor punishment, as they are elsewhere almost universally used, purposely and as part of the method, are used to show you the path in which you are to go. The divine nature, which is in you, is counted holy in you. You are, among us, what the divine nature within you and without you summon you to be. We oppose no vile force against your gifts or your tendencies ; we constrain them not—we only develop them. We do not instil into you what is ours, what exists in us as corrupted by ourselves ; we develop in you what remains uncorrupted within yourselves. Among us, you are not under the misfortune of seeing your whole being, your whole humanity, subordinated, and thus sacrificed to the training of some single power, some single view of your nature. It is far from us to make you such men as we are. It is far from us to make you such men as the majority of the men of the time are. Under our hands, you will become such men as your natures require ; as the holy, the divine, within your natures, require. Father in heaven, grant to us that the purpose of our labors may be visibly and undeniably in thee, and through thee. Men around us assert that we propose, as the ultimate end of our labors, not thine understanding, thy wisdom ; but thy humanity. No, no ! It is far from me to resign myself to the cunning and art of my race, confined to the limits within which those faculties do their work. It is far from me to seek, as the end of my labor, a confined development of the lower endowments of men, and of their material senses. O God, no ! What I seek is, to elevate human nature to its highest, its noblest ; and this I seek to do by love. Only in the holy power of love do I recognize the basis of the development of my race to whatever of the divine and eternal lies within its nature. All the capacities for intellect, and art, and knowledge, which are within my nature, I hold to be only means for the divine elevation of the heart to love. It is only in the elevation of man that I recognize the possibility of the development of the race itself to manhood. Love is the only, the eternal foundation of the training of our race to humanity. The error was great, the deception immeasurable, of believing that I sought the complete development of human nature by a one-sided cultivation of the intellect ; by

the exclusive study of arithmetic and mathematics. No. I seek it through the universality of love. No, no. I seek not training to mathematics, I seek training to humanity; and this comes only through love. Let your lives, your whole lives, my children, show that the whole purpose of my instruction was only love, and elevation to humanity through love. They will show it. The error of believing that I sought any other end, of believing that my method was intended only to obtain for the poor better means of earning bread, will disappear. Deeply beloved children, you will cause it to disappear. This error has arisen, not from me, not from my labors, not from my instructions to you; but only from hasty glances at my books, the special means of developing single faculties.

Your existence is a contradiction of this opinion, which gladdens my heart. Since your examination, I have seen you only for a moment yesterday, I have spoken with you but little; but my heart is full of affection for you. How little were those miserable mechanical accomplishments, which we dealt with, filling your minds! Freedom, courage, elevating strife after the lofty, the noble; these were upon your brows, in your eyes, in your glances, in your whole being. The bliss of love beamed from many eyes. Peace was upon your lips. You were far more yourselves, and for the sake of God, than you were created by us. The talents which you possess appear in their own form, as you possess them, and not at all as we have given them to you. It is true that, among us, the bonds of the folly, the self-seeking, and the misery of our day, are loosed. With us, a man may be poor. With us, any one may be destitute of all those means toward artistic training which are attainable by wealth and by favor, and may yet claim all the elevation of mind and of heart for which human nature is created. Among us, the saying is not heard, that he who is born to eat hay may eat hay. We know no class of men born only to live like beasts. We believe that the lofty endowments of human nature are found in all ranks and conditions of men. We believe that as every man, who does righteously, is acceptable before God his creator; so that every man, to whom God himself has given lofty powers of mind and of heart, is entitled to assistance, before the eyes of men, and in the midst of them, in the development of the powers which God has given him. Therefore is it that we simplify the means of that development; and therefore that we found upon the holy power of love. Children, that this love may increase, and be assured within you, is all that we propose for our object. Instruction, as such, and of itself, does not produce love, any more than it produces hate. Therefore it is that it is not the essence of education. Love is its essence.

## PESTALOZZI.—ADDRESS ON HIS SEVENTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY.

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Upon closer investigation of all these practical means of elevating the poor, we shall not be able to conceal from ourselves the fact that they all alike lack the firm certainty arising from the inmost pure spirit of all true and profoundly thorough human education, namely, the divinely-given instinct of father and mother; the divinely-given impulse of childlike instincts; the everlasting purity of brotherly and sisterly affection, which never passes beyond the narrow circle of the domestic relations. They all lack the certainty and continuity which comes from the connection of material stimuli to faith and love with similarly powerful stimuli to intellectual and physical activity, which appeal to the whole of human nature in freedom and by conviction. They all lack the lofty, holy influence of home. Their external scale of magnitude, on one hand, deprives them all of the genial intimateness of domestic life, which can only exist within a narrow circle of little close relations; and, on the other hand, their organization always rather makes forcible impressions by public or at least by external force, than exerts the blessed influence of domestic piety; and who can conceal from himself how unfatherly and unmotherly are the human beings often sent forth by such institutions, owing to their circumstances, and especially to all sorts of influences and interests from directors, managers, stewards, &c.? Who can estimate the difficulties which must arise from this source, in such institutions, in the way of the inner, holy essence of true human education? Such institutions, however, owing to the present condition of non-education, and of the corresponding moral, mental, and domestic debasement from overrefinement, are at present an urgent necessity. May God grant that the heart of those of the present day may be interested in the object, and take pity even according to the prevailing contracted views on the want and degradation of the poor, in all that concerns both soul and body—but that, at the same time, it will not be forgotten that good institutions for the relief of sufferers by fire and water are not good institutions for the education of the poor. Provident regulations for the prevention of losses by fire and water may, after a fashion, be classed under the head of institutions for educating the poor; but institutions for relieving actual losses by them can not.

The only sure foundation upon which we must build, for institutions for popular education, national culture, and elevating the poor, is the parental heart; which, by means of the innocence, truth, power, and purity of its love, kindles in the children the belief in love; by means of which all the bodily and mental powers of the children are united to obedience in love, and to diligence in obedience. It is only in the holiness of home that the equal development of all the human faculties can be directed, managed, and assured; and it is from this point that educational efforts must be conducted, if education, as a national affair, is to have real reference to the wants of the people, and is to cause, by its influence, the coinciding of external human knowledge, power, and motives with the internal, everlasting, divine essence of our nature.



If the saying is true, "It is easy to add to what is already discovered," it is infinitely more true that it is easy to add to the inward eternal goodness of human nature, whatever external goodness human skill can communicate to our race; but to reverse this process, to endeavor to develop that eternal inward goodness of human nature, out of our mere miserable human art, deprived of its divine foundation; this is the cause of the deepest error of the wretched debasement of the present time. The homes of the people—I do not say of the mob, for the mob have no homes—the homes of the people are the centers where unites all that is divine in those powers of human nature which admit of education. . . .

The greatest evil of our time, and the greatest and almost insurmountable obstacle to the operation of any thorough means is this, that the fathers and mothers of our times have almost universally lost the consciousness that they can do any thing—every thing—for the education of their children. This great falling away from their faith, of fathers and mothers, is the universal source of the superficial character of our means of education.

In order to improve the education of the people as a national interest, and universally, it is, above all, necessary that parents should be awakened again to consciousness that they can do something—much—every thing—for the education of their children. Fathers and mothers must, above all, learn to feel vividly how great an advantage—as intrusted by God and their own conscience with the duty of educating their own children—they enjoy, over any others to be employed as assistants therein. And, for like reasons, it is indispensable that there should be a general public recognition of the fact that a child who has lost father and mother is still a poor, unfortunate orphan, even though his guardian can employ the first among all the masters of education in the world to teach him. . . .

. . . Truth is every where and nowhere; and only he lives in the truth who sees it every where, as a phenomenon bound up with a thousand others, and nowhere, as an exacting, isolated idol before him. But the visionary weakness of man easily leads him to carve a graven image out of every great idea which he takes to his bosom, and to recognize and admit all truth, all the rights of men, only with a one-sided reference to this idol, and to whatever may serve its selfish requirements. Even great men, and deep thinkers, are not secure from the danger of seeing isolated opinions become almost a sort of monomania; not indeed as absolutely as those, the terror of mankind, which are heard from hopeless bedlamites; yet it is undeniable that favorite conceptions pushed too far, and views which become daily familiar, are liable, even in deep thinkers, to acquire such a sort of hardness that it easily becomes impossible to treat them as they are, moral and intellectual, without prejudice, and freely, but the thinker becomes a servant to his idea. The world is full of men thus prejudiced for some particular views. Are there not hundreds in every profession—military, civil, judicial, or any other, distinguished each in his department—who are holden by their opinions relative to their favorite pursuit, in a manner at least very similar to those possessed by a monomania? I must proceed still further. I must ask myself whether there are not, amongst us, many traces of this hardening into views of some great idea? I must ask, distinctly, have not incompatible ideas become equally fixed, in this way, in our heads? This I believe so truly to be the case, that I am completely convinced that we can in no way arrive at a universal internal union of the hour, and at an actual harmony of views relative to what we call our method, except by efforts to put upon an equality within us all views relative to that method—whether mathematical, theological-philosophical, natural-philosophical, humanist, philan-

thropist, or whatever—and by not permitting ourselves to be governed by any idea which is in progress of becoming fixed, as I have described. If we can lift ourselves to this point, the stand to which our efforts have come, by means of the determination of some of us to conform ourselves in certain views, would, by means of the increased power of each of us within his department, become really valuable for the whole of our enterprise; and I am certain that, in that case, none of us would intrude himself beyond the circle in which he can work most profitably for the promotion of our designs. In that case, I myself should not be entirely without that circle. On the contrary, I am sure that the sentence of death, of moral and intellectual failure, would no longer be passed upon me with so much zeal and pleasure as has been the case for years immediately around me. Many would then be convinced that I am alive. The misunderstandings which are and must be every moment crowding about me, as things are, are innumerable. But if they are for ever and ever to be taken as true against me, because they last long and are accompanied with the influence of men very active hereabouts, what must I think of such a fate? What I do think is this: that courts which condemn the accused on such evidence will be abhorred by the whole unprejudiced world. And for the future I have no fears on this account. I am not ungrateful, and never shall be known as such. . . . Friends, brothers! coldnesses have crept in among us, which are the result of the whole extent of the history of our association and of that outwardly chaotic condition, which has overpowered the goodness and nobility which lay and still lies at the bottom of our association, and have brought it to pass that, here and there among us, one looks at another through spectacles whose glasses are no longer clear, and can be clear no more. Brothers! the evils of our house are not of to-day, nor of yesterday. They came from afar. From the beginning of our union, we have admitted among us habits and ways of living which must necessarily, by their very nature, produce disagreements; and it is absolutely necessary that, in order to judge of these, we should look carefully back to the days of the beginning of our association. It was in truth then that the origin of the evils, under which we have lain so long, sprouted and took root. What is passed is no longer here; but, even though we forget it, its influence is no less upon the present. Friends, brothers! the hours when we united ourselves in the beginning, were hours of perfect dreaming; and of great error in that dreaming. In those days the world seemed to seek what we sought, and to love what we loved. The delusion of the time fell in with our efforts; the interests of the public authorities seemed at that time to have become the same with our own; even the selfishness of thousands, now in opposition to us, seemed then to coincide with our views. What we did was thought excellent before it was understood; even before we ourselves understood it. Honors and praises carried us almost beyond ourselves. The pecuniary prosperity of our undertaking seemed to us to be secured, almost without effort and without care. But the vision of this paradise in the air soon passed by. The thorns and thistles of the world soon began to grow up around us, as they do round the lives and doings of all men. But the dreams of those days profited us nothing. They weakened our powers, when they so variously and so urgently needed strengthening. Truly, the climate of those days was too pleasant for us. We prepared ourselves for living in the warm South, when the hard, cold days of the North were awaiting us. Why should we conceal from ourselves the truth? The vigor and purity of our ardor for our object grew weak in those days, and became, in some cases, only a pretense while good fortune lasted, not knowing the power of that zeal which in

