

Pestalozzi across the Channel

an edition of

PESTALOZZI



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Marie Vergnon Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi: his 'Reception' across the Channel

with "The Address to the British Public"

followed by

"The English people in Yverdon" by Kate Silber

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Editorial
The "Recention" of Postalozzi across

The "Reception" of Pestalozzi across the Channel *:
Favourable Ideas and Political Context?

66

"Heaven, dividing France and England Saves the freedom of the rest of the earth."

Pierre-Laurent de Belloy (1727-1775): Pierre le Cruel, acte II, scène 1.



It is perhaps worth recalling here that the geopolitical context of the first two decades of the nineteenth century was more troubled than ever. The various European states, over-militarised and reshaped by Napoleon, were trying to build themselves as nation-states and were seeking to develop public education without yet knowing what educational progress meant, nor how to organise a potential national school institution. In this context. Pestalozzi seemed to be in the right place at the right time to promote a new, even "Method", revolutionary which aimed at making the child active and curious as his or her natural critical abilities developed. A method in direct opposition to the practice of rote learning and

force-feeding, designed to mould future citizens docile and submissive to authority, widely practised until then!

No doubt too radical for his time and place, Pestalozzi did not create any schools or establishments that survived him Napoleon, whom he tried to approach, showed little interest in his ideas. However, his influence on the educational practices of his time was immense and guests from all over Europe came to visit his institutes in Berthoud and especially Yverdon to exchange with him and to learn about his «educational philosophy». His imprint thus extended beyond the European continent, up to the United States, where Bronson Alcott and Horace Mann owe some of their fame to him.

This English engraving depicting the siege of Bayonne (1814) is a far cry from David, Géricault or Gros: the pompous inspiration is replaced by a more popular epic character which, with certain features aiming at a very direct expressionism, is similar to the imagery of Epinal.

^{*} For the author, 'Across the Channel' refers 'in United Kingdom'.

This issue of the *Cahiers* aims to raise awareness of the key players here and across the Channel who helped Pestalozzi's ideas to influence - oh so much, even if some are still not willing to acknowledge it! - British education. **Marie Vergnon***, professor at the University of Caen and member of our Scientific Council, has set herself the goal of "render unto Pestalozzi what is Pestalozzi's". We would like to thank her for her approach and her research work in the language of Shakespeare!

Did the political and economic context, and more particularly the antagonism between France and Great Britain, play a role in the interest of people across the Channel in Pestalozzi's ideas? It is difficult to say... However, it was not until the end of Napoleon's Continental Blockade (November 1806 to April 1814), which was intended to ruin the United Kingdom, that British visitors could once again travel freely across the Continent and... visit our Yverdonian pedagogue.

The strange and enduring rivalry between France and the UK is striking. It persists beyond the immediate wars between these two "empire nations" that have long competed for global hegemony. So, a little on the fringe of our theme, we have taken the liberty of illustrating this opposition by slipping in here and there through the pages some quotations from famous Frenchmen, contemporaries of the 18th and 19th centuries, about England and the English people. Unilateral, their sole purpose is to give understanding and, perhaps, a smile – in a forced laugh? – at the eternal discourtesy between these two neighbours, who are none-theless, today, rather friendly.

Enjoy your reading...

René Blind

Throduction to the author



Marie Vergnon is a lecturer in e d u c a t i o n a l sciences at the University of Caen (France) and is a member of the scientific council of the Pestalozzi

Documentation and Research Centre (Yverdon) and of the board of the Association transdisciplinaire pour

les recherches historiques sur l'éducation (ATRHE). She is the author of a thesis on the Scottish pedagogue and philanthropist Robert Owen (1771-1858). Her work focuses on the history of educational ideas in the 19th century, and on the circulation of educational ideas between French-speaking Europe, Great Britain and the United States at the beginning of the 20th century in the New Education movement.

Pestalozzi and his "reception" across the Channel

It is not easy to assess the extent and modalities of Pestalozzi's influence, and actual commonalities between educational proposals may have other sources than documented borrowings.



"This is the land of sects. An Englishman, as a free man, goes to Heaven by the way he pleases."

Voltaire (1694-1778) : Lettres philosophiques, Cinquième lettre, sur la religion anglicane.

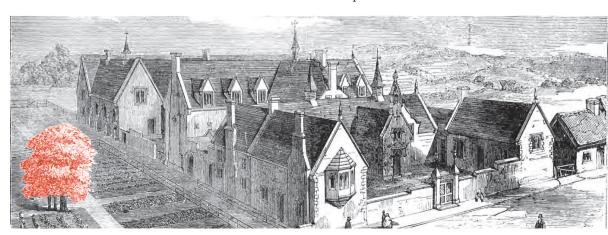
* All references in red will lead the reader to the bibliography on pages 34 and 35. Thus, rather than looking for traces of Pestalozzi's ideas in British curricula and practices, a first approach consists in studying the direct vectors of dissemination of Pestalozzi's ideas in Great Britain, i.e. to identify those who met him, saw his educational system in action and contributed to the spread of his pedagogical ideas and practices across the Channel. Based on an analysis of the writings and achievements of these people, we have drawn up a picture of the first vectors for the dissemination of Pestalozzi's pedagogy in Ireland and the United Kingdom.

Indeed, this Swiss pedagogue's work was disseminated in Great Britain, where his influence was tremendous, especially on the British education system, as Kate Silber reminds us in one of her books about Pestalozzi:

"Yet some influence of Pestalozzi's ideas on British education cannot be denied. It

penetrated into infant schools and training colleges until it reached elementary education. There it may have worked more powerfully than is commonly recognized. It will be seen, says the author of the Geneological Account of the Mayo family, 'that while the name of Pestalozzi has nearly been forgotten, many if not most of his principles have insensibly been adopted and assimilated in the modern system of education". Mayo, C., A General Account of the Mayo and Elton Families, London: private publication, 1882, quoted by Silber, 1960, p.306)

Pestalozzi's ideas and method reached Britain through several supporters of the Swiss pedagogue but also thanks to travellers who were impressed by his achievements and who worked to introduce him to the British public through translations, publications and practical achievements.



French writings

It was primarily through writings already published in French that Pestalozzi's ideas penetrated Britain. As Kate Silber has shown, 'it was, indeed, in the French language and through French connections that Pestalozzianism was introduced to the British' (1960, p.280), that Pestalozzi's ideas penetrated Britain.



«The privilege of the Englishman is to understand no language but his own. And even if he does understand, he must not in any way stoop to let it be known!»

Pierre Daninos (1913-2005): Les Carnets du major W. Marmaduke Thompson.

In 1805, Daniel-Alexandre Chavannes' Exposé de la méthode élémentaire de M. Pestalozzi was published, as were two books by Marc-Antoine Jullien a few years later: Précis sur l'Institut d'éducation d'Yverdon published by Milan in 1810, and Esprit de la méthode d'éducation de M. Pestalozzi printed by the same publisher two years later. Then Jullien, who was fluent in English, became one of the intermediaries between Pestalozzi and English speakers.

To this list of French authors we can add Mme de Staël, who personally visited the Institute in Yverdon. When she was expelled from Paris and France in October 1803, she went to Germany, which had attracted her for long. She decided to write a kind of a travelogue, first entitled Lettres sur l'Allemagne and then De l'Allemagne [On Germany]. First printed in France, this work was banned there before it was distributed and was first published in Great Britain in 1813. Chapter XIX, entitled 'On Particular Institutions for Education and Charitable establishments', is for the most part devoted to the work of the Swiss pedagogue and reflects her impressions on his work.

'Her De l'Allemagne (1810) was prohibited in France and reprinted in England in 1813. This book, which informed the

educated Briton about the German philosophical and literary movements, contains in its nineteenth chapter a warm appreciation of Pestalozzi's work in Yverdon, based on her own observation. It was widely read and played an important part in publicizing Pestalozzi's ideas in England.' (Silber, 1960, p.280)

Mme de Staël cites the teaching of arithmetic as the one that most marked her in this system of education, but beyond that, she could identify the



central mechanisms of the method. She wrote, 'it is perhaps the first time that a school of a hundred and fifty children has been conducted without the stimulus of emulation and fear' and 'all the propositions follow each other so closely, that the second is always the immediate consequence of the first. Rousseau said that, that the minds of children are fatigued by the studies exacted from them. Pestalozzi always leads them by a road so easy and yet so determinate, that it costs them no more to be initiated into the most abstract sciences, than into the most simple occupations.' She praised the Pestalozzi Method as 'real, of easy

application' and thought that it 'may have a great influence on the future progress of the human mind' (*Germany*, 1813, p. 184-201).

While the French provided an early introduction of Pestalozzi's ideas across the Channel, the influence of his British admirers and followers in establishing his ideas in Britain should not be underestimated.



John Synge

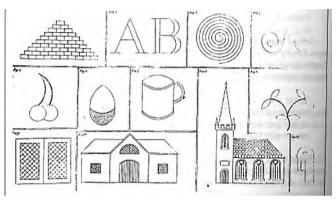
The first of these disciples was the Irishman John Synge (1788-1845), who visited Europe from 1812 and arrived in Switzerland during the autumn 1814, where he happened to visit the Institute in Yverdon. He refused the visit at first, considering it 'not likely to interest him' (Synge, preface to A Biographical sketch of the Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System of Education, Dublin, 1815, quoted by Silber, Kate, 1960, p. 289). He thought he would spend a few hours there, but ended up staying for three months. He quickly perceived the spirit and strengths of Pestalozzi's Method and resolved to work for its dissemination in his own country.