misfortune still burns, and is not extinguished even in days of the greatest trouble. I myself see in those days the origin of the evils which oppress us now; and consider incorrect all opinions respecting our later condition, which do not have reference to these earlier sources of them. It is always necessary, in judging of any particular situation or occurrence among us, to have reference to the character of the bond which united us to each other; whose peculiar quality was this, that no one of us was, by virtue of that bond, any other than what the peculiarities of his own personal, individual nature made him. Consider the importance of this point; that among us nature did every thing, art nothing. In reference to the persons of the adult members of our house, we lived without government, and without obedience. No more free development of our individuality can be imagined; nor any condition more dangerous and oppressive to my home and my place. Friends! in your judgments upon my condition and my conduct, consider this, and reflect, further, upon the great concourse of persons who became members of the establishment, without knowing what we sought, without desiring what we had, without the abilities which we needed; and who thus were, in reference to myself, presuming, and unrestrained in their conduct, just in proportion as I was under constraint with reference to them. Friends! consider the establishment in the extent of all its relations: all the necessities into which I fell, all the burdens which came upon me; and compare them with my destitution of all those means and powers which were required to meet, even in a distant degree, the external and internal requirements of our association. Friends! our innocence at the beginning of our association was praiseworthy, and the aims of that innocence were praiseworthy. But did innocence ever overcome the power of the many? And is it not a mere natural necessity that it should yield to that power? Or did it ever perfect an enterprise which ventured to throw itself, with all its outward weaknesses, into the power of the world and the current of it, without a strong steersman, as our enterprise did? Truly, we, in the dreams of our first innocence, sought for such a life as ancient piety dreamed of in a cloister; and at the same time we lived in the utmost imaginable freedom. The youngest of our inmates soon almost universally practiced a freedom of speech which the world permits to no novices; and of the elder ones, none thought of any privileges of a father-prior. And I represented the abbot of the monastery; when, in some respects, I was much more fit for the donkey of the monastery, or at least the sheep, than the abbot. Friends! I speak plainly on this point. All this is well understood; and does not at all derogate from the real good which has been planted, has taken root, and still exists among us, and which is so perfectly well known by its results on so many of our pupils, and by the conduct and the success of so many adult men who have been trained among us. But it is now time, and also a duty, to turn our attention, with truth, freedom, and earnestness, to a subject important in itself, and which on various accounts has attracted the attention of the world. We must endure the responsibilities of our places; and it would be well if a deeper consciousness of this obligation prevailed among us. From this responsibility we can not escape. All that is noble and pure—even that which is noblest and purest in the world—if it increases and grows great rapidly, must then decrease and deteriorate; and we grew much too fast, in our efforts after our good object, to know and practice sufficiently the rules which would have maintained and strengthened the growth of what was good amongst us. The greater number of those who called themselves ours, came to us rather by chance than by election or our choice; and however the temporary appear-



ance of many things amongst us might have been understood by a practiced eye to indicate only their ephemeral nature, most of them thought my imprudence and weakness perennial. This could of course not do otherwise than to originate almost incurable evils amongst us. Even the best enterprise, if it increases too rapidly, becomes degraded by the evil qualities of the mass which accretes to it; then seizes, with the vigorous radical power of evil, upon the usually weak roots of what is good; and then becomes, even while intermingled with the overpowered goodness yet remaining, a recruiting-station for evil, which gathers in every incautious passer-by; and experience shows that men once enlisted on the side of evil soon become sworn conspirators for it, and, although feeble in the ordinary operations of life, show great power and much bad cunning in promoting their evil objects, whether idleness, disorder, impudence, or whatever they may be—or at least in obstructing the dominion of their opposites. When things come to this pass, whether in a small or large association of men, the necessity of some governing authority, competent to control such a state of affairs, becomes fully recognized; and, at however late a period, aid from such authority is sought for. But the very cause that makes such control sought for, disenables those who apply to such authority from judging of it. Judgments formed in such cases are, therefore, commonly wrong; and the necessitous state into which such applicants have fallen, is almost always a bad counselor. This was the case with us. We sought and sought, but did not find. And at no time was there more error relative to myself. Every one thought me unfit to govern; but I was still permitted to remain, as if I were fit, and the relations of all remained such as if I were so. This condition of affairs could lead to no relief. I should surely have succumbed under it, had not the protecting providence of God so graciously watched over me, that often the apparently unavoidable results of my faults passed by, as if they had not happened. This is so true, that I myself do not know, and can not explain it to myself, how I have been able to pass through the turbulent and trackless chaos into which I have been cast, without entire ruin; and to attain to that point of power and efficiency upon which I see and feel myself to be standing.

## PATERNAL INSTRUCTIONS.

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DURING that happiest period of Pestalozzi's career, his labors at Burgdorf, he sketched out many rough drafts of lessons, to be filled up by his assistants, in their class room exercises, as a sort of encyclopedia of social science. Many of these fragments came into the possession of Krüsi, who, after the death of Pestalozzi, edited and published them under the title of "*Paternal Instructions, a Bequest of Father Pestalozzi to His Pupils.*" We give a few extracts from Biber's volume.

### *Almsgiving.*

"The best alms is that which enables the receiver to cease begging."

### *Changing.*

"Change, my child, change all that thou doest and performest, until thou hast perfected it, and thou be fully satisfied with it. Change not thyself, however, like a weathercock, with every wind; but change thyself so that thou mayest become better and nobler, and that all that thou doest may be ever more excellent and perfect. No such change will ever cause thee to repent."

### *Baking.*

"Baking is, like all cooking, a fruit of civilization. The savage knows of no preparation of his food; he eats every thing raw, like the brutes, and, accordingly, he eats it, like them, with brutal greediness. A wise diet of meat and drink is only possible when the food is prepared by art, and it is then only that man can guard himself against the voracity of the animal. Baking, therefore, and every other sort of cooking, is a far more important business than it appears to be at first sight. It procures to us the most wholesome of all nutriments—that bread which, as a common necessary of life, we daily ask of God, in the most sublime of all prayers."

### *Bathing.*

"By bathing we cleanse ourselves from bodily impurities; the impurities of the soul, however, are not removed either by common or by consecrated water, but only by a renovation of mind in faith and love."

### *Quaking.*

"The most violent quaking, which causes houses and cities to fall in ruins, and which shakes even the foundations of the mountains, is that terrible convulsion of nature which we call an earthquake; but infinitely more terrible is the secret quaking of a guilt-laden soul, at the prospect of the inevitable discovery and punishment of its crimes."

### *Beginning.*

"The beginning of every thing precedes its existence and its continuation. The first day of creation was the beginning of the world. From the beginning God hath set forth his almighty power, his wisdom, and goodness, in all that he

has made. From the beginning, the hand of his providence has ordained the destinies of mankind; it has ordained thy destiny also, my child. Rejoice, therefore, and put thy trust in him, who is, and was, and shall be, the everlasting God."

*Bowing and Bending.*

"Man, the only creature that carries his head so erect, should he never bow it? Verily, he does! For God has deeply impressed upon his heart the feeling of his weakness, and a reverential awe for all that is great and lofty. His head is involuntarily bowed down under the oppressive consciousness of his guilt. His eye sinks in gratitude before the savior of his life, his wife, his child. Verily, verily, it was no art that bent the knee of the first man who prostrated himself in the dust at the sight of the rising sun. It was God within him, who thus laid him low; and he rose more humanized in his feelings, than if he had proudly faced its bright beam. But the work of God is defiled in the bowings and bendings of hypocrisy, by which human nature is as much degraded as it is elevated and ennobled by pious adoration, lowly modesty, and kneeling gratitude."

*Blossoming.*

"Youth, thou season of blossoms, how fair thou art! But, remember that thy charms are destined quickly to pass away. Thou canst not ripen, unless they vanish. Therefore, value thou the lasting fruits of life above the fleeting beauty of its blossoms."

*Thanking.*

"Good men and good things, my child, cause joy to the man of pure heart, even though he derive no benefit from them; but when he is benefited by them, his joy is increased. He then seeks the author of all goodness and of all joy; and, when he has found him, his voice is drowned in the overflowing of his feelings. Tears glisten in his eyes. These, my child, are the thanks of the heart, which elevate and ennoble the soul. Whoever thanks not God, deserves not to be called man; and whoever thanks not his fellow-men, is unworthy of all the good which God bestows upon him through the hand of man."

*Thinking.*

"Thinking leads men to knowledge. He may see and hear, and read and learn whatever he please, and as much as he please; he will never know any of it, except that which he has thought over, that which, by thinking, he has made the property of his mind. Is it then saying too much, if I say that man, by thinking only, becomes truly man. Take away thought from man's life, and what remains?"

*Threatening.*

"It is a misfortune if one man threaten another. Either he is corrupt who does it, or he who requires it."

*Failing.*

"All men fail, and manifold are their failings. Nothing is perfect under the sun. But, unless a man despise himself, he will not think lightly of any of his failings."

*Refining.*

"Man wishes to have things not only good, but shining; therefore is there so much refining in the world. Silver, gold, and steel are polished; the finest silk,



the softest wool, the clearest cotton, the mellowest tints, the most exquisite fragrances, the most delicate sounds, the most delicious spices, and the most luxurious pillows are preferred. But where human nature has attained the greatest refinement of sense, a man of nerve is hardly to be found. The highest degree of this refinement is generally the point from which the decline of individuals and nations takes its beginning.

"The builder, who wishes to erect a durable structure, must do it with strong timber; he must not, by sawing and planing, make his bearers and planks so thin as to render them unfit for the purpose for which they are intended. And in the same way, parents and teachers ought never to refine the children, nor governments the nations, to such a point as to make them lose the strength of their limbs, the freshness of their cheeks, and the muscle of their arms."

#### *Darkening.*

"The setting of the sun darkens the earth; and the failing of hope the soul of man. Why, then, is it that every hope of man is not daily renewed, like that of the rising sun. It is well that he should not forever set his hope upon outward things; but seek his repose and his happiness within himself, in those things which do not rise and set daily, like the sun of this earth."

#### *Hoping.*

"Hoping and waiting make many a fool. And are we, then, not to hope at all? How unhappy would man be without that beam of hope which, in suffering and sorrow, sheds light through the darkness of his soul. But his hope must be intelligent. He must not hope where there is no hope. *He must look at the past with a steady eye, in order to know what he may hope of the future.*"

## EVENING HOUR OF A HERMIT.\*

BY JOHN HENRY PESTALOZZI.

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MAN, as he is, the same whether on a throne or under the forest leaves; **man** in his essence; what is he? Why do not the wise tell us? Why do not great intellects inform us what is the reality of our race? Does a farmer use oxen, and not study to understand them? Does a shepherd not investigate the nature of his sheep?

And ye who use men, and say that you protect and cherish them; do you care for them as a farmer does for his oxen? Have you such care of them as a shepherd over his sheep? Is your wisdom a knowledge of your race, and are your benefits those of enlightened shepherds of your people?

What man is, what he needs, what elevates him and degrades him, what strengthens him and weakens him, such is the knowledge needed, both by a shepherd of the people and by the inmate of the most lowly hut.

Everywhere, humanity feels this want. Everywhere it struggles to satisfy it, with labor and eagerness. For the want of it, men live restless lives, and at death they cry aloud that they have not fulfilled the purposes of their being. Their end is not the ripening of the perfect fruits of the year, which in full completion are laid away for the repose of the winter.

Why does man investigate truth without order or purpose? Why does he not seek after what his nature needs, that therewith he may secure pleasure and blessings for his life? Why does he not seek Truth, which will afford him inward peace, will develop his faculties, make his days cheerful and his years blessed?

Source of the deepest peace of our existence, pure power of our nature, blessing of our being, thou art no dream. To seek thee, to investigate after thee, is the end and destiny of man; thou art both a necessity to me, and an impulse from the deepest part of my soul, O end and destiny of man!

By what road shall I seek thee, O truth, who liftest my nature toward perfection? Man, driven by his wants, will find the path to this truth, by the way of his own inmost soul.

The powers of conferring blessings upon humanity are not a gift of art or of accident. They exist, with their fundamental principles, in the inmost nature of all men. Their development is the universal need of humanity.

Central point of life, individual destiny of man, thou art the book of nature. In thee lieth the power and the plan of that wise teacher; and every school education not erected upon the principles of human development, leads astray.

The happy infant learns by this road what his mother is to him; and thus grows within him the actual sentiment of love and of gratitude, before he can

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\* Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers.—Pestalozzi, *Werke*, vol. 5, p. 271.

understand the words, Duty or Thanks. And the son who eats his father's bread, and is kept warm from his flocks, finds by the same nature-directed way the blessing upon his studies, and his duties as a child.

All humanity is in its essence the same; and to its content there is but one road. Therefore that truth which rises from our inmost being, is universal human truth; and would serve as a truth for the reconciliation of those who are quarreling by thousands over its husks.

Man, it is thou thyself, the inner consciousness of thy powers, which is the object of the education of nature.

The general elevation of these inward powers of the human mind to a pure human wisdom, is the universal purpose of the education even of the lowest men. The practice, application and use of these powers and this wisdom, under special circumstances and conditions of humanity, is education for a profession or social condition. These must always be kept subordinate to the general object of human training.

Wisdom and power based upon simplicity and innocence, are efficient blessings in all human circumstances, and in every misfortune, as well as an indispensable necessity in every elevation of position.

To him who is not a Man, a man developed in his inmost powers, to him is wanting a basis for an education suited to his immediate destiny and to his special circumstances, such as no external elevation can excuse. Between the father and the prince, the needy man struggling with difficulties for his sustenance and the rich oppressed by cares still more burdensome, the ignorant woman and the renowned philosopher, the indolent slumberer and the genius whose eagle powers influence all the world, there are wide gulfs. But if those, in their loftiness, lack real manhood, dark clouds surround them; while in these, a cultivated manhood, pure, elevated and sufficing human greatness, will of itself shine forth from the lowest hut.

Thus a prince in his greatness may long for a wise and upright code of regulations for his prisons, yet may offer in vain a purse filled with gold for it. Let him bring real manhood into his council of war, his councils of forestry and of exchequer, and let his conduct be truly fatherly within his own house, and let him wisely, earnestly and paternally train up judges and protectors for his prisoners.

Without this, the name of enlightened laws is, in the mouth of heartless men, only another name for selfishness.

So far art thou perhaps, O Prince, from the blessing of truth which you seek.

Meanwhile are laboring in the dust beneath your feet, good fathers with their ill taught children. Prince, learn the wisdom applicable to your prisoners from the tears of their night watchings; and delegate thy rights over life and death to men who seek that wisdom in that source. Prince, educated humanity is the blessing of the world; and only through it is enlightenment efficient, and wisdom, and the inmost blessing of all laws.

Educated powers of humanity, these sources of your mighty deeds and peaceful pleasures are no purposeless impulse, nor deceitful error.

The path of nature, for developing the faculties of humanity, must be open and easy; and the method for educating men to true and satisfying wisdom, simple, and universally applicable.

Nature develops all the human faculties by practice; and their growth depends upon their exercise.



The method of nature for educating humanity is, the explanation and practice of its knowledge, its gifts, and its qualities.

Therefore the simplicity and innocence of that man are educated by nature, who uses a thorough and obedient explanation of his knowledge, and with silent industry uses his powers, and develops them into a true human wisdom. On the other hand, that man is incapable of the pleasure of the blessings of truth, who violates within himself this natural order, and weakens his sensibility for obedience and knowledge.

Men, fathers, force not the faculties of your children into paths too distant, before they have attained strength by exercise, and avoid harshness and over-fatigue.

When this right order of proceedings is anticipated, the faculties of the mind are weakened, and lose their steadiness, and the equipoise of their structure.

This you do when, before making them sensitive to truth and wisdom by the real knowledge of actual objects, you engage them in the thousand-fold confusions of word-learning and opinions; and lay the foundation of their mental character and of the first determination of their powers, instead of truth and actual objects, with sounds and speech—and words.

The artificial mode of the schools, which everywhere crowds in this affair of words, instead of the easy and slower waiting method of nature, endows men with an artificial show of acquirement which ornaments over their lack of inner natural powers, and which satisfies such times as the present century.

The miserable exhausting struggle for the mere shadow of truth, the struggle for the accent and sound and words only, of truth, where no interest can be felt, and no application is practicable; the subjection of all the powers of growing humanity to the opinions of a hard and one-sided schoolmaster; the thousand-fold niceties of word-changing and fashionable style of teaching, which are made the basis of human education—all these are sad defections from the path of nature.

Moreover, a strict and stiff adherence to one order is not nature's way of teaching. If it were, she would train one-sided characters; and her truth would not accommodate itself easily and freely to the feelings of all men.

Such a severe course would not develop the truth within man to be his useful servant, nor to be a good and affectionate mother, whose happiness and wisdom are the happiness and necessity of her children.

The power of nature, although unquestionably leading to truth, leads with no stiffness. The voice of the nightingale sounds out of the darkness; and all the appearances of nature operate, in an enlivening freedom, without the shadow of constraint anywhere, according to a prescribed order.

Man loses all the balance of his powers, the efficacy of his wisdom, if his mind is too one-sidedly and forcibly applied to any subject. Nature's mode of teaching is therefore not a forcible one.

But her teaching is steady and consistent; and her method is strictly economical.

Education of man to truth, thou art the education of his existence and his nature to satisfying wisdom.

Man who seekest truth after this method of nature, you will find it in proportion as you make it your stand point and your path.

In proportion as that truth is requisite to your repose and your enjoyment, as

it is your guiding star in your troubles and the support upon which your life rests, in that proportion it will be your blessing.

The circle of knowledge, through which every man in his own place becomes blessed, begins immediately around him; from his being; from his closest relations; extends from this beginning; and at every increase must have reference to truth, that central point of all powers for blessing.

Pure sensibility to truth grows up within a narrow sphere; and pure human wisdom rests upon the solid basis of the knowledge of the nearest relations, and of an educated capacity for dealing with the nearest circumstances.

This wisdom, which reveals itself through the necessities of our condition, strengthens and educates our practical capacity; and the mental training which gives it, is simple and steady, consisting of the action of all the powers upon the phenomena of nature in their actual relations; and thus it is related to truth.

Power and feeling and practical certainty are its expressions.

Elevating path of nature, the truth to which thou leadest is power and action, origin, training, completion, and destination of the whole of humanity.

Thou dost educate with certainty; not to a rapid show of growth; and the son of nature is confined by limits;—his speech is the expression and consequence of full knowledge of facts.

The disconnected confusion of the sciolist is as little the basis which nature points out.

The man who with rapid course flits about every subject of knowledge, and does not fortify his acquirements by silent steady investigation, loses the power of observing cheerfully, and with steady search, and the still and genuine pleasure of sensibility to truth.

Unsteady will be the progress of that man who, in the hurlyburly of his sciolisms, finds, to be sure, material for many words, but sacrifices to them the quietness of real wisdom. Amidst his noisy pride, you will discover, close around him, in the place where the power of a blessed wisdom would beam brightly, only empty solitudes and darkness.

Also the slothful empty wastes of dark ignorance lead away from the path of nature. Lack of knowledge of thy nature, O man, contracts the limits of thy knowledge, more than the necessities of thy being. Misapprehension of the first principles of thy condition, deadly oppressive tyranny, withholding of all the pleasures of truth and blessing; unnatural want of general national enlightenment in relation to the most important actual needs and relations of men, overcloud and darken thee, as the deep shadow of night darkens the earth.

The effect of actual life in opposition to the inner consciousness of right, undermines our power of recognizing truth, and perverts the purity of the lofty and noble simplicity of our fundamental ideas and susceptibilities.

Therefore, all human wisdom is based upon the strength, of a good heart, and one obedient to truth; and all human blessings, upon its simplicity and innocence.

Education of humanity in this purity of simplicity and innocence, thou art the guardian of humanity, who dost protect and guide rightly the undestroyed principles of the heart, in the course of their mental development.

Man must be trained to inward peace. Content with one's condition, and with the pleasures attainable in it, patience, reverence and faith in the love of the Father under all restrictions, that is the right training to wisdom.

Without inward peace, man wanders about in wild ways. Thirst and longing after impossible forms, deprive him of every pleasure which present blessings offer, and of all the powers of a wise, patient, and obedient spirit. If the feelings are not regulated by inward peace, their power destroys the inward strength of the man, and plagues him with dark tortures, in days during which the cheerful wise man would laugh.

The discontented man worries himself within his happy home, because his dancing at the festival, his violin at the concert, his address in the public hall, were not distinguished.

Peace, and quiet pleasure, are the first purposes of human education, and its darling children. Man, thy knowledge and ambition must be subordinate to these high purposes, or thy curiosity and ambition will become gnawing agonies and curses.

Man, thou livest not for thyself alone, on earth. Nature educates thee for relations with those without thee.

In proportion as these relations are near to thee, O man, are they important for the training of thy being for its ends.

The complete mastery over a near relation, is a source of wisdom and power over more distant ones.

Fatherhood trains princes, brotherhood, citizens, Both produce order in the family and in the state.

The domestic relations of man are the first and most important relations of nature.

Man labors in his calling, and endures the burden of a citizen's labor, that thereby he may enjoy in quiet, the pure blessings of his domestic happiness.

Therefore the education of man for his professional and social position, must be subordinated to the ultimate purpose, the pleasures of his pure domestic happiness.

Therefore art thou, home, the origin of all the purely natural education of humanity.

Home, thou school of morals and of the state.

First, man, thou art a child; afterward an apprentice in thy calling.

Childish virtue is the blessing of thy days of learning; and the first training of thy faculties to the enjoyment of all the blessings of thy life.