«The wit and genious lose twenty-five percent of their value when they land in England.»

Stendhal (1783-1842) : Le Rouge et le Noir, livre II, chap. 1.

In 1815, he returned to Ireland allowed by Pestalozzi to translate and use all of his work. Moreover, he had the willingness to set up a school in his country where Pestalozzi's methods and principles would be applied. He therefore launched a subscription in Dublin and London that very year: half of the raised funds were to be sent to Pestalozzi to help him with his work in Yverdon, and the other half was to be used for the translation of his works into English, their publication and distribution. In 1817, he had already set up a printing house in Roundwood to print Pestalozzi's texts in English. Clive Williams points out that Synge's concern for the translation of the works testifies to his zeal and his desire to be faithful to the master's method (Williams, 1968, p.30), a zeal that was honoured by the nickname that was later attributed to him: "Pestalozzi John". John Synge himself wrote various texts on Pestalozzi, including a presentation of Pestalozzi's career as an educator, A Biographical Sketch of the Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System (in the writing of which he used Chavannes' work), and a manual of arithmetic



based on Pestalozzi's method, A Sketch of Pestalozzi's intuitive system of calculations, which were published under the pseudonym of 'an Irish traveller' by a Dublin publisher as early as 1815.

In the Roundwood printing house, he then printed between 1817 and 1820, he then printed several works on arithmetic and geometry Pestalozzi's intuitive Relations of Numbers (four volumes), The use of the bean table or an introduction to addition, subtraction and numeration with visible objects on the principles of Pestalozzi, and The Relation and Description of Forms According to the Principles of Pestalozzi (1817), as well as tracts and school plates. He later published series of booklets entitled The infant teacher's assistant on Pestalozzian principles (1828) and An easy introduction to the Hebrew language on the principles of Pestalozzi (Parens, 1831).

An article, published in the *Belfast* Commercial Chronicle of Wednesday

Drawing exercises by Synge

October 8th 1817 on the occasion of a dinner in honour of Synge and his commitment to education, quotes the toast to 'Mr. Synge and success to the system of the venerable Pestalozzi which he has introduced and so ably advocated' (p.4). It also states that he distributed copies of his translation of Pestalozzi's work to several members of the audience on that evening, thus continuing his work of dissemination. Synge's dissemination of Pestalozzi's work in Britain was not limited to these numerous publications. He also opened the first Pestalozzian school in the British Isles in Glanmore in 1815, which enrolled twenty poor children. He described the rapid progress of his pupils to Pestalozzi in letters in which he outlined all his plans and achievements. The day was divided into two parts: three and a half hours were devoted to instruction, and the rest of the time was spent outdoors or making shoes, stockings or straw hats; 'by this means they have got new clothes entirely from their own work', wrote Synge to Pestalozzi (quoted by Williams, 1968, p.30). Synge placed great emphasis on Pestalozzi's intuitive learning and the use of objects for this purpose.

One of the best testimonies of Synge's educational activity is a sketch of his classroom made by Maria Taylor in 1825. Clive Williams' description of its reproductions is included here in its entirety for the wealth of details it provides.

'This sketch is probably unique in its depiction of Pestalozzian methods in progress. Above the blackboard can be seen several charts used by Synge for the teaching of form; they are identical with those included in his work the relations and descriptions of forms, according to the principles of Pestalozzi. Several Pestalozzian tables are in use, e.g. the first table of units (centre-background); some children

are drawing or writing with quills; the boy near the window (left) is studying a flower. The manual activities of the school are indicated by the boy entering with a spade and by another (left-foreground) repairing or making a boot.

Several details of the sketch are fascinating in themselves, e.g. a child completely lost in thought (right-centre) and another exhibiting curiosity characteristic of his age by ignoring his lesson in favour of another (right-foreground). The picture contains five distinct groups, in each of which an older boy is teaching a younger boy, or group of boys. This suggests that Synge may have sought some compromise between Pestalozzian method and the system of mutual instruction practised in monitorial schools. Twenty-five boys are depicted and their ages appear to range from five to twelve. While an artist's interpretation should be accepted with caution, the impression of a congenial and diligent atmosphere seems authentic. The exact location of the school shown cannot be established but in all probability it was at Roundwood, where Synge lived from 1818 to 1827.' (quoted by Williams, 1968, p.31)

Moreover, he not only implemented the Pestalozzi Method in his school, but also encouraged mothers to educate their children according to the Method, mothers whom he compared in a letter to Pestalozzi's to his Gertrude on account of their progress. He also encouraged many British people to take an interest in Pestalozzi's work, including Lord de Vesci, Charles Orpen, James Pierrepont Greaves and Charles Mayo, and in this respect, he played a major role in the dissemination of Pestalozzi's ideas and work.



Notes

Synge's school class, Maria Taylor, 1825

Lord de Vesci and Louis Albert du Puget

On his return from Yverdon, John Synge encouraged Lord de Vesci (John Vesey, second Viscount de Vesci, 1771-1855) to open a Pestalozzi school in Abbeyleix and advised him to visit Pestalozzi's Institute, which he probably did at that time. The specificity of the school run by Lord de Vesci remains, however, that it was only open to children from privileged classes.



"The English people, it is true, add here and there a few other words in conversation; but it is quite easy to see that *God-dam* is the substance of the language."

Beaumarchais (1732-1799): Le Mariage de Figaro, acte III, scène 5.

As early as 1818, Louis Albert du Puget (c.1795-1860), who taught at Yverdon, came to work at the institute and published in 1821 a work entitled Intuitive Mental Arithmetic, theoretical and practical, on the Principles of H. Pestalozzi, dedicated to Lord de Vesci and starting with a quotation from Fichte on the Swiss pedagogue (in French):

'His (Pestalozzi's) aim was only to help the lower classes, but his invention, considered in its entirety, elevates the people; it completely destroys the difference between the lower classes and the educated; instead of producing an education for the lower classes, it has become a national education, and it may well have the potentiality of pulling the people out of the abyss in which they have hitherto been buried.' Discourses on the system of Pestalozzi addressed to the people of Germany, by J, G. Fichte, Berlin, 1808, quotation published in French as a preamble to Louis du Puget's book, Intuitive Mental Arithmetic, theoretical and practical on the Principles of H. Pestalozzi, Dublin: (1821).

It was then through Charles Orpen that he gave further impetus to his contribution to education in Britain by becoming involved, with others, in the education of deaf and dumb children. Orpen, then Secretary of the National Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Ireland, gave an account of his work in

an essay in Aris' Birmingham Gazette on 18 December 1826: (see on pages 11-12). →

MENTAL ARITHMETIC, THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF BY L. DU PUGET, LATE A STUDENT AND TEACHER, AT HIS INSTITUTE, AT TYPERDON, IN SWITZERLAND, AND, AT PRESENT, A MASTER IN THE SYTABLISHMENT, AT ABSETYLEIX, IN IRELAND. "Son dessein (orbaid de Postaland) était seulement de secourir le bas pruphe, mais son invention price dans tente son étendus silves le propie, elle detruit enderement la différence qui exide entre les dereulement instiration; saltes de produire une education pour le bas pruphe, elle det évenue une education pour le bas pruphe, elle set devenue endecation cationale et elle pourse in les habits es où la cité enerel luque à précese, "—Disourse en the system of Postalousi addressed to the people of Overnany, by J. G. Pichte, Brive, 1806. DUBLIN: PRINTED BY WILLIAM FOLDS AND SONS, 38, GREAT STRAND-STREET. 1821.



DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM

"To the Editor [...]. Sir. as I find the affairs of the 'Birmingham Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb' have been made matter of public discussion, I trust that you will allow me to do that justice to the character of M. du Puget which a long acquaintance with him enables me to do with more certainty and effect that perhaps any one else in this country; and, as I had a principal share in recommending him to the Committee, I feel it due to him, and a pleasure to myself, to place him before the subscribers at large in the same light in which I originally introduced him to the conductors of the Institution.

In the years 1817 and 1818 I was on the continent, and spent some time with the noble-minded Pestalozzi, then at the head of his celebrated institution, for general education, at Yverdon. Then I heard Mr Louis du Puget, who had formerly been for many years a pupil, and afterwards a master, under the venerable founder of a new

and rational system of education, much spoken and of commented, both as to moral character and mental acquirements, and a thorough acquaintance with the peculiar views and principles of his master as to education. [...]

On my return to Ireland. I found that my friends, Lord Viscount De Vesci and Mr. John Synge, who had also spent some time at Yverdon, were endeavouring to introduce Pestalozzi's system of education into Ireland, by founding [...] an institution for the education of the upper classes. After correspondence between me and Mr. du Puget, he was induced to resign his situation, and become one of the masters of this new establishment. [...]

He speedily acquired a knowledge of the English language; and was also able to apply Pestalozzi's peculiar views to all the different departments of instruction that fell to his share. [...]