Whoever departs from this natural order, and forces an unnatural education for state, vocation, authority, or servitude, turns humanity aside from the enjoyment of the most natural blessings, to voyage upon a rocky sea.

See ye not, O men, feel ye not, sons of earth, how your upper classes have lost their inner powers by their education? Seest thou not, humanity, how their divergence from the wise order of nature, brings empty and barren curses upon them and from them downward amongst their people? Feelest thou not, O Earth, how the human race wanders away from the happiness of its domestic relations, and everywhere crowds to wild glittering shows, to make game of wisdom and to tickle its ambition?

Erring humanity wanders afar off.

God is the nearest resource for humanity.

Even thy family, O man, and the wisest of thy pleasures, will not last thee forever.

To suffer pain and death and the grave, without God, thy nature, educated to mildness, goodness, and feeling, has no power.



In God, as the father of thy house, the source of thy blessings, in God as thy father:—in this belief findest thou peace and power and wisdom which no pain nor the grave, can shake.

Faith in God is a tendency of human feeling, in its highest condition; it is the confiding childlike trust of humanity, in the fatherhood of God.

Faith in God is the fountain of peace in life; peace in life is the fountain of inward order; inward order is the fountain of the unerring application of our powers; and this again is the source of the growth of those powers, and of their training in wisdom; wisdom is the spring of all human blessings.

Thus, faith in God is the source of all wisdom and all blessings, and is nature's road to the pure education of man.

Faith in God, thou art buried deep in the being of man. As the sense of good and evil, as the ineradicable sense of right and wrong, so immovably fast art thou lodged in our inmost nature, as a foundation for human development.

Faith in God, thou art the portion of the people in every misery, in every clime. Thou art the power of men in every exaltation, and their strength in every adversity.

Faith in God, thou art not a sequel and result of educated wisdom; thou art a pure endowment of simplicity; the hearkening ear of innocence to the voice of nature, whose father is God.

Childlikeness and obedience are not the result and invariable consequence of a complete education; they must be the primitive and spontaneous first principles of human training.

The wonder of wise men in the depth of creation, and their searches into the abysses of the creator, are not an education to this faith. In the abysses of creation, the searcher can lose himself, and in its waters he can wander ignorantly, far away from the fountains of the bottomless ocean.

God, father; God, an existence within the dwellings of men; God, within my own inmost being; God, the giver of his own gifts and of the pleasures of my life;—he is the training of man to this faith; this is the power of nature, who bases all faith upon pleasure and experience.

Otherwise, arouse thyself, O man—I call upon the people—arouse, O man, to the lesson of preponderating goodness. Let this encourage or soothe thee; that either happiness will on the whole preponderate. When the flames of misery burn over thy head and destroy thee, will this dictum of wise men support thee?

But when thy Father strengthens thee inwardly, makes thy days cheerful, lifts thy being above all sorrows, and develops within thyself an overbalance of blessed enjoyments; then thou enjoyest the education of nature to faith in God.

The bread which my child eats from my hand develops its child's feelings; not its wonder at my night watches and my care over its after years. Much judgment upon my deeds would be folly, and might lead its heart astray, and away from me.

Simplicity and innocence, pure human feelings of thankfulness and love, are the source of faith.

On the pure childlike nature of men, is based the hope of everlasting life; and a pure human faith in God is not possible for it without this hope.

The tread of a tyrant upon his brethren, upon the children of his God, makes the inmost soul of humanity to shudder. The widows and orphans of the ranks of his victims wail, tremble, hunger, believe, and die.

If God is the father of men, then the day of their death is not the day of the fulfillment of their existence.

If there is any perception of truth in thee, O man, speak. Does it not conflict with thine inmost convictions, to believe that God is the father of men, and also that the lives of these wretches are completed so?

God is not the father of men, or else death is not the completion of our life.

Man, thy inward sense is a sure guide to truth and to thy duty; and dost thou doubt, when this sense summons thee to immortality?

Believe in thyself, O man; believe in the inward intelligence of thine own soul; thus shalt thou believe in God and immortality.

God is the father of humanity; God's children are immortal.

Within thine inmost being, O man, lies that which with faith and reverence recognizes truth, innocence and simplicity.

But simplicity and innocence are not possessed by all men.

To many, this inward consciousness of humanity is a mere dream; and faith in God and immortality, based upon this inner consciousness, a contempt and a reproach.

God, who within my being dost with strength and power teach me truth, wisdom, holiness, faith and immortality; God, who hearest all the children of God;—God, whom all the good, feeling, pure and loving among men understand all alike;—God, shall I not listen to the lessons within my inmost nature, which are true and which must be true? Shall I not believe what I am and what I do?

Faith in God causes a separation of men into the children of God and the children of the world. Faith in the fatherhood of God is faith in immortality.

God, father of man; Man, child of God; this is the aim of faith.

This faith in God is a tendency of man in his relations to his blessings.

Parental love and filial love, these blessings of thy house, O man, are results of faith.

Thy rightful enjoyments, husband and father, the pleasant submission of thy wife and the deep and soul-elevating gratitude of thy children, are the results of thy faith in God.

Faith in my own father, who is a child of God, is a training for my faith in God.

My faith in God is a reinforcement of my faith in God, and of every duty of my house.

So, O elevating nature, thou dost bind together, in thy discipline, my duties and my pleasures; and at thy hand man is guided from pleasures enjoyed to new duties.

All humanity, prince or subject, master or servant, is disciplined for the especial duties of its station by the enjoyment of its most intimate natural relations.

The prince who is the child of his God, is the child of his father.

The prince who is child of his father, is father of his people.

The subject who is child of his God, is child of his father.

The subject who is child of his father, is child of his prince.

Station of prince, representation of God, father of the nation. Station of subject, child of the prince, are each, the child of God. How soft and strong and subtle is this interweaving of the natural relations of humanity.

O humanity in thy loftiness!

But vain is the sense of thy worth, to a degraded people.

I scarcely venture to name thy rank, householder. What art thou, and what canst thou be? An ox for sale? The master of thy house. The representative of the prince, within thy hut, O man in thy degradation! O Lord and Father of all!

In whatever low state, the servant is in his essence like his master; and is by nature entitled to the satisfaction of his necessities.

For the raising of the people to the enjoyment of the proper blessings of their existence, are the high the fathers of the low.

And all the people depend, for the enjoyment of their domestic happiness, upon their pure childlike confidence in the paternal feeling of their lords; and upon the fulfillment of the paternal duties of their lords, for the education and elevation of their children to the enjoyment of the blessings of humanity.

Is this expectation of men a dream? Is their childlike expectation a mere vision in their sleep and weariness of their degradation?

Faith in God, thou art the strength of their hope.

Princes who believe in God, and understand the brotherhood of men, find in this belief a stimulus to every duty of their station. They are men trained by divine power for the blessing of their people.

Princes who disbelieve the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, find in this unbelief the sources of a terrible annihilation of their recognition of their duties. They are men of terror; and their power works destruction. In the recognition of the supreme paternal authority of God, princes assume to themselves the obedience of their people as a religious duty.

And the prince who does not found his own rights and duties upon obedience to God, founds his throne upon the mutable sands of popular belief in his own power.

Faith in God is in this view the bond of union between prince and subjects; the bond of the intimate connection amongst the relations of men for happiness.

Unbelief, disbelief in the brotherhood and fraternal duties of man, disrecognition and contempt of the paternal rights of God, obstinate hardness in the misuse of power, are the dissolution of all the pure bonds of the happy relations of humanity.

The clergy are the announcers of the fatherhood of God and of the brotherhood of men; and their station is the central point of union between the natural relations of men, and the blessings which come from faith in God.

Faith in God is the source of all the pure paternal and filial feelings of men; the source of all uprightness.

Faith in God without paternal or filial feeling, is a mere glittering nonentity, without power for blessing.

The haughty administration of laws, the passing of sentences according to the ancient blasphemies which have grown up in the studies of the law and the courts, is a mummerly in imitation of justice, and no blessing to the people.

Security and innocence, those sources of pure virtue among the people, those consequences of wise and fatherly justice, are consequences of faith.

Hardy and outrageous attacks upon innocence, right and truth, those evidences of the absence of a paternal feeling in the administration of the laws of a country, are the consequences of unbelief.

Violence and impudent bold usurpation contrary to right and innocence, in



the spirit of a nation, are sources of national powerlessness; and thus unbelief is a source of such powerlessness.

And on the other hand, fatherly and childlike feelings in the national spirit, are the sources of all pure national blessings.

In like manner, the belief in God among the people, is a source of all pure national virtue, all popular blessings, and all national power.

Sin is the source and consequence of unbelief. It is the action of men contrary to the inner teachings of our nature as to right and wrong. Sin, the source of the perversion of our first fundamental ideas, and of our pure natural feelings. Sin, the destruction, O man, of thy faith in thyself, and in thine inward nature, destruction of thy faith in God, of thy childlike feelings toward him.

Open sin; defiance of God by man.

Abhorrence of sin; pure feeling of the childlike relation of man to God, expression and result of the faith of humanity in the revelation of God within its own nature.

Abhorrence of open sin: feelings of a child toward a man who insults his father and mother.

National abhorrence of a people against public sinners; pledge and seal of national faith, and of the childlike feelings of the people toward their supreme head.

National abhorrence by a people of the open defiance by their prince of God, is a sign of national virtue, and of the weakening of the faith and obedience of the people toward their supreme head.

Unbelief; source of the destruction of all the inner bonds of society.

Unbelief in rulers; source of disobedience in subjects.

Paternal feeling and paternal treatment by rulers establishes and assures the obedience of subjects.

Unbelief destroys the source of obedience.

Under a ruler who is not a father, the tendency of the people can not be toward the understanding of a popular character, pure in thought and happy in childlike obedience.

The consequences of unbelief:—Daily increasing burdens, daily decreasing paternal goodness, arbitrary exertion of power for no good purpose, fantastic and unnatural abuses of governmental authority, oppressive intermediate officers, decrease of power in the people to oppose them, are among the inevitable consequences of a government without faith; which despises the rights of God and of humanity.

The perception by the people of the perversion of paternal authority is the dissolution of the pure bonds of nature between the prince and his people.

Thou, good and motherly nature, dost knit the bands of social relations through the blessings of mutual happiness.

And it is the popular perception, the national feeling of the blessing of this happiness, which blesses and sanctifies these relations through the gratitude, love and faith of the people toward their ruler. Here therefore is the sacred source of all patriotism and civic virtue.

I am touching strings unused, and not accordant with fashionable tones. Despise the sound, dance-music, trilling calumnies, and drown my voice; leaving pure humanity and truth unnoticed.

All the powers of humanity only accomplish blessings through faith in God.

and the paternal character of princes, the only sources of blessings for the people, are the consequence of this faith in God.

Man, how low thou standest! If thy prince is a child of God, his authority is paternal.

Harsh and insolent exercise of authority is not paternal; is not a sign of faith in God. It is the destruction of the highest attributes of both prince and country; of the pure childlike feeling of the people toward the prince.

I can not apply to such conduct, although so common among penetrating minds in the service of princes, the name of high treason.

But what less is it, when they interpret the paternal authority of the prince to include the right of both good and evil, of both right and wrong?

What less is it, when in the prince's name they destroy the happiness of households, rob them of their goods, and cover innocence with infamy and shame?

Bond of union between humanity and its blessings, belief of prince and people in the supreme Lord of humanity, faith in God, thou alone protectest mankind from such perils.

All unbelief is arrogant; but faith in God, the childlike feeling of humanity toward God, gives a quiet sublimity to every exertion of its powers.

A brilliant and flashing creation of humanity, is that hardy laughing courage at danger and destruction, which is a human power; but it is unfavorable to a childlike feeling toward God.

Diligent economical use of every gift, aspiration after the strengthening of the faculties, is the path of nature to the development and strengthening of all the powers; and in every degradation and every weakness this is an inclination of the pure childlikeness of humanity to God.

A proneness to degrading shadows, impulse to make sport with the faculties and powers, and to hide its weaknesses, is a mark of the lowest and weakest humanity, turned aside from the natural order of development.

Outward and inward human nobleness, cultivated in the natural method, is understanding and paternal feelings toward a lower order of endowment.

Man, in thy elevation, use thy powers for this purpose.

Paternal exercise of high endowments toward the undeveloped and weak flock of common humanity.

Pure blessing of humanity, thou art the power and the result of faith.

O my cell, pleasure be within thee! Thou also art a consequence of this faith.

Hail, myself and my hut!

In order that humanity may believe in God, I abide in this hut.

The faith of the people in the true ministers of God is the source of the peacefulness of my life.

The priests of God are the representatives of the pure paternal relation of humanity.

Thy power consecrated, is the enlightenment of God.

God's enlightenment is love, wisdom, and fatherhood.

O thou who wanderest near my hut, would that I were even a shadow of the power of my God.

O Sun, thou picture of his power, thy day is completed. Thou goest down behind my mountain, O day of my completion. O hope of the coming morning, O power of my faith.

I base all freedom upon justice; but I see no certain justice in this world, except that inspired by simplicity, piety and love, and in humanity as enlightened by this inspiration.

All family administration of justice, which is the greatest, purest and most generally enjoyed in all the world, has as a whole no source except love; and yet, in the simplicity of all the nations, it accomplishes the general blessing of the world.

As all justice rests upon love, so does freedom upon justice. Pure childlikeness is the real source of freedom, which rests upon justice; and pure fatherhood is the source of all such government as is elevated enough to do justice, and to love freedom.

And the source of justice and of all worldly blessings, the sources of the love and brotherhood of men, these rest upon the great idea of religion: that we are the children of God, and that the belief in this truth is the sure foundation of all human happiness. In this great idea of religion lies the spirit of all true political wisdom which seeks the real happiness of the people; for all the moral faculties, all enlightenment and human wisdom, rest upon the same basis of the faith of humanity in God.

Forgetfulness of God, neglect of the filial relation of humanity to God, is the source of the destruction of all the power of morality, enlightenment and wisdom, for the blessing of humanity. Therefore is this loss of filial feeling toward God the greatest of human misfortunes, since it renders all God's paternal instruction impossible; and the restoration of this lost filial feeling is the salvation of the lost children of God on earth.

The man of God who through the sorrows and death of humanity re-establishes this universally lost filial feeling toward God, is the saviour of the world, the sacrificed priest of God, the mediator between God and God-forgetting humanity. His teachings are pure justice, an instructive philosophy for all people; the revelation of God the Father to the lost race of his children.





THE CASTLE AT YVERDUN

## THE MOTHER AND EARLY EDUCATION.

Pestalozzi's Letters to Greaves.—Extracts.

### INTRODUCTION.

The Letters, from which the following extracts are made, were addressed by Pestalozzi, in the German language, to James P. Greaves of Merton, England, bearing date: the first, October 1, 1818, and the last, May 12, 1819, during which period, and for three years afterwards, Mr. Greaves resided at Yverdun, for the purpose of mastering the principles and methods of the great apostle to popular education, with a view, on his return to England, of trying to secure their recognition in Infant Schools, and early education generally:

#### *Child Culture by Mothers.*

I am happy to see that you acknowledge the importance of education in the earlier stages of life — the period before the admission to school life. I can assure you from the experience of more than half a century, and from the deepest conviction of my heart, that our task for the improvement of schools will not be more than half accomplished, and the benefit to mankind which we anticipate from these improvements will not be realized so long as our improvements do not extend to the period of infancy, through the medium of maternal love. To mothers we must appeal; with them we must pray for the blessing of heaven; in them try to awaken a deep sense of all the consequences and all the rewards of their interesting duties. Let each take an active part in the most important sphere of influence. Such is the aspiration of an old man who is anxious to secure whatever good he may have been allowed to conceive or present. Happy should I be to speak through your voice to the mothers of Great Britain.—*Letter I.*

#### *Qualifications Demanded.*

Has the mother the qualifications requisite for the development of the infant mind? Yes! The mother is qualified by her Creator to become the principal agent in this development by the endowment of a maternal love, the most gentle and the most intrepid power in the whole system of Nature. But this love must be a thinking love. Her duties are both easy and difficult. Their performance do not demand so much knowledge, the knowledge gained in what is called a finished education, but calm reflection on the nature of her duties, a desire to educate her children for God and eternity, by improving the means that lie right about her in her own home. Happy mother! thy calling is most sacred and may be most influential. Talk not of deficiencies in thy knowledge, — love shall supply them; of limitations in thy means, — Providence shall

enlarge them; of weakness in thy energies, — the Spirit of Power himself shall strengthen them. Look to that Spirit for all that thou dost want, and especially for those two grand pre-eminent requisites, *courage* and *humility*. — *Letter II.*

### *Unity of Development.*

A child is a being endowed with all the faculties of human nature, but none of them developed, — *a bud not yet opened*. When the bud uncloses every one of the leaves unfolds, not one remains behind. Such must be the process of Education.

No one faculty in the human child must be treated with the exclusive or the same attention; for their co-agency alone can ensure a successful development of the whole being.

But how shall the mother learn to distinguish and to direct each faculty, before it appears in a state of development sufficient to evidence its own existence? Not indeed from books, but from actual observation.

### *Play and Playthings.*

The first exertions of the child, attended with some pain, have yet enough of pleasure to induce a repetition gradually increasing in frequency and power; and when their first efforts, blind efforts as it were, are once over, the little hand begins to play its more perfect part. From the first movement of this hand, from the first grasp which avails itself of a plaything, how infinite is the series of actions of which it will be the instrument! Not only employing itself with everything connected with the habits and comforts of life, but astonishing the world perhaps, with some masterpiece of art, or seizing, ere they escape, the fleeting inspirations of genius, and handing them down to the admiration of posterity. The first exertion of this little hand, then, opens an immense field to a faculty which now begins to manifest itself.

In the next place, the attention of the child is now visibly excited, and fixed by a great variety of external impressions; the eye or the ear are attracted whenever a lively color, or a rousing, animating sound may strike them, and they turn as if to enquire the cause of that sudden impression. Very soon the features of the child and its redoubled attention, will betray the pleasure with which the senses are affected, by the brilliant colors of a flower or the pleasing sounds of music. Apparently the first traces are now making of that mental activity which will hereafter employ itself in numberless observations, and combinations of events, or in the search of their hidden causes, and which will be accessible to all the pleasing or painful sensations which life, in its various shapes, may excite.

Every mother will recollect the delight of her feelings on the first tokens of her infant's consciousness and rationality; indeed, maternal love knows not a higher joy than that arising from those interesting indications. Trifling to another, to her they are of infinite value. To her they reveal an eventful future; they tell the important story, that a spiritual being dearer to her than life is opening, as it were, the eye of intelligence, and saying, in its silent, but tender and expressive language, "I am born for immortality." — *Letter III.*



Every one-sided development of our powers is untrue and unnatural; it is only apparent cultivation, the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal of human culture, and not human culture itself.

True education, that which is in conformity with nature, leads by its nature to the struggle for the perfection and completeness of the human powers. But a one-sided education leads, by its nature, to the undermining, disunion, and final extinction of the unity of the powers of human nature, from which alone, the struggle for perfection can truly and naturally proceed. The unity of the powers of our nature has been divinely given to our race, as the true foundation of all human methods for our improvement; and, in this respect also, it is always true: "That which God has joined together, let not man put asunder." If this be disobeyed, in education, imperfect, unhealthily manhood is the result.

Every one-sided tendency in the development of our powers leads to the groundless pretensions of self-delusions, to a faulty knowledge of our needs and weaknesses, and to severe judgment of all those who do not coincide with the erroneous views of our perverted education. This is equally true of those who err through the one-sided development of the heart, and of the mind. The preponderance of any one power leads to the inflation of its claims. This is as true of our power of love and belief, as it is of our power of thought and of skill; and it is equally true of our vocations. The essential basis of all civil and domestic blessings is life and spirit; without this basis that external skill the cultivation of which is demanded by civil and domestic life are a means of delusion, the source of civil and domestic discontent, and of consequent irregularities and misfortunes.

The equipoise of the powers, which the idea of elementary education so essentially demands, is based upon the natural development of each one of the fundamental powers of our nature. Each one of these unfolds itself in accordance with everlasting, unchangeable laws, and its development is only natural, so far as it accords with these immutable laws of our nature. In every case, and in every respect in which the development is opposed to these laws, it is opposed to nature. The laws which underlie the natural development of each one of our powers, differ essentially. The human mind is not cultivated in accordance with the laws by which the human heart is raised to its loftiest capacity; and the laws in accordance with which our senses and limbs are cultivated, differ as essentially from those which are proper for the cultivation of the powers of heart and mind.

But each one of these powers can be developed in conformity with nature, only by the single method of its own activity.

Man develops love and faith, the basis of his moral life, naturally, only through acts of love and faith.

In the same way man develops thought, the basis of his mental powers, naturally, only through the act of thinking itself.

And man's senses, organs, and limbs, which are the basis of his strength, are all naturally developed only by their use.

And by the very nature itself of each one of these powers, man is compelled to use them. The eye will see, the ear will hear, the foot will walk, and the hand will grasp. So will the heart love and believe. The mind will think. There is an instinct in every capacity of human nature, which compels its development from lifeless inactivity into a developed power. This, when undeveloped, was only the germ of the power; and not the power itself.

But, when a child falls on first attempting to walk, the desire to walk is instantly lessened; and the desire to believe is lessened when the cat towards which it stretches out its hand scratches it, or the dog which it calls barks, and shows his teeth. On the other hand the child's desire to develop its power of thought, through the use of thought, is necessarily lessened when the methods by which it is taught to think do not address its power of thought attractively, but, on the contrary, oppress it, and serve to stupefy and confuse rather than to awaken.

The course of nature, when left to herself in the development of the human powers, proceeds slowly, from the animal part of our nature, and is also hindered by it. If nature is to be aided in developing what is human in man, then, on the one hand the assistance of an enlightened love is presupposed, the germ of which lies as an instinct in the parental and brotherly feelings of our race; and on the other hand, the enlightened use of the art which humanity has won by centuries of experience.

Elementary education then, more closely defined, is nothing else than the result of the efforts of man to assist Nature in the development of its natural endowments by cultivated reason and enlightened love and art.

Divine as is the method of Nature in this development, when left to itself it is only the animal instinct. It is the end of elementary education, the aim of piety and wisdom, to make this instinct human and divine. Let us consider this more closely in its moral, mental, domestic and civil relations.