Last year my friend, M. Humphreys, the head

master of the "National Institution for the Death and Dumb of Ireland" was thinking or resigning his situation, and retiring again to private life. Among the whole circle of my acquaintance, I did not think there was a single person so fit for the situation as Mr. du Puget; and accordingly, though it was a branch of education to which I knew he had never paid any attention, I suggested to him an application to our Committee to succeed Mr. Humphreys. Out of all the candidates for the situation, the Committee selected only two, and out of these two they would have elected Mr. du Puget, to place him at the head of their Institution, but that they succeeded in inducing M. Humphreys to withdraw his resignation before the period of the election came on. The testimonials which Mr. du Puget then produced from all the individuals above-named, as well as for the municipality of Yverdon, and from several gentlemen whom I have not named, were of

the strongest kind [...]. Mr. du Puget spent about three months in the Institution with Mr. H. and I. can testify to the indefatigable attention which he gave to this novel branch of education, every material part of which he soon became master of, as far as one can before being actually engaged in the conduct of a school: and M. Humphrevs would join me in saving, that he derived many new lights and most important hints from Mr. du P. as to several parts of the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, to which his intimate acquaintance with Pestaolozzi's views and his long experience general education. enabled him to bring new aids and new principles. They are at present engaged conjointly preparing for publication a complete and uniform system of education, and series for lessons for the Deaf and Dumb, a work which has never yet been effected, or indeed undertaken in these kingdoms. Each has taken those parts for which his peculiar and acquirements fit him, and the result, I know, will be the greatest service ever rendered in the English language to the Deaf and Dumb. [...] As I understand that some persons have inconsiderately blamed Mr. Du Puget because he found it necessary to

use corporal punishment with some insurgent and refractory pupils, under the sanction of the Committee be it observed. I think it but justice to him to state, that during his residence at Claremont he was both liked and obeyed by the pupils, and further, that during the many years that he was employed as master at the Abbeyleix Institution, I never heard of any complaint being made against him for severity [...]

Further, I must say, that it is a great mistake to think that the Deaf and Dumb should never be subjected to bodily chastisement like other children. Our master, Mr. Humphrey's, who has a peculiar talent for managing children, and has also had many favourable circumstances to assist him in his management, sometimes obliged to inflict severe punishments, and Visiting-Committees also have sometimes found themselves compelled to direct him to use the rod. The experience of every Deaf and Dumb school, as well as of every common school, confirm this.

As a stranger in a foreign land, and a Switzer, far from his country - proverbially beloved - Mr. du Puget met with the utmost kindness in Ireland from those whose names I have quoted,

and from many others; because they thought, as I do, that he deserved their esteem and love as a man, a friend, and a fellow-Christian. As such I commend him. now that he is doubly a foreigner, having left his newly-acquired Irish friends, to the subscribers of the Birmingham Asylum, wishing to them and him a joint blessing in their efforts to benefit the objects of their and my common interest: the Deaf and Dumb; praying them also to remember, that "He who did all things well", and who was the only missionary that the Deaf and Dumb ever had [...] left us an example, that we should follow his steps [...]"

CHARLES
EDW. H. ORPEN, M.D.
Secretary
to the National Institution
for the Deaf and Dumb
of Ireland. [...]
December 6, 1826

Charles Orpen

In contrast to Lord de Vesci, Charles Orpen (1791-1856) endeavoured to apply Pestalozzi's education to an audience of underprivileged and physically handicapped children, especially those who were profoundly deaf and/or dumb.



"You Englishmen were great in your past misfortunes. Have you grown weary of our esteem at last?"

Jean-François Marmontel (1723-1799) : Epîtres à l'Abbé C. de Bernis, sur la conduite respective de la France et de l'Angleterre.

He was a very religious man who, like Synge, was strongly influenced by his Christian faith. He founded the National Institute for the Education of Poor Deaf and Dumb Children in Ireland in 1816 and travelled to the continent in 1817 to visit all such institutions and perfect his system. He visited Pestalozzi's Institute in 1817 or 1818 on the advice of Synge and stayed there for three months. There he noticed the similarity between the method used in his institution and that used in Pestalozzi's. On his return to Ireland he founded the Claremont Institute in Glasnevin, which was the first attempt to apply the Pestalozzi method to the education of physically handicapped children in the British Isles.

On his way back to Ireland from Yverdon, Charles Orpen received the support of William Allen, a Quaker philanthropist, for the introduction of Pestalozzi's methods in Great Britain. He then set about disseminating Pestalozzi's views, particularly as applied to the education of deaf and dumb children, and for this purpose published in 1829 a collection of pamphlets under the title Pestalozzi's system of domestic education practically illustrated, a series of small books conducted on a uniform

plan, and intended to qualify parents, in every rank, for the elementary instruction of their children on the basis of all knowledge, the object of which was presented as follows:

'This series, which is to be prepared and printed under the superintendence of a person, intimately acquainted with Pestalozzi's views, assisted by different eminent individuals, also practically conversant with his ideas, is to be conducted on a uniform and digested plan, – so as to make a complete and consistent whole; – and when perfected, will comprise at least, the following Books, – each practically applying the principles, laid down in Pestalozzi's Works, to the domestic and elementary education of children of every rank, in the basis of all knowledge.

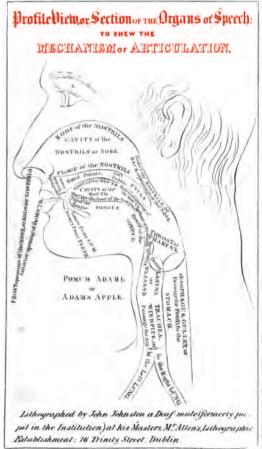
To the corresponding parts will be added brief Appendixes, the first two of which will contain the plan, by which even the Deaf and Dumb can be taught to speak distinctly, and to know what is said, by watching the mouth of a speaker, and this reading the words, with their eyes, off his lips. The latter Appendixes also will further explain the system, upon which alone the Deaf and Dumb can be taught, to read and write a language of words, to understand language perfectly, to read all books, and to write their own thoughts; and will besides apply, collaterally, to the illustration of the education of hearing children, in various branches, such parts on that system, as may be found applicable to this purpose.'

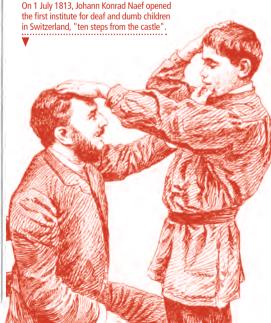
The publications in this series were addressed to mothers, parents and teachers, and gave the public a better understanding of the mechanisms of vocalisation for example.

DOMESTIC EDUCATION; PRACTICALLY ILLUSTRATED, IN A SERRES OF SMARL BOOKS; CONDUCTED ON A UNIFORM PLAN, AND INTENDED TO QUALITY PARENTS, IN EVERY RANK, FOR-

IN THE BASIS OF ALL KNOWLEDGE.

The efforts of John Synge and Charles Orpen to disseminate Pestalozzi's method in Ireland were quickly echoed by the Kildare Place Society, which soon recommended Pestalozzi's method of teaching arithmetic. This method, as well as the method of teaching drawing, was introduced in most of the 1,500 schools of the Kildare Place Society.





William Allen

William Allen (1770-1843), a Quaker philanthropist, was very interested in Pestalozzi, following his meeting with Charles Orpen. About Allen, Orpen wrote the following words to Pestalozzi: he 'is very interested in you. You will be able to count on him - he will help you all he can'. He 'saw the importance of your project straight away - he will be able to influence the public a lot because he has correspondence in all the kingdoms'. (Orpen's letter to Pestalozzi dated March 1817, quoted in Williams, 1965, p. 193 and 194).



"The English are, I think, the most obtuse, the most barbarous people in the world. This is to the extent that I forgive them the infamies of St. Helena. They did not feel them."

Stendhal (1783-1842): Souvenirs d'égotisme, chap. 7.

Allen in fact gathered a committee of public figures in London - of which Orpen was an important member and which also had a branch in Ireland - to raise funds and to prepare the publication of an English edition of Pestalozzi's works. This initiative complemented that of Synge in Ireland, who at the same time published Pestalozzi's Address to the British Public (written at Orpen's request to mobilise the British public), which we reproduce here: > see on pages 36 to 40.

In the same year, 1818, Orpen wrote to Pestalozzi about his desire to receive a copy of his works in German to continue his enterprise; in 1823,



■ William Allen

he wrote to Pestalozzi "I have not yet received the new edition of your works. I regret this greatly" (Orpen's letters to Pestalozzi, written in French from Dublin between 1818 and 1823, quoted by Williams, 1968). Pestalozzi, who was quite old by then, did not send them any of the requested texts and they were unable to complete their publishing endeavour.

Allen did, however, play an active role in the dissemination of Pestalozzi's ideas in Great Britain, especially through his close ties with Charles Orpen, who convinced him in 1818 to found a committee in England to promote Pestalozzi's educational ideas.



James Pierrepont Greaves

It was Synge who led James Pierrepont Greaves (1777-1842) to take an interest in Pestalozzi's work, as well as Charles Orpen, whom Greaves met on several occasions on his return from Yverdon.