I. How are love and faith, the basis of our moral life, naturally developed? And how are these elementary germs nourished and strengthened in the child by human skill and care, so that loftiest results in character and conduct are made possible? We shall find that these germs spring into life through the quiet and assured enjoyment of the physical necessities of the child; that is, the child instinctively notices the instant gratification of all its physical wants, and so learns to recognize, and finally to love and trust their source. The elementary principles of morality and religion are developed from the quickening of these germs of love and trust. In the awakening of these dormant principles which distinguish man from all other creatures, the maintenance of quiet and contentment are of the utmost importance. Every influence which at this time disturbs the plant-like life of the child, stimulates and strengthens the claims of its sensuous nature, and weakens the natural development of its higher powers. The first and most loving guardian of the child's tranquillity is the mother. Where maternal care is lacking, domestic life loses its best and purest educational influence. We cannot imagine the one without the other; the two go hand in hand.

For this development of character tranquillity is indispensable, and without it love loses all power of truth and blessing. Uneasiness is the offspring of physical suffering or desire, and always leads to a lack of love and to unbelief. Maternal care is necessary at this point to ward off all physical causes of restlessness. These arise from two sources, the neglect of real physical needs and the excess of useless physical pleasures, which only induce selfishness. The prudent and intelligent mother lives in the service of her child's love, but not of its caprice.

The solicitude which conforms to nature in promoting the child's tranquillity, does not stimulate but only satisfies its sensuous needs; so maternal care, though instinctive, is in harmony with the claims of the heart and mind. It rests on moral and intellectual grounds, and as it is only animated by instinct and is not the result of the subjection of the higher to the lower powers, it is a true coöperation of instinct with the purposes of the heart and mind.

In this way maternal care develops the first signs of love and belief in the infant, and prepares the way for the influence of the father, brothers, and sisters. The infant's animal love for and belief in the mother are thus gradually elevated to a human love and belief. The child's circle of love and faith extends continually, and it loves and trusts those who are loved and trusted by its mother. From this human faith there is but a single step to the true and pure feelings of the Christian faith. Elementary education should found the development of the moral and religious life of the child on this method.

II. How is man's intellectual life developed? How are his powers of thought, reflection, and judgment naturally unfolded? We shall find that our power of thought is developed from the impressions which the perceptions make upon us. These impressions excite and animate in the mind its inherent principle of self-development. Perception leads first to a consciousness of the impressions, and second to a sense-knowledge of the objects perceived. With perception comes the necessity for expression, and naturally the first attempts of the child are imitative, but the greatest need is that of human speech. Speech, which is an extension of the power of thought, is the servant of humanity, by which knowledge gained by perception is made available and communicable.

If the cognition is superficial or incorrect, it will be expressed in the same way. The natural method of acquiring the mother tongue, or of any other language, is closely connected with the knowledge gained by perception, and the method of learning any language must accord with that of nature. In learning the mother tongue, this power like every other that is distinctively human develops from the animal nature, and quite slowly at first both in respect to the vocal organs and the command of words. The child cannot speak with undeveloped organs, and at first it has little desire to speak for it knows almost nothing. The desire and the power to speak develop in proportion to the gradual acquisition of cognitions through perception. Nature recognizes no other way of teaching the child to speak, and art to assist must take the same slow method, and must profit by all surrounding and available attractions. The



mother must allow the charms of seeing, hearing, feeling, and tasting to have full play on the child. These sense-impressions will awaken the desire to give them expression, that is, to speak. The mother must continually vary her tones, speaking now loudly, now softly, sometimes singing, and sometimes laughing, so as to awaken the desire to imitate. The sense of sight must also be enlisted by exhibiting different objects and associating the impressions with fitting words. Each object should be presented in the greatest possible variety of relations and positions, and care should be taken that each impression, matured in the child's mind through perception, is properly expressed. Art, that is, enlightened maternal care and love, can greatly relieve the tedium of Nature's methods in teaching the child to speak, and education must investigate the means, and present an orderly succession of exercises adapted to that end. The mother's heart, duly enlightened, will be found ready to apply these means with loving solicitude.

Mental development in its natural course first seeks help from art in the acquisition of speech. But this is not enough. It demands from art facilities for developing the power of combining, analyzing, and comparing all objects apprehended through perception and held clearly in charge by consciousness; that by these means, this capacity for apprehending and judging correctly may gradually develop into true intellectual power. Mental development and the culture of our race which depend upon it, demand the continual improvement of educational methods. In their nature and scope these methods proceed from our inherent ability to unite those objects which have passes from perception into knowledge, to separate and compare them and by this means to acquire the power of judgment. To expand our powers of thought into judgment, and elaborating it into universal usefulness, is the important end of elementary education; and as the capacity of applying our knowledge is evidently first stimulated by counting and measuring, it is clear that the desired end must be sought in the simplifying and improving the methods of teaching number and form.

III. When in the third place we ask: What are those principles, and how applied, from which proceed the culture of the human mind and heart so necessary to civil and domestic life? we see that these principles are both psychical and physical. We also see that the true nature of these principles consists in the cultivation of our powers of reflection and judgment though the careful exercise of our perceptive faculties, and that the most important of these exercises relative to number and form. Whoever has trained his mental faculties in accordance with these principles, and is skillful both with head and hand, has within himself the foundation of all art, and needs only to extend his power in order to become proficient in any particular branch. This attainment of manual dexterity is the means to the physical development of art power, and bears the same relation to it as number and form do to mental development.

[These extracts from the last printed utterances of Pestalozzi, as to the true aims and methods of elementary human culture, are in perfect accord with the *Meditations of the Recluse* (*Evening Hour of a Hermit*) printed fifty years before.]

“How does the idea of the Divine Being, of God the Father arise in my soul? How can the child be taught to love, to trust, to thank, and obey Him?” Simply by learning to love, to trust, to thank, and obey first the mother and the father, and others in the family — “for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?” These virtues of love, confidence, gratitude, and obedience originate and must be cherished in the natural relations of mother and child and in family life rightly conducted.

The mother is impelled, as it were, by instinct, to nurse and foster her child, to afford him shelter and happiness. She satisfies all his wants, she removes from him all that is unpleasant to him, she assists his helplessness — the child is provided for and made happy; *the seed of love begins to be unfolded.*

A new object strikes his senses; he is astonished, afraid — he cries; the mother presses him more fondly to her bosom; she plays with him, amuses him; he ceases from crying, but the tears remain in his eyes. The object reappears, the mother again throws around him her protecting arms, and comforts him with a smile — he cries no longer; his bright, unclouded little eye answers the mother's smile; *the seed of confidence has taken root in his soul.*

The mother runs to his cradle whenever he has any want; she is there in the hour of hunger; at her breast his cravings are hushed; when he hears her step approaching his whinings cease; when he sees her he stretches out his little arms; while hanging at her bosom his eye beams with satisfaction; *mother and satisfaction* are to him but one idea — it is that of *Gratitude.*

The germs of love, confidence, and gratitude grow rapidly. His ear listens to the mother's footstep; his eye follows her shadow with a smile; he loves whoever resembles her; a being who resembles his mother is, in his idea, a kind being. He beholds the form of his mother — the human form — with delight; whoever is dear to his mother is dear to him; he embraces whomever she embraces, kisses whomever she kisses. *The love of mankind, brotherly love, springs up in his heart.*

The practice of obedience, which is at first opposed by the tendencies of the child's sensual nature, is more especially the result of education, and not of instinct. Nevertheless, its first development is in a manner instinctive. Love is preceded by want, gratitude by satisfaction, confidence by apprehension, and obedience by violent desire. The child cries impatiently before he waits patiently. Patience goes before obedience, of which it is the basis. The first steps in the acquirement of that virtue are merely passive; they are founded upon the feeling of necessity.

Nature opposes the storming child by unbending necessity. The child knocks against wood and stone; nature remains unbending, and the child ceases to knock against wood and stone. The mother begins in the same manner to oppose the turbulence of his desires. He raves and kicks — she remains inexorable; he ceases to cry and accustoms himself to subject his will to her's — *and the seeds of patience and obedience are unfolding themselves in his heart.*

By the united action of love, gratitude, confidence, and obedience, the conscience is awakened, — first, the shade of a feeling that it is wrong to rave against a loving mother, — that the mother is not in the world for his sake only; this leads to the feeling that other beings and things, nay, he himself, are not made for him only; and here are the first germs of *duty.*

These are the fundamental features of moral development, arising from the relation in which nature has placed the child to its mother; and in them is the root of that disposition of the soul by which man is drawn to his Maker, — that is to say, our feelings of union to God through faith spring essentially from the same root as those from which the infant's attachment to its mother springs. The development of these feelings, likewise, follows the same progress with reference to both.

## PESTALOZZI'S HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY.

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LET a graduate of any good public school imagine a system of schools permitting indeed, though after a most laborious and imperfect fashion, for the wealthy and noble, large acquirements; but, for all those likely to attend what answer to our common or public schools, teaching only reading, and that alone, or at most with church singing, and memorizing of texts and hymns; reading all day, by one pupil at a time, from the droning A, B, C, up to whatever rhetoric was highest in grade; in that even shrill yell which was the elocutionary rule fifty years ago, without any possible regard to the meaning of what was read, or indeed of what was committed to memory; no arithmetic, no geography, no grammar, no writing, even. Let him imagine this single study taught in dens almost like prisons; by men absolutely ferocious in manners and feelings: who whipped a single scholar—as Martin Luther's master did him—fifteen times in one forenoon; who flogged, caned, boxed, slapped, rapped, and punched, right and left; made children kneel on peas and sharp edges of wood; in short, ransacked their own dull brains for ingenious tortures, and a language twice as copious as English, besides Latin and Greek, for nicknames and reproaches, to inflict upon the youth of their charge; schools to which parents threatened to send contumacious children, as if to the "Black Man," or any other hideous, unknown torment; schools almost precisely as destitute of any kindly feeling, of any humanizing tendency, of any moral or religious influence, as any old-fashioned Newgate or Bridewell. Let our graduate imagine, if he can, all this. Then let him further imagine a state of society stiffened, by ages of social fixity, into immovable grades, and where "the lower classes" were to be permitted this, reckoned their appropriate education, but no more. Let him still further imagine great and far-reaching political, social, and intellectual disturbances, working in powerful conjunction, upsetting all manner of laws, systems, distinctions, and doctrines, preparing all minds to hope for, and to admit, better beliefs, and better opportunities, for themselves and for others. And lastly, let him imagine a man possessed of the vastest capacity for labor, a mind fruitful of expedients and experiments to the very highest degree, and no less clear and firm in finding and adhering to fundamental generalizations, an absolutely unbounded and tireless benevolence, a love for humanity and a faith in his principles little less perfect and self-sustaining than that of an apostle; who steps forth just in that period of intense receptive mental activity, and in the place of that diabolical ancient school system, proceeds not only to propose, but to demonstrate, and in spite of sufferings, obstacles, and failures enough to



have discouraged an army of martyrs, effectually to establish a system which not only, in the words of its official investigators in 1802, was "that true elementary method which has long been desired, but hitherto vainly sought; which prepares the child for every situation, for all arts and sciences; which is appropriate to all classes and conditions, and is the first indispensable foundation for human cultivation; which not only was thus intellectually the absolute ideal of education, but whose very atmosphere was one of kindness and encouragement, whose perfection was to depend upon its identity with the affectionate discipline of a mother; which expressly included, and even preferred, the poor, the orphan, and the helpless; and which, last and best of all, was fundamentally inwrought with such hygienic, ethical, and religious principles that its legitimate result would be to make a strong, and wise, and just man, upright among his fellows, mutually respecting and respected, and a trusting worshiper of God."

Let our graduate imagine this, and he may comprehend what the Germans think of Pestalozzi. The reverence and gratitude which they, in common indeed with all Europe, though in somewhat higher degree, entertain toward him, were well exemplified in the festival observed in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, on the 12th of January, 1846, the hundredth anniversary of his birthday, and in the consequent proceedings; of which a brief account follows.

The conception of this celebration originated with that veteran and most useful educator, Dr. Adolph Diesterweg, then director of a seminary at Berlin. A mistake of a year, founded on dates given by good authorities, occasioned a partial celebration on the 12th of January, 1845. This, however, was made a means of wider notification and effort for the following year, and we translate the most characteristic portion of the call, which was signed by forty-eight eminent teachers and educators, including Diesterweg himself.

"His (Pestalozzi's) life and labors testify that no object lay nearer his heart than to secure for neglected children an education simple, natural, pure in morals, re-enforced by the influence of home and school, and adequate to the needs of their future life. A concurrence of untoward circumstances prevented the permanent success of such an orphan asylum, or poor school, though proposed and often attempted by him. For this reason the idea has occurred to various of his admirers and friends, in various places, of establishing such institutions, and one first to be called 'Pestalozzi Foundation.' The undersigned, having the permission of the authorities, have associated for the establishment of such an institution, to be a monument of the gratitude of the whole German fatherland toward that noble man. This call is intended to inform the public of this design, and to request active co-operation, and contributions in money.

"The Pestalozzi Foundation is intended to afford to poor children and orphans an education suitable to their circumstances, and in accordance with Pestalozzi's views for this purpose.

"1. The institutions founded will be situated in the country, where only, as the undersigned believe, can the education of orphans succeed.

"2. The pupils will, from the beginning, besides intellectual, moral, and religious education, be trained to domestic, agricultural, or industrial knowledge and capacities.

"3. The managers and matrons to whom the family education of the pupils will be confided, are to labor in the spirit of '*Leonard and Gertrude*,' and '*How Gertrude Teaches her Children*,' and the supervisors and officers of instruction will endeavor not only to put in practice the principles of the '*Idea of Elementary Training*,' but to develop and propagate them.

"\* \* \* We thus appeal with confidence to all who feel themselves bound to gratitude toward Heinrich Pestalozzi; to all who feel for the children of the poor and for orphans; to all who expect beneficial consequences to home and school education from the revival and development of the spirit of Pestalozzi, which the undersigned believe to be the true spirit of education; we appeal, in short, to all friends of the people and of the fatherland, for efficient aid to this undertaking—at once a monument of gratitude to a great man, and an attempt to supply an urgent want of the present age.

BERLIN, *January 12, 1845.*"

A second appeal was put forth, July 3d of the same year, by Diesterweg, "to the teachers of Germany," eloquently setting forth their professional obligations to Pestalozzi, calling upon them for corresponding efforts in aid of the enterprise, and proceeded to refer again, in very pointed terms, to the characteristically charitable and thoroughly practical aspirations of Pestalozzi for the education of neglected children, and to the similar character of the proposed institution.

"It was his chiefest wish to dry the tears from the cheeks of orphans, and to educate them; he longed to be the father, the friend, the teacher of the unfortunate and the neglected.

"Do you, therefore, teacher of the common school, friend of the people, prove your gratitude to Heinrich Pestalozzi, by doing your part for the Pestalozzi Foundation—no monument of bronze or of stone; for none out a living monument is worthy of him—which shall stand, within the territory of Germany, a proof of the thankfulness of posterity, an everlasting blessing to children, to the cause of education, and human development."

The institution spoken of in these documents was intended to be a single central one, to be endowed by the contributions of all donors, and to be a model and parent for others throughout Germany; the sum requisite being computed at 30,000 thalers, about \$22,500.

But although sympathy with the general purpose thus brought into notice was universal and lively, difficulties, apparently chiefly sectarian soon arose, in regard to the special feature of a first central institution and these resulted in the holding of many local festivals instead of one great one, and the organization of many local Pestalozzi Foundations

or Pestalozzi Societies, instead of one general one. Such festivals were observed, and institutions or societies established, at Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfort, Erfurt, Basle, and many other places. We proceed to give some account of some of them, with extracts from the more significant portions of the numerous addresses, and other documents connected with them.

Dr. Diesterweg delivered, at Berlin, a characteristic and interesting discourse. In describing the revolution caused by Pestalozzi in the estimation of different studies, he said:—

“After the Reformation, that is, after the establishment of German common schools, studies were divided into two classes: one including the Bible, catechism, and hymn-book, the other including the so-called trivial studies. The former were for heaven—that is, to prepare for eternal happiness; the latter for earth, and its ordinary employments. The consequence of this universally-received distinction was, that the religious teachers asserted a dignity far higher than that of the “trivial” teachers. This notion is theoretically denied by Pestalozzi—at least by immediate logical conclusion, though I do not think he discussed the subject specially—and by his school. We have learned to comprehend the moral influence of instruction in itself, aside from any peculiar character in the subject taught; and, still further, the direct influence of all true instruction upon the development of the pupil’s character. This influence does not depend upon the thing taught, but in the manner of teaching. As in Hegel’s system of philosophy, so it is in elementary instruction—and should be in all instruction—its strength is in its method. This principle will naturally not be understood by eloquent word-teachers and lecturers from chairs of instruction; and last of all by those dictating machines and note-readers, who, to the disgrace of pedagogy and the shame of the whole age, exist even at the present day. But we, Pestalozzi’s scholars and followers, comprehend it, have mastered it, and can demonstrate its results in our schools. What would Adam Ries, that pattern of all blind guides, say, if he could come to life again after three hundred years, and taking up an arithmetic\*—which has become capable of use, as an intelligently arranged elementary study, only since Pestalozzi’s time—should find in it a chapter “On the *moral influence* of instruction in arithmetic?”

He sums up the changes brought about by Pestalozzi, thus:—

“Instead of brutal, staring stupidity, close and tense attention; for dull and blockish eyes, cheerful and pleased looks; for crooked backs, the natural erectness of the figure; for dumbness or silence, joyous pleasure in speaking, and promptitude that even takes the word out of another’s mouth; for excessive verbosity in the teacher, and consequent stupidity in the scholar, a dialogic or, at least, a dialogic-conversational method; for government by the stick, a reasonable and therefore a serious and strict discipline; for mere external doctrines and external discipline, a mental training, in which every doctrine is a discipline also

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\* Grube’s Arithmetic.



instead of a government by force, and a consequent fear of the school and its pedant, love of school and respect for the teacher."

He proceeds to suggest how far-reaching was the influence of Pestalozzi's labors in mere school-rooms:—

"But is the spirit of Pestalozzi not entitled to some part of the credit of the elevation of the German people? Did this remarkable change spring up in a night, and from nothing? It is, rather, to be wondered at, that the Pestalozzian method should have brought about such vast results without foreseeing them. It would be unreasonable to claim that this alone accomplished the wonder; but it was certainly not one of the least of its causes. Lord Brougham said that the twenty-six letters of the present schoolmaster—those 'black hussars'—were mightier than the bayonet of the soldier. Consider what a child must become, who is taught as we have described, for six or eight years or more. Consider what a nation must become, all the youth of which have enjoyed the influence of such an education. What a project does this idea open in the future! The Jesuits of Freiburg had a glimpse of it, though no more, when they said that they wanted no schools which should educate 'Apostles of Radicalism;' an expression shameful, not to Pestalozzi, but to the utterer of it."

Further on, he forcibly portrays the need and the requisites of such an institution as the intended Pestalozzi Foundation.

"The help we would afford is radical, is the only help. We consider all institutions worthy of praise and of assistance, which contribute to the amelioration of human suffering, the advancement of morals and good training. Therefore we speak well of other institutions having the same general design with ours: institutions for the care of children; orphan houses; rescue institutions for neglected children; associations for changing prisons into institutions of reform, and for the care of dismissed criminals and prisoners. But none of these go to the root of the matter; they do not correspond with the precise want; they do not go deep enough. Many of them almost seem to be organized to make sport of the laws of human nature and reason. What, for instance, according to those laws, can a child be expected to become, who has grown up with ignorant parents, from whom it can learn nothing but vices; who has learned from them to lie and to steal, to wander about and be a vagabond? In general, we answer, only a man who will misuse his physical and mental powers; that is, a criminal, a wild beast, dangerous to the welfare of society. That society, for self-preservation, shuts up such men, like wild beasts, in a cage; or punishes, or kills him; although, nine times out of ten, he became such because he must; as probably any one of us would have done! Is this proceeding reasonable? Do we succeed when we try to reform an old rogue? Or do you suppose that children, if they only attend the infant school, are under school discipline, and are confirmed, can be otherwise left in charge of abandoned parents, not be contaminated by the pestilent atmosphere around them? Experience teaches, and it can not be otherwise, that the influence of

father and mother, whether good or bad, is infinitely greater than that of infant schools, or any schools. Those who have managed reform institutions understand this best. The reason of the ill-success of such is, that they first begin too late; for they take the children after they have shown ineradicable marks of debasement. It is easy to protect an uncontaminated child from vice; but to restore to a contaminated one its pristine health and purity, is infinitely difficult, if not impossible.

"Our intention therefore is, to receive into the Pestalozzi Foundation children who can not be expected to be educated in their own homes; and those will naturally be preferred, who are destitute of a father or mother, and are without means. The existing orphan houses do not fulfill their purposes; and their organization does not usually answer the requirements of the Pestalozzian principles. We would establish model institutions for the education of neglected children, which shall observe natural laws, in which the child shall receive a family education. An education together with hundreds is—it must be said—barrack instruction. A child who is to become an adult, with human feelings, must have enjoyed the thorough and kindly care of the feminine nature and of an affectionate father. All true education is individual. Where the letter of the law prevails, where each child is managed by general rules, where it is only a number or a figure, which it must be in a school of hundreds, there is no human education, in any higher sense. A girl even, brought up among hundreds, is, so to speak, even when a child, a public girl."

Adverting afterward to the financial economy of such institutions, he observes that Adam Smith remarks, that "The support of the poor and of criminals costs £8,000,000 a year in England and Wales. If £2,000,000 of this were invested in education and good bringing up, at least one-half of the whole amount would be saved."