Clive Williams (1968, vol. I, p. viii, after Cambell, A., Letters and extracts from the ms. writings of J.P. Greaves (Surrey, 1843)) points out that according to Greaves' biographer, it was Synge himself who placed in his hands a book entitled Life and System of Pestalozzi by an Irish Traveller who met him at Yverdon (there is, however, no record of such a book; this may be a confusion with Synge's A biographical sketch of the Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System). This reading decided him to go to Pestalozzi's Institute in Yverdon to see the Method in action for himself.



James Pierrepont Greaves

1817 is the date most often given as that of Greaves' arrival in Yverdon, Greaves himself wrote to a friend: 'In the year 1817...I was promoted to investigate the work of the venerable Pestalozzi... (and)...straightaway left for Switzerland' (Pollard quoted in Clive Williams,

1965, p. 187). However, it seems that Greaves was still in Britain in March 1818 when Orpen wrote to Pestalozzi that he would leave two or three weeks later in a letter dated March 1818 (cited in Williams, 1965, p. 188). He remained there until 1822 and taught English at the Yverdon Institute and at the teacher training college in Clendy. He also endeavoured to bring English pupils to the Yverdon Institute. On his return to London, he finally began to spread Pestalozzi's ideas in his new position as secretary of the London



"England will always be a sister to France."

Victor Hugo (1802-1885) : Cromwell, acte II, scène 2.

Infant School Society.

James Pierrepont Greaves had a book published in 1827 for the British public entitled Letters on Early Education Addressed to J. P. Greaves, Esq. By Pestalozzi (Translated from the German manuscript), containing thirty-four letters on Pestalozzi's method of educating young children (dated from 1st October 1818 to 12 May 1819), preceded by a biographical introduction to the pedagogue. In his letters, Pestalozzi explains his ideas and his pedagogical method by presenting the values on which his approach is based. This presentation is done in a very progressive way, each letter tackling a different theme in order to present the principles of the Method simply to a public that is not necessarily initiated into these issues.

The quality of the translation is assured by Greaves, who states at the beginning of the book that he subjected it to the scrutiny of some of the most enlightened of Pestalozzi's friends (after Pestalozzi's death) in a foreword to the reader that begins with the words: When the Translator, at the request of his much respected friend, to whom the following Letters are addressed, undertook to revise the manuscript with a view to its publication, he was fortunate enough to obtain from Pestalozzi, permission to make any alterations that might become necessary from the circumstances under which the letters had originally been written.

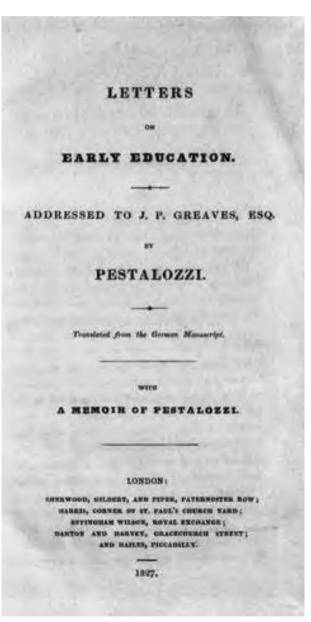
Of this privilege the Translator has availed himself freely - but not more so than he considered himself authorised by the state in which he found the manuscript, and his familiarity with Pestalozzi's views, which the study of his works, and the recollection of the days spent in his society, have tended to produce. However, as he "who might have sanctioned the execution, as he had encouraged the design, is now no more, the Translator has the satisfaction to state, that the following sheets, previously to their publication" have been submitted to the eye of some of the warmest, as well as most enlightened friends of Pestalozzi. [...] London, August 21 1827.'

The first of Pestalozzi's letters, reproduced in its English version, is devoted to the importance of the role of mothers in the progress of education, a theme dear to the pedagogue. > see next page

The press echoed the publication. Some only relayed the news of the publication, such as the *Yorkshire Gazette* on August 18th 1827, *The Examiner* on September 9th or the *Morning Herald* on September 20th. Others offered more extensive articles, such as the *Morning Chronicle* on August 23rd

or the *Morning Advertiser* on August 28th, which evoked the life and work of the pedagogue, making him known to a public that was less familiar with educational issues.

Greaves finally opened a Pestalozzian school at Ham (Surrey) in 1837.



Letters

from Pestalozzi
to Greaves

Yverdun, Oct. 1st, 1818.

My Dear Greaves,

You ask me to tell you, in a series of letters, my views concerning the development of the infant mind.

I am happy to see that you acknowledge the importance of education in the earliest stage of life: a fact that has almost universally been overlooked. The philanthropic efforts, both of a former age, and of our own, have been directed in general to the improvement of schools and their various modes of instruction. It will not be expected that I should say anything tending to depreciate such endeavours: the greater part of my life has been devoted to the arduous aim at their combination; and the results and acknowledgements I have obtained are such as to convince me that my labour has not been in vain. But I can assure you, my dear friend, from the experience of more than half a century, and from the most intimate conviction of my heart, founded upon this experience, that I should not consider our task as being half accomplished, I should not anticipate half the consequences for the real benefit of mankind, as long as our system of improvement failed of extending to the earliest stage of education: and to succeed in this, we require the most powerful ally of our cause, as far as human power may contribute to an end which eternal love and wisdom have assigned to the endeavours of man. It is on this alter that we shall lay down the sacrifice of all our efforts; and if our gift is to be accepted, it must be conveyed through the medium of maternal love.

Yes! my dear friend, this object of our ardent desires will never be attained but through the assistance of the mothers. To them 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, of all the self-denials, and of all the rewards attached to their interesting duties. Let each take an active part in that most important sphere of influence. Such is the aspiration of an aged man, who is anxious to secure whatever good he may have allowed to promote or to conceive. Your heart will unite with his: I feel it will. I shake hands with you, as with one who fervently embraces this cause – not my cause, nor that of any other mortal, – but the cause of Him, who would have the children of his creation, and of his providence, led to himself in the ways of love.

Happy should 9 be, if 9 might one day speak through your voice to the mothers of Great Britain. How does my glowing heart expand at the opening prospect which has this moment filled my imagination! To behold a great and mighty nation, long known for appreciating with equal skill the glory of powerful enterprize and the silent joys of domestic life, intent upon the welfare of the rising generation; establishing the honour and happiness of those who shall one day stand in their place; securing to their country its glory and liberty, by a moral elevation of their children! And shall not the heart of a mother be boud to these goals, in the counsciousness that she too is to have her share in this immortal work?'

Charles Mayo

Charles Mayo (1792-1846) was a Protestant reverend who ran a school in Bridgnorth, Shropshire. His biographer presents John Synge as the one who interested him in Pestalozzi's pedagogy. He resigned from his position when his interest in Pestalozzi's work led him to move to Yverdon in 1819, where he became head of the British colony and taught English, among other subjects. He stayed there until 1822 and then returned to Britain, determined to spread the views of the Swiss pedagogue.



James Pierrepont Greaves

On his return to England he gave many lectures on the subject, one of which was published as *Memoir of Pestalozzi* in 1827, a publication which was relayed by many press organs in 1828, with the statement that 'Dr. Mayo has rendered a most acceptable service to the public in this country by the able, amiable, and well-written statement which is contained in this work' (Morning Herald (London), Wednesday 26 March 1828, p.3). The introduction to this text highlights Mayo's high regard for the pedagogue.

'Some years ago, an Irish gentleman travelling through Yverdon, 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



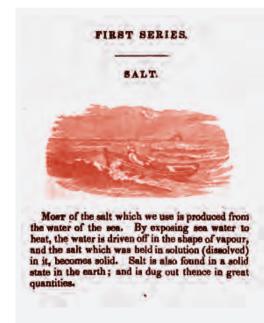
"Everyone needs France, when England needs everyone." Antoine de Rivarol(1753-1801): De l'Universalité de la langue francaise.

in a language not familiar to him, yet was he much struck with the intelligence and vivacity pourtrayed in the features of the pupils. But when 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, an animation and an interest in their employment, which convinced him that a secret had been discovered by Pestalozzi; and he resolved, if possible, to penetrate it. His 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 labours, 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 he lived, and taught, and suffered with his schol-



ars, 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; 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, he would be loved and honoured as he deserves. Three years of intimate connexion 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 hon-

oured me with his friendship, and thanked me for cheering his decline. Not that he needs the support of any other mind than his own; his spirit, tender where others suffer, is lofty and self-sustained when affliction assails himself. He, whose house and whose heart were ever the asylum of the distressed, never looks abroad for an asylum himself. He has tasted the bitterest cup of disappointment, and worn the meanest garb of poverty; but he broods not over his own sorrows; he weeps for others, and his own heart is relieved; he still hopes for humanity, and his own prospects seem to brighten. Neuhof, the same spot that witnessed his first benevolent exertions, now offers him retirement and repose; but his heart is still warmed with the longings of his youth, his eye still watches over the progress of his method; and some of his fondest expectations are kindled by our Infants' Schools. While he looks back on the labours of his eventful life, he sees failure and disappointment successively overthrowing every plan in which he has been engaged; but the same storms that have levelled the parent tree, have scattered the seeds of his principles around. [...]' (p.1-4)



He then established a school on the Pestalozzi model at Epsom, which was moved to Cheam in 1826 to accommodate a larger number of pupils from more affluent classes.