He then adverts, with some feeling, but conciliatingly, to the unexpected breaking up of the original plan of one central society and institution, by means of denominational jealousies; and gives a brief summary of the finances, &c., of the undertaking, as follows:—

"Twelve thousand copies of our call were sent throughout all parts of Germany. The sympathy exhibited is altogether encouraging and delightful. Some hundreds over 2,000 thalers (\$1,500) are already collected;\* the beginning of the harvest. The ministries of the interior and of religion have recognized and approved the labors of the society; his excellency Postmaster-General Von Nagler has granted the franking privilege for sending copies of the call, and for remittances; the school councilors of the various governments, and those authorities themselves, have assisted earnestly in sending the call; and the school inspectors have assisted in collecting. Many of them also, as, for instance, at Potsdam and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, have sent us orders for the pamphlets published by us on account of the Foundation. Princes have kindly aided the purposes of the society by contributions, and

\* January 12. In March, the sum reached about 7,000 thalers.

many private persons also have given, some in one amount, and some in subscriptions during five years. But what has encouraged us most, is the universal sympathy of the body of teachers; both of common schools, and upward, even to the universities. What has a poor common school teacher, or a seminary pupil, to give? But they *do* give. I have received with warm thankfulness their gifts, from one *silbergroschen* upward. They give with poor hands, but warm hearts.

"From five or six different places we have received offers of land for a location, sometimes for nothing; from the Mark of Brandenburg, Silesia, Saxony, &c.; we hear favorable accounts from Dessau and Saxe-Meiningen; in short, we have good hopes that the plan of the Pestalozzi Foundation will succeed. The festivals, held almost every where to-day, will assist us; and we count with certainty on the aid of our own fellow-citizens. The undertaking is spoken well of by every one. Even noble ladies are enthusiastic for the good cause. Three sisters, whom the Genius of Poetry overshadows, (I am proud of being their fellow countryman,) propose to publish their compositions together for the benefit of the Foundation. Some gentlemen have already done the like. From almost every locality in Germany, from Tilsit to Basle, from Pesth to Bremen, I have received encouraging and sympathizing letters. In Pesth, a society of teachers is collecting for the German Pestalozzi Foundation; contributions have come in from the Saxons in Transylvania; in Amsterdam and Gröningen, committees have been formed for the same purpose; we are expecting money from across the ocean. In Königsberg, delegates of the magistracy and city authorities have joined with the committee of teachers, the more worthily to celebrate the day."

Several pastors, teachers, and officials in the Canton of Aargau put forth a call for a Pestalozzi festival at Brugg, in that canton. To this there soon afterward appeared a reply, signed by a number of Reformed clergymen of the same canton, which may illustrate the character of the difficulties to which Diesterweg alludes. This reply states, in substance, that the signers of it had, several years before, set on foot a subscription for a similar purpose, (it may be remarked that the call itself recited that the government of Aargau resolved, as early as 1833, to erect an institution for the education of neglected poor children, as a memorial of Pestalozzi; which, however, financial considerations rendered it necessary to postpone;) that the proposed plan of operation was unfortunate, inasmuch as

1. The estate of Neuhof, formerly Pestalozzi's, intended to be bought as a site for the Foundation, was unsuitable and ill-placed for such a purpose, too large, and too expensive.

2. Ostentatious commemorations of donors were promised, by votive tablets, &c.

3. The intended scheme of training the pupils of the Foundation into teachers for similar institutions is not practicable, because it can not be determined whether they are capable or inclined to that employment



which requires rare and lofty qualifications; and because experience shows that such teachers are to be trained, not in such schools for them, but in a course of actual employment under proper conditions.

4. Experience shows that such institutions should not be commenced on a large and expensive scale, but by means of single individuals, properly trained, to supply the place, to the pupils, of fathers, and to begin quietly, with a small number.

5. The proposed institution is to receive both Reformed and Catholic children; a plan which experience shows to be unlikely to succeed. And, if the principal be decidedly either Catholic or Reformed, children of the other communion will not be intrusted to him; and if he is not decidedly of either, then those of neither will.

These reasons are clearly and strongly stated, and seem to have much force.

At the festival at Basle, Rector Heussler gave some odd details of Pestalozzi's early life; among others, "He was so careless and absent-minded at school, that his teacher once remarked, shrugging his shoulders, 'Heinrich will never come to any thing;' and it is well-known that, afterward, when he was at the summit of his fame, his assistant, Krüsi, confessed that he (Pestalozzi,) could not either write or compute decently; and that a moderately difficult problem in multiplication, or division, was an impossibility to him at the age of fifty, and when the most eminent Swiss teacher! As little promising, at the first view, was his exterior; and on this account he declared, very naïvely, to his bride, that he, her bridegroom, was outwardly a most dirty man, as all the world knew; and that he presumed that this was not the first time she had heard so."

Longer or shorter accounts are given in the *Allgemeine Schul-Zeitung*, and other periodicals, of many other celebrations. They usually consisted of a meeting, at which addresses were delivered, poems recited, hymns or songs sung; sometimes followed by a dinner, with toasts, short speeches, and convivial enjoyment. There was also a practical part of the ceremony, viz., either a collection for the central society, or the organization of a local one.

We subjoin, (from the *Allg. Sch.-Zeitung*,) parts of a quaint article entitled "*Considerations on the character most suitable for a memorial to Pestalozzi*," and signed "Frankf. O.—P.—A.—Z.," which contains much humor and good sense.

"But by what means is it proposed to fulfill this obligation (to Pestalozzi)? Many persons are preparing a banquet of the usual character, at so many *silbergroschen* a head, including half a quart of wine. Provision is made, also, for toasts, solemn and not solemn, long and short; and, if the landlords do their duty, the consequent sickness will have been slept off by next morning. These good folks do not obstruct the progress of enlightenment, but they are not *par excellence* strict disciples of Pestalozzi. In other places, the teachers, especially, are to be assembled, inasmuch as they claim Pestalozzi as exclusively one of

hemselves, though he was also a theologian and jurist. These gentlemen take no particular measures for overloading their stomachs—for reasons best known to themselves. On the other hand, they are laboring upon poems and orations, and will, perhaps, produce some which will possess much unction. But in order that their lights may not put each other out, and that the *imperium in imperio* may not perish, they assemble parish-wise, renewing the idea of the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither holy, Roman, nor an empire, and in which there were so many principalities that the State was invisible. Naturally, where there is a festival to every ten schoolmasters, the 12th of January will be long enough for a speech and toast from every one. On this occasion the speakers will rather look away from the present, and consider the future. Very right: this was with Pestalozzi's custom. But Pestalozzi kicked down with his feet what he built with his hands; beware that you do not do so. Pestalozzi often used his heart instead of his head, and reckoned without his host; see that you do not imitate him in this. Pestalozzi understood children's hearts, but not men's; and did not avoid the appearance of evil, if only it did not appear so to him; beware of following in his footsteps in this. A great Foundation is to be erected, worthy of the German nation; all German heads are to be brought together under one German hat, for the sake of founding, somewhere—perhaps on the Blocksberg—a rescue institution for morally endangered children. These certainly need to be protected, and Pestalozzi drew attention to the fact fifty years ago, and sacrificed his health and his means in the cause. But will one such institution serve, however large—or ten, or twenty, or a hundred—for the forty millions of German population? There are already thirty such institutions in Wirtemberg; and there are still many children there in urgent need of education and aid. But what will this rescue institution do? Even if it does not remain without a roof, like the Teutoburger Hermann without a sword; even if the builders finish up windows, cellars, and stairs properly; the chief requisite of a model institution is wanting—the father of the family. Shall he be found in Diesterweg's seminary at Berlin, or among Harnisch's pupils at Weissenfels? Is pictism, or illuminism, to be taught in it? The question is important to Germany, and Pestalozzis and Oberlins are scarce. One Louise Schepler would be worth abundantly more than a council of ten seminary directors. This seems not to have been considered; the building, and always the building, of the institution, is urged. There is no lack of model institutions. Not to cite Wirtemberg, there is the Rauhe Haus, at Hamburg—is a better one wanted?

“Again; are neglected children to be sent fifty miles, or more, by mail-route, with a policeman, to the model institution? Or, are distant donors to have nothing but a distant view of it? Must they make a long journey merely to get a sight of it? ‘But,’ it is said, ‘all this will do no harm, if the occasion shall succeed in causing a union of the German teachers.’ A union—a significant word! Where did as many as three

Germans ever unite, unless it were over a bottle? And still more, three German schoolmasters, each quite right in his own school! Unite? With whom? Against whom? Does not 'unite' mean 'exclude?' For if the teachers are to unite, they will separate from the clergy. Are all the teachers in Germany to dissolve their present relations, and array themselves under a pedagogical general, as if to make an attack on the ministers?"

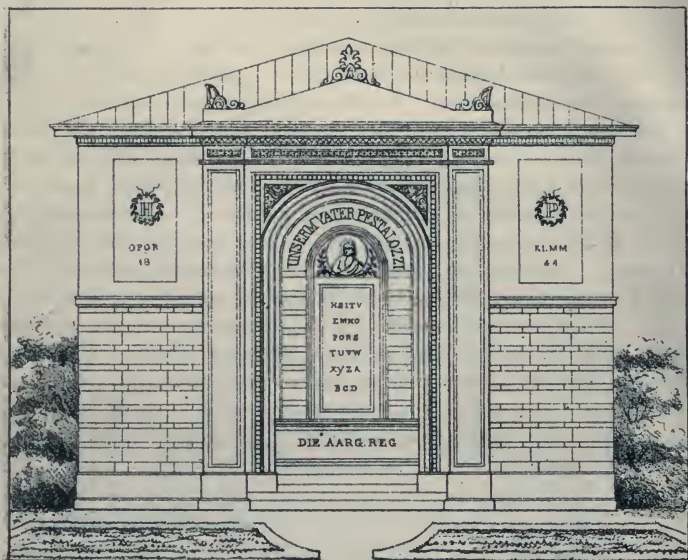
The writer then attacks the plan of selecting teachers' orphans, in particular, and concludes with a forcible suggestion of the necessity of individual sacrifice and effort, as the only true mode of reforming or protecting unfortunate children.

"Spend no more time in building and in choosing heating apparatus, but take vigorous hold of the work itself. Let each one take a child, and say, 'He shall be mine. I will win him to myself with love, so that he shall prefer to follow me rather than his thievish father and godless mother. He shall stop cursing, because he loves me; and stealing, because I will teach him better. He shall enjoy learning, because he shall find in the school a retreat from his parents. I will not be deterred by dirt or ignorance, if I can only save a soul, and spare the world one criminal. I would rather make my house a rescue house for him, than to send him to a Rauhe Haus, among the morally neglected.'

"If the admirers of Pestalozzi—and I do not mean teachers alone—would adopt this method on the 12th of January, 1846, and form an association, then the day would be and remain a blessing to Germany. God grant it!"







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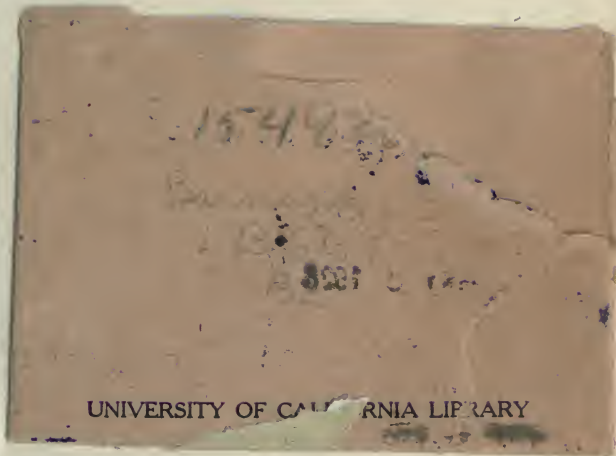
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