Helped by his sister Elizabeth (1793-1865), he published several books on education in general, including Observations on the Establishment and Direction of Infants' Schools (1827) and Practical Remarks on Infant Education (1837), in which he set out the principles put forward by Pestalozzi.

The methods employed in relation to more specific subjects were set out by Charles Mayo's assistant Reiner in his Lessons on Number (1831) and Lessons on Form (1837). Elizabeth Mayo's Lessons on Objects (1831) and Lessons on Shells (1832) are much criticised by those familiar with the Method for their tendency to formalise the lessons, thus betraying the essence of the Pestalozzi approach.

The Lessons on Objects were, however, widely distributed, as shown by the publication of a ninth edition in 1843, although the first edition dated only from 1831. Clive Williams points out that they could thus be interpreted as the essence of the Method and, in the wrong hands, give rise to particularly distorted interpretations of Pestalozzi's system of education (Williams, 1965, p.162). Each object was presented and then studied in this book, which contains 131 separate lessons divided into five parts and grouping together various objects such as wool, salt, scissors, a feather, hemp, copper, or the five senses. Although the spirit of Pestalozzi's Method did not survive Mayo in his Cheam school, it did in the Home and Colonial Infant School Society, which was set up in 1836 to demonstrate its application to elementary education. The training department of this institution was headed by Elizabeth Mayo, and teachers trained in the Method taught in England but also in the colonies (giving rise, for example, to the Oswego movement in the USA). The syllabus of lessons on education offered to students in training at the Home and Colonial Infant School Society includes, in its first sub-heading, "The Principles of Education as set forth by Pestalozzi' developed in 11 sub-sections (Barnard, 1859, p.32).

LESSON II.

A CUBE OF WOOD.

The cube will convey to the class a good idea of a surface; they will observe that the outside is divided into several parts, and may learn that the boundaries of a solid are called surfaces.

Parts.
The surfaces.
edges.
corners.

Qualities.
It is hard.
light.
solid.
brown.
smooth.
inflammable.
opaque.

the surfaces are flat.

square.
the edges are straight.
the corners are sharp.



Henry Brougham

Henry Brougham (1778-1868) was a Member of Parliament and had a long-standing interest in educational matters. In 1816 he became chairman of the Select Committee on Education of the poorer classes, and his name became associated with the struggle for the establishment of public elementary education in England. In the same year he had studied education in Switzerland on a trip with William Allen (or 1817 if we refer to the year of Allen's trip)



"Good Frenchman when I drink my glass Full of its fire-coloured wine, I think thanking God That they have none in England."

Antoine de Rivarol(1753-1801): De l'Universalité de la langue française.

He was impressed by his visit to Yverdon, even if it was a short one. In 1818 he reported to the Committee on his visit to the continental institutions and he argued that Pestalozzi was taking the principles of his educational system a little too far by not allowing the children to become accustomed to the use of books. However, he kept a certain measure of restraint in this judgement, saying afterwards:

Henry Brougham



I should, however, wish to be understood as speaking with diffidence on this subject from my imperfect examination of it. I understand that a gentleman from Ireland has made it his peculiar study, with the view to introducing it there; and he may, I trust, before long, give

the public an account of it in detail. (3rd Report of Select Committee on Education of the Lower Classes, 3rd-8th June, 1818, p. 197, quoted by Williams, 1965, p. 191).

Clive Williams believes that Henry Brougham is referring to Orpen. Indeed, in March 1818 (on his return from Yverdon) he distributed copies of a letter by Pestalozzi to some educators, including Brougham.

It seems, however, that Brougham, in his attempts to establish a national system of primary education, did not seek to disseminate Pestalozzi's ideas in particular.

Phillip Pullen

Phillip Pullen's interest in Pestalozzi's work was most likely sparked by Charles Orpen.



"All of the English people Shakespeare. He almost made them everything they are in everything."

Eugéne Delacroix (1798-1863): Œuvres littéraires, Journal, 4 avril 1849.

In his thesis, Clive Williams (1965) quotes the contents of a letter from Orpen to Pestalozzi where he tells him about Pullen:

In Pullen, Orpen found a person very much concerned with your methods... (he) has promised to act as secretary to a committee which is to be formed in a few days to have correspondence with you and to propagate your views'. (p.193)

He attempted to apply Pestalozzi's method to the teaching of geography in particular, although he 'offered private lessons to ladies and gentlemen on the Pestalozzian plan in London on subjects including mental calculation, geometry, geography, drawing, English, grammar and writing arguing that it was eminently suitable for the youngest of children' (Pullen, quoted in Elliott and Daniels, 2006, p. 760).

He produced two books for the British public: *The Mother's Book* (London, 1820), a translation of Pestalozzi's *Livre des mères*, and *Pestalozzi's System of Practical Geography* (London, 1822), which closely followed their German models.

His fidelity to the Swiss pedagogue's method was, however, only imperfect. He supported the idea that mothers should not 'begin to instruct their children at too early an age' (Pullen quoted in Elliott and Daniels, 2006, p.

761), following one of Pestalozzi's major principles. This idea is echoed by other pedagogues, including the Scottish pedagogue and philanthropist Robert Owen, for whom it remains one of the foundations of his early childhood school. In their article on the influence of the two great Swiss pedagogues Pestalozzi and Fellenberg on the teaching of geography in Great Britain, Paul Elliott and Stephen Daniels (2006) highlight the convergences between the Pestalozzi method and the one implemented by Pullen in England:

PESTALOZZI'S SYSTEM OF PRACTICAL GEOGRAPHY, SACRED-ANCIENT-& MODERN : CONSTRUCTION OF MAPS. MEASURING DISTANCES, &c. - To which is added .- AN INDEX. Containing the Names of about THREE THOUSAND important Places recorded in the BIBLE, and in Greek and Latin Authors. By P. H. PULLEN, Author of-" THE MOTHER'S BOOK;" and " MENTAL ARITHMETIC." " Nothing will contribute more to the advancement of Geo-graphical Studies, than the Construction of Maps." ENCYCLO. BRIT. 5th Edit. p. 548. LONDON; Printed for and Sold by the Author,
No. 1, King Street West, Bryanston Square; AND BY BLACK, YOUNG, AND YOUNG, 2, TAVISTOCK STREET.

1822

Pullen's procedures were rather conventional, mechanical and repetitive and did not accord well with the Pestalozzian theory outlined in The Mother's Book, nor even the requirement to undertake field observations recommended in the introduction. [...] Pullen followed Pestalozzian geography in recommending that political divisions be 'completely set aside as belonging rather to history than geography' to be examined at a later stage rather than from the outset as was conventional.' (p.762)

Maria Edgeworth and Elizabeth Hamilton

Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849) visited Pestalozzi in Yverdon in 1820, although it seems clear that she had met him before, as she wrote in her correspondence "tell my mother that he is the same extravagant-looking man he was, only seventeen years older". (Hare, A. J.C. (ed.), The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, London, 1894, p. 319, quoted by Williams, 1965, p. 190).



"English women have two left arms."

Antoine de Rivarol (1753-1801): Rivaroliana.



Maria Edgeworth

It was therefore in 1803 that she would have met him, presumably in Paris where she and her father had the opportunity to hear him present his method of education (Colvin, 1979, cited in Martin & Goodman, 2004).

Elizabeth Hamilton (1758-1816) did not herself visit Pestalozzi's institution and, as Martin & Goodman (2004) point out, it is not clear how she came to know his work. However, Russel (1986, cited in Martin & Goodman, 2004) suggests that it was through Maria Edgeworth that she became interested in the work of the Swiss pedagogue, and in 1815 she dedicated her final book to him: Hints Addressed to the Patrons and Directors of Schools: Principally Intended to Shew, that the Benefits Derived from the New Modes of Teaching May be Increased by a Partial Adoption of the Plan of Pestalozzi. This publication is reported in many press organs, thus contributing to the publicity of Pestalozzi "across the Channel". In this text, she presents Pestalozzi's approach emphasises, with remarkable acuity for having

only an indirect knowledge of Pestalozzi and his work, that it cannot be reduced to tools, techniques or even a method, but derives its relevance from the spirit that its creator instils in it.

It is long since the fame of Pestalozzi first attracted the attention of British travellers towards the school in Switzerland, to which he has given celebrity. But of those cursory visitors, though all saw with astonishment the effects produced by his mode of communicating the knowledge of geometry to little children, who, on the strictest examination, were found thoroughly and completely to comprehend the nature of the science, and the meaning of all they had been taught, few thought of inquiring, whether the principle upon which Pestalozzi had proceeded, might not be capable of more extensive application.

Upon farther investigation it however appears, that 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 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 gradually opened, and enabled to embrace a vast extent of knowledge, can only be opened gradually, and by a regular series of efforts. Pestalozzi perceiving, that when one idea upon any subject had been acquired by a child, the idea next in succession was no sooner presented than imbibed and also observing, that when it was attempted to force upon children ideas having no connexion with any that 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 capacity, 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 science he professed to teach, seemed little short of miraculous.

But though it was the proficiency made by his little pupils in geometry that chiefly excited the admiration of the public, the

success with which he applied the same principle to the more important purposes of communicating moral and religious instruction, is yet more worthy of our notice and applause. Pestalozzi dismissed from his service all the excitements of punishment and reward. The habits of the Swiss peasantry doubtless contributed to the success of the experiment, as it cannot be supposed that the children of those simple villagers stood equally in need of strong excitement, as children, who, from their situation, are compelled to associate with depravity in an overgrown metropolis. But making every allowance for the favourable nature of the circumstances, still it must be acknowledged, that such nice notions and constant, practice of moral rectitude; such a complete subjugation of every turbulent and selfish passion; and such cordial harmony and fraternal love, as is asserted to have been exemplified in the school of Pestalozzi, have been rarely exhibited even in situations the most favourable. The means employed by Pestalozzi to improve the heart and dispositions, as they have been described to me by those who have made inquiries upon the spot, seems to be 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, here we can expect to see them generally adopted. The effect resulting from them, as exemplified in this 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. $[\ldots]$

What then does Pestalozzi more than others? He does no more than others intend and desire to do, his instructions are only rendered more certainly efficacious, from his mode of applying them. According to his method, the mind of the pupil cannot be passive in receiving instruction. It is

compelled to work its way to knowledge; and, having its activity properly directed, is led step by step to the perception of truth. Instead of repeating words on subjects so important as to demand the most serious consideration, but too far removed from the ideas which occupy the minds of children, to admit a possibility of their being easily understood, his pupils are made to proceed by a regular process from one idea to another, until the same proposition, which was in the former instance repeated by rote, seems to them the evident deduction of reason. [...]

Wherever the ideas of God are of a nature calculated to excite the emotions of love and gratitude, they will inevitably produce in the disposition a tendency to benevolence. Here, then, we have an explanation of the extraordinary phenomena exhibited in the school of Pestalozzi, where, as we are credibly informed, children of every age seem to be inspired by one spirit of piety to God, and tender affection towards each other, and unparalleled diligence in their pursuits. That these effects are produced without the stimulus of rewards or punishments, will not appear surprising,

when we consider the higher nature of the motives excited by those objects to which the attention was constantly directed. But, however sanguine might reasonably be our expectations of similar success, from pursuing a similar method of instruction, we have, I fear, but little reason to hope that it will ever be generally adopted. Even were persons sent to the school of Pestalozzi to learn from him the art of teaching, unless their minds were capable of taking a comprehensive view of the principles on which he proceeds, they would, on their return, be found only to have acquired a new mode of teaching geometry. Like many of those who have been instructed in Bell's method, or Lancaster's method, they would pique themselves on having obtained a competent knowledge of the theory, while yet so completely ignorant of its essential principles, as only to be able to practise what they have learned, under the concurrence of circumstances in all respects exactly similar to those which prevailed in the seminary in which their little knowledge was acquired.' (Hamilton, 1815, p. 61-70)



Andrew Bell

We note that Dr Andrew Bell (1753-1832), pioneer of mutual instruction schools who met Robert Owen on several occasions, went to Yverdon in 1815 (or 1816 according to various sources) to judge for himself the value of this method, which had become famous in England.

James Guillaume quotes Ackermann's (a former pupil of Pestalozzi's) report on this meeting, from which we quote a few extracts to show how critical Bell was of Pestalozzi's work:

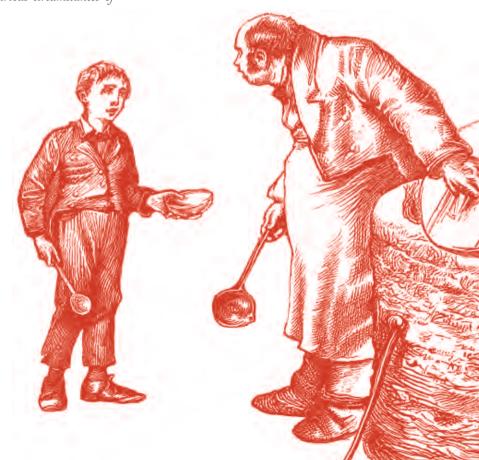
"... nothing seemed to please him; only at the end did the pupils' military exercises win him some approval. [...]

It was impossible to make the pedagogue, who was locked into his system, understand that instead of giving the pupils ready-made formulas and recipes, it would have been infinitely preferable to develop their intelligence and reasoning, so that they could help themselves in the various circumstances of

life, and find the formulas and recipes they would need themselves. [...]

Before we parted, he took me aside and said: I have now got to know your Pestalozzi's method. Believe me, in twelve years' time no one will speak of it; mine, on the contrary, will be spread throughout the world' (Guillaume, 1882-1887)

If Bell knew Owen, it is thus highly unlikely that he would have spoken of Pestalozzi's work in such glowing terms as to encourage the Scottish philanthropist to take an interest in the work of the Swiss pedagogue.



Robert Owen

However, the Scottish pedagogue Robert Owen (1771-1858) met Pestalozzi in 1818 and witnessed the Swiss pedagogue at work in his school in Yverdon. While some have made Owen a disciple of Pestalozzi because of the similarities between their proposals, those who have looked in depth at the circulation of Pestalozzi's ideas and Owen's background disqualify this analysis.



"I think it beautiful that they are only English, since they don't need to be men." Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778): Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse.

In her book *Pestalozzi*, *The Man and His Work*, Kate Silber points out the differences between the two educators and writes:

'Owen, having abandoned the Bell-Lancaster method of instruction as wholly inadequate, had evolved, it appears independently of Pestalozzi, a more human method of education than that of his fellow-countrymen, coming in many respects close to that of the Swiss reformer.' (1960, p.283)

The two men only met once and it seems that they never had an epistolary exchange (Owen, although mentioned very sparsely in Pestalozzi's correspondence, was never written to personally). However, the two pedagogues met through Pictet (Silber, 1960, p.283). Guided by Pictet, Owen went to Yverdon to visit Pestalozzi's Institute in 1818 during a trip to Europe where he also visited the schools of Father Girard, Fellenberg and probably Pastor Oberlin.

Owen is rarely mentioned in Pestalozzi's work and the latter never mentions their meeting. In his article on Pestalozzi in F. Buisson's *Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*, James Guillaume writes 'The illustrious Robert Owen also visited

Pestalozzi in Yverdon in 1816 [sic], as did Henri Brougham; but we have no details of either visits'. Owen, for his part, gives a brief account of this visit in his memoirs:

'Our next visit was to Yverdun, to see the advance made by Pestalozzi – another good and benevolent man, acting for the benefit of his poor children to the extent of his knowledge and means. He was doing, he said, all he could to cultivate the heart, the head and the hands of his pupils. His theory was good, but his means and experience were very limited, and his principles were those of the old system. His language was a confused patois, which Professor Pictet could but imperfectly understand. His goodness of heart and benevolence of intention were evident in what he had done under the disadvantages which he had to encounter. His school, however, was one step in advance of ordinary schools, or the old routine schools for the poor in common society, and we were pleased with it as being this one step in advance, for the rudiments of common school education for the poor, without attention for their dispositions and habits, and without teaching them useful occupation, by which to earn a living, are of little real utility.' (Owen, 1857/1977, p.177 du volume 1)

This autobiography, which Owen wrote in the evening of his life, contains this sole reference to Pestalozzi's work. It should be noted that at no point does Owen state that he was aware of the Swiss pedagogue's work before meeting him, which might suggest that there is no a priori link between their pedagogies. We notice from the out-

set the somewhat condescending tone he uses to talk about what he observed in Yverdon, even if he is laudatory about Pestalozzi himself. A more properly literary study of the Scottish pedagogue's autobiography, moreover, reveals a man who is very satisfied with his own achievements and quite critical of those of others: he says, for instance, of his early childhood school 'the infants schools which I invented and introduced into most successful practice were the first practical step ever taken towards the introduction of a rational system for forming and governing the human race' (Owen, 1857, vol.1, p.241). Owen's account of this meeting may not, therefore, match the impression that what he witnessed in Yverdon actually made on him. These observations are also those made by Kate Silber in the same context:

'The only record of Owen's visit to Pestalozzi in 1818 is that given in his Autobiography. This was written when Owen was an old man and contains many slips of memory apart from the fact that he, even at the time of his European journey, was far too convinced of the excellence of his own scheme to appreciate those of others. The tone of his report is, therefore, slightly condescending. Indeed, wherever he went, he urged his ideas on his hosts and, at least according to his description, left them admiring disciples of the 'new views'. Pestalozzi for his part also believed his method to be the best and would not have accepted suggestions from others. Besides, he was an old man at the time, and his institute was in the throes of an unfortunate struggle. This is an important factor which has to be kept in mind when the reports of English visitors are being assessed.'(Silber, 1960, p. 284-285)

It is in this context of study that Kate Silber points out that Robert Owen constructed his pedagogy seemingly 'independently of Pestalozzi', and one



can find the same analysis in Clive Williams' work on John Synge and the spread of Pestalozzi's ideas in Ireland and the UK:

"...though the spirit at New Lanark might be described as Pestalozzian, Owen appears to have been independent of Pestalozzi in the evolution of his ideas. Owen did not visit Yverdon until two years after he began his experiment in infant education and his interpreter had such difficulty with Pestalozzi's « confused patois » that little conversation was possible. Owen's visit to Pestalozzi was very cursory and the brief reference to it in his autobiography suggests that he was not greatly impressed by what he saw. He was, however, impressed with Pestalozzi's « goodness of heart » and « benevolence of intention », also with Pestalozzi's methods of sense-training and mental arithmetic which he later introduced at New Lanark. [...] The primary educational significance of Owen's school derived not so much from its demonstration of Pestalozzian methods as from its example of an educational scheme in which a spirit very similar to Pestalozzianism was successfully achieved.' (Williams, 1965, p. 164)



"If the world knew all the injustices which these Englishmen, so proud of their guineas and naval power, have sown on the globe, there would not be enough insults left in the human tongue to throw in their faces."

Jules Verne (1838-1905) : L'Etoile du Sud, chap. 5. N.B. : C'est un vieux Boër qui parle.

However, Owen was able to see the value of the method of teaching arithmetic that he had observed during his stay in Yverdon. Although he seems to have remained sceptical about Pestalozzi's work as a whole, he was so impressed by it that he decided to replace the method previously used in New Lanark with that of the Swiss pedagogue as soon as he returned from the continent in 1818. If Owen was as self-satisfied and critical of the work of others as his writings suggest, this can be seen as a significant compliment to the Pestalozzi Method.

In his book on the New Lanark educational institutions, Robert Dale Owen, the founder's son, writes of the teaching of arithmetic:

Arithemetic has hitherto been taught on the system which commonly prevails in Scotland. The elder classes however, are just beginning a regular course of mental arithmetic, similar to that adapted by M. Pestalozzi of Iverdun in Switzerland. In this, as in every other department of instruction, the pupils are taught to understand what they are doing; the teacher explains to them why the different operations, if performed as directed, must be correct; and in what way the knowledge they are acquiring, may be beneficially employed in their adult life.' (1825, p. 85)

18th century: an English school



As a conclusion ...

We have endeavoured here to introduce those who were among the first to make Pestalozzi's work known in Britain. J. A. Brown's 1986 thesis British pestalozzianism in the nineteenth century: Pestalozzi and his influence on British education shows, beyond the identification of these first vectors of the dissemination of Pestalozzi's ideas and work. the effectiveness of their influence on education across the Channel (in the United Kingdom) throughout the 19th century, even though it often remains discreet. We will end by borrowing a few words from the conclusion of his work: 'Towards the close of the nineteenth century Pestalozzi's ideas had attained general acceptance, yet the extent of his contribution was still underestimated. In 1899 Sir Joshua Fitch commented

that

"we do not realise the real debt we owe to Pestalozzi or how many movements of the past and of our time were really owing to his initiative and his personnal interest." (The Times, January 5th 1899, p.8)

Marie Vergnon



"England is an empire, Germany a country, a race, France is a person."

Jules Michelet: (1798-1874): Histoire de France, Tome II, Livre III.



To sum up

By way of dessert, or a small digest - this is a unique opportunity to honour Franglais! - here are two excerpts from texts that have been brought up to date as they appeared in the booklet accompanying the exhibition "Pestalozzi and his time: the child at the dawn of the 19th century", which was held in Yverdon from 14 May to 15 July 1977.



"All England gasps with battle. The man is as if frightened. Look at that red face, that strange look... You'd think he's drunk. But his head and hand are steady. He is only drunk with blood and strength. He treats himself like his steam engine, which he loads and feeds to excess, to get all the action and speed it can give."

Jules Michelet:(1798-1874): Histoire de France, Livre VI, chap. 1.

The English in Yverdon

When, after the Napoleonic Wars, travel in Europe was possible again, many Englishmen came to Switzerland, as Byron and Shelley did in Geneva (1816).

At the same time, famous English sociologists visited Pestalozzi in Yverdon to compare their educational methods to his. The parliamentarian Henry Brougham, for example, was responsible for raising the standard of popular education and therefore referred to Pestalozzi. The Quaker philanthropist William Allen formed a committee in London to promote Pestalozzi's ideas. The founder of the co-operative movement, Robert Owen, had the same ideas as Pestalozzi on the education of small children.

Many English families lived in Yverdon to enable their children to follow Pestalozzi's teaching. In Champittet, Mrs Hillyar's house was the centre of attraction of this "English colony".

Some young people stayed for a long time in Yverdon to study the "Method" and then teach it in their homeland.

Popular education in England was governed by the church and used the Bell-Lancaster system. The introduction of so-called "progressive" methods remained a private affair and was limited to private schools and other educational institutions. One of Pestalozzi's most important followers was James Pierrepoint Greaves (1818-22) in Yverdon): a "weird saint" who advocated a simple life and charitable work. He encouraged the Prime Minister to send pupils to Yverdon, following the example of Prussia, so that England could also benefit from this genuine educational method. However, he received little support. He also tried unsuccessfully to promote a translation of some of Pestalozzi's works and a short autobiography.

Greaves did, however, succeed in obtaining correspondence from Pestalozzi on the methods of educating small children. These *Letters on early education* (addressed to J.P. Greaves Esq. London 1827) exist only in an English translation by C.F. Wurm (J.H. Pestalozzi, Sämtliche Werke, Kritische Ausgabe, Band 26, Zürich 1975) and remain the only coherent work on this subject. Greaves was later appointed

Secretary of the Primary School Association (1824) and these schools were freer in spirit and more natural in their methods than other schools for older pupils.

Perhaps the best known of Pestalozzi's followers was Dr Charles Mayo. He stayed in Yverdon with his pupils for three years (1819-22). During this time, instruction was given in three languages. Dr Mayo then founded a public school (Cheam School) based on Pestalozzi's method and with young teachers who had been trained in Yverdon. In the 1830s and 40s, there were several institutes in the south of England with former pupils of Pestalozzi who applied his educational methods. After Mayo's death, the Cheam School adapted his methods to other public schools for the wealthy. The school still exists today and boasts Prince Charles as a former pupil.

Mayo's sister Elisabeth tended towards "object lessons", which she explained in several books and which she applied in one of the first English courses (Grays Inn Road Training College). From there, this method was transplanted to America by an experienced teacher and from Oswego N.Y. to Japan.

Thus, Pestalozzi's principles were first used in England in nursery schools, before reaching the public school system by trained teachers.

There is no doubt that Pestalozzi had influence on English education, but this is generally little known and even less acknowledged! The followers of Pestalozzi thought that they could best serve his cause by using his methods without insisting on his name to avoid conflict with the Anglican Church. Pestalozzi was considered too liberal in England, because he based his theory on the principle that "man is good". This explains why the impact of

his ideas has remained largely anonymous in England today, partly because of historical and ideological reasons and partly because there is no English translation of his main work, with the exception of "Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt".

Knowledge of Pestalozzi's political, philosophical and economic convictions is lacking and his teaching method, which had been understood too strictly, was replaced by others.

Pestalozzi, as he actually was, is little known in modern England. He is mainly referred to in connection with the villages that bear his name.

Kate Silber Dre. Phil., université d'Edinburgh.

The Duchess Georgiana of Devonshire, who stayed at the Baths of Yverdon during the summer 1792



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The Address of Pestalozzi to the British Public

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 their mothers, printed in English at Yverdun in 1818.

'9t is a lamented and well known fact that the majority of the population of every country labour under a load of ignorance in spite of the many attempts that have been made to remove it, that ignorance and error, still continue to hold their sway, and to bind in chains of darkness, the intellectual powers of the human mind.

When I reflected upon the depravity of age and the continuance of crime, it seemed surprising to me, and almost impossible to conceive, how this evil could arise, I was naturally led to conclude, that some of the great fountains, from whence the streams of human

Cultivation flow, were impure and corrupted at their source.

The task which 9 charged myself with was to attain a knowledge of the adulterated spring, which 9 have done, and am now labouring to apply an antidote to the widely

diffused poison.

It is to this end that I have devoted my whole time and attention, for this purpose. I have endeavoured to trace nature to her source, and sought to find in her, the means, when properly applied, that will effectually relieve the powers of the mind from their Egyptian State of Bondage, that will awaken the slumbering faculties, that will put the whole energies of the soul into a state of action, and will cause to germinate and fructify those seeds of Knowledge which the God of all Life has implanted in man, and finally convert a physical corporal subject, into a rational thinking Being.

The means which I come forward to offer, is not a system of Education, warped by the sophistry of Art, but one founded on the most simple Laws of nature. After a Life spent in the most minute researches and careful examination of elementary principles, I have the gratification to see the means that I have adopted, which are faith and love themselves brought into action by natural simplicity, succeed in many points, not only in my own Establishment, but in that of numbers of others that have adopted and practiced my

system.

I also do declare that my want of uniform success, arises from not having sufficient executive means, to carry these principles into execution, and not in any way whatever, it is to

be attributed to error in the principles themselves.

My only wish now, is to have my method generally investigated, and when thoroughly known, (which is not most assuredly the case at present) and if found worthy, put into execution, so that my brethren of all Nations, may benefit from it, that a union of sentiment may take place, and by its true application, each Man may be taught that faith

and love are the only sources from which his actions, pure and uncorrupted as they ought to be, can flow. My principles simple in their nature and easy in their execution, have no other tendency than to produce this end, and what is effected in my Establishment, 9 suppose may be produced in any other of this description if directed in conformity to these principles.

In my researches after knowledge I became convinced of the necessity, of developing the intellectual, moral, and physical faculties of the soul, by a simple and untrammelled system of Education. I have been fully convinced that in no place, it is so likely to succeed, and to be so well executed, as when practiced, among the members of every private family, for the domestic circle, is essentially and admirably suited, to produce the necessary development of our innate faculties.

The proof which I allege is this, that the mutual dependence, the wants and the relations of the domestic Union are the sacred elements of all the intellectual, Moral, and Physical activity of Man, and thus become cite basis of all that he ought to learn, to know, to understand, and to execute.

The reciprocal love, faith and confidence, which unite the members of the family, the Father, Mothers, and children to each other, are the Divine means, by which the development of our faculties, are made to advance in the harmony, and equilibrium, which are necessary to give children those religious, and moral feelings which can alone insure to them, the true and durable blessing of intellectual enjoyment.

With the views I have taken I feel myself convinced that the whole success of the education of the people depends on the good state of the family circle. I consider also that the spirit and manners of the times have so perverted the condition of private society that the generality of Parents and other members of the family are almost entirely destitute of those mental acquisitions, that manual ingenuity, of that knowledge, and that aptitude to apply their knowledge, which is indispensably necessary to enable them to profit by the advantages which the domestic circle presents to them for the instruction of their children. I do therefore declare that it is of the utmost consequence that we search attentively, investigate profoundly, and put actively into motion, every means that will inspire Fathers and Mothers with a sense of their duty, of its importance to the whole human race, and try to excite in them the wish and the will to take advantage, of the well suited and precious aids which their United Circle procures and offers to them, for the aiding in the development of their children's intellectual faculties. Also to provide means for enabling both Parents and Relatives to acquire a knowledge, and an ability to communicate both mental, and manual attainments, which they are in constant need of, and by this means render themselves capable to exercise that enlightened and solid influence so indispensable in the instruction of their children.

It is therefore very essential that all means of instruction and development which the

people are in Want of should be brought to the utmost perfection, for it is obvious to me that the only way to introduce general improvement into the ordinary plan and concerns

of domestic life, is to generalise and simplify all the principles of education,

I see that it is impossible to attain this end without founding the means of popular culture and instruction upon a Basis which cannot be got as otherwise than in a profound examination of Man himself; without such an investigation and such a basis, all is darkness. I am satisfied it is only by so doing we can succeed in arriving at the means of true instruction, and give them their full direction and accomplishment, that is to say, it is the only way by which we shall find out how to conduct a child to such a point of interior moral and intellectual perfection, that he shall be capable, of teaching his Brothers, and Sisters, or any other child, what he has himself learned, and even to communicate it to them in the same degree of perfection, he has attained it himself, by the instruction that has been given to him; Indeed there cannot be a doubt, that this is the only method of arriving at complete development. The only means calculated to afford us hopes of directing to their true end, the powers with which human nature is endowed; In a word it is the only possible manner of rendering knowledge universal, making 'man acquainted with himself, and placing him in peace and prosperity.

Full of the enthusiasm inspired by the importance of these extended views, the necessity of which I have been taught, by an active life in the career of Education. I lately availed myself of the only resource which was left me, in my confined situation, and circumstances, to provide the necessary means to put my plans into execution. I sought to interest Germany, to receive a new Edition of my writings, intending to employ the result of the subscription for a commencement of the organization, and for future support of the

objects, which so strongly interests my heart.

This subscription has succeeded to a degree that enables me to consecrate 50,000 Livres Tournois, to an unalienable Fund, the Interest of which shall never be employed, but for the following purposes, first, for a further and perpetual investigation of the principles of Education, and of the means of continually simplifying its method more and more, as it is thus we shall facilitate the mode of applying them, and also enabling Parents themselves to put them into practice, even in their private houses. — Secondly for the formation of good Instructors, and Instructresses, whose endeavours, may contribute to the introduction of better means of Education, throughout all the world- Thirdly for the organization, of one or more, experimental schools, for Elementary popular Instruction. Fourthly, to insure a well-directed /solicitude, to perpetuate my researches, with a view, to give the highest degree of perfection, to a book of domestic Instruction, for the People, especially, to that intended for Mothers.

But the Interest of the Capital which is thus devoted to the above objects, is certainly insignificant, and much too little, for a prompt, and solid commencement, worthy of all these views. Therefore I do not hesitate to address myself, to the sentiments of Philanthropy, with which, at this moment, the British Public, are so generally animated, and to seek in them, some means of augmenting this. Fund, the results of which, may become so important to Humanity, and as I know the sentiments of the British Nation, upon this point, I make with confidence, the proposition to have my Works translated into their language, pledging myself to employ all that may be subscribed for the English Edition of these Works, to the same unalienable Fund to which. I have devoted all the produce of the subscription on the Continent.

Englishmen! assist my plans by favouring this subscription, I do not seek it for myself, but for Humanity, for the purpose of assuring to Posterity, the accomplishment of the object, to which I have devoted the labours of my whole Life; and to prove this I will take measures the most sure and satisfactory to the British Public, before the payment of any, even the smallest part of the subscription Money, that the sums which may be subscribed with this view, shall not even enter into my possession, but shall be deposited in the hands of well-known Men of respectability, either in Great Britain, or in Switzerland, as may be hereafter determined, who will secure to the subscribers in an indubitable manner the application of this money to the unalienable Fund of the Establishment above mentioned, to increase which I now have recourse to their assistance – English men! my confidence in leads we still further, to give for these objects in my poverty a Sum Which I well know is not very great, but which is nevertheless almost the entire of my personal Property.

I do not doubt, but there will be found in the United Kingdom many persons who will be willing, and anxious, to contribute to this Fund, by adding some small donations to mine, but upon this point also, I would wish to be understood that the whole of the Product of the subscription for the English Edition of my Publications, shall be appropriated without reserve (excepting of course the expenses of translating printing &c.) to the augmentation of the unalienable Fund of the Foundation - In like manner as to the produce of the Donations 9 may receive, for the speedy fulfilment of my views, some such arrangement as the following shall be adopted -- If it amounts to anything considerable 9£10th. probably will be devoted to the increase of the same Fund, while the remaining 1£10th of these Donations shall be directly applied to the execution of the objects above stated, to which I have pledged myself, the revenue of these Funds shall be for ever destined, and it will be obvious that I shall have need of this at least, in addition to the Interest, to afford me the means of giving to this Establishment, during my life, a prompt and extensive be giving suited to its great purposes . Englishmen! I may add that the final objects proposed to yourselves, by your Bible Society, and all the Institutions in your Country for Public Education, are so intimately linked, with the good, moral, intellectual, and economical condition of the People, their fireside circle, their domestic and social intercourse, that 9 do not doubt, that the worthy Members of these admirable, and noble Institutions, will at

once perceive the harmony, and reciprocal influence of their views and mine, in all their force, and verity, and will both as Individuals, and Members of these Societies, as far as may be consistent with their fundamental Laws, take a lively part, in favouring my views, by

contributing to these objects.

Inhabitants of Great Britain! I please myself with the hope that you will not disdain, to accept of the offer 9 am going to make, that I will admit into this institution every year without any additional or ulterior recompense, some young Lads, selected from the English Poor, in numbers proportionate to the Interest of the Money which I may now receive, from their Country, and that I will put it in their power to prove to you, when they return to their native Land, my gratitude for your benefits, by introducing in it, the means of popular Education, which they shall acquire through the continual and earnest endeavours of Pestalozzi.'

THE ADDRESS OF

PESTALOZZI

THE BRITISH PUBLIC Soliciting them to aid by subscriptions his plan of preparing

SCHOOL MASTERS AND MISTRESSES FOR THE PROPLE

MANKIND MAY IN TIME RECEIVE

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF

INTELLECTUAL INSTRUCTION

MOTHERS.

. Ls. Fiva, son Printer, Yverdon.

Yverdon, 14 September 1818. Switzerland. Who are we?

The Pestalozzi Documentation and Research Center is a Foundation. It is supported by the Association of the Pestalozzi Center Friends and by the municipality of Yverdon-les-Bains. It is led by a Counsil, composed of 18 people, all volunteers. It is open by appointment.

A scientific Council, composed of 11 professors from various Universities and College, also voluntarily assists the Foundation Council, ensuring a scientific approval.

Our goals:

- arousing and maintaining public interests for Pestalozzi and his work, as well as for the school institution in general,
- promoting and hosting scientific discussion about Pestalozzi's life and work,
- · improving and spreading knowledge about Pestalozzi's life and work, especially in French language,
- developing and keeping lively relations and collaborations with any institutions having interests and goals similar
 to ours, particularly in domains related to pedagogy and pedagogy history.

Our activities:

- Providing abundant documentation on Pestalozzi to researchers, student and to the genereal public,
- Welcoming visitors from all around the world, groups, classes: Presenting Pestalozzi's life and work and guiding tours in the museum chamber [pas sûr du "chamber"...],
- · Answering the various question asked on the Web,
- · Editing text of or about Pestalozzi, particularly works translated into French language,
- Organising events arousing reflection about history of pedagogy and school,
- Regularly update the website www.centrepestalozzi.ch.

Our plans:

- · Developing an active cultural life,
- · Hosting colloquiums and temporary exhibitions,
- · Creating an index for the eight correspondence registers (about 8'000 letters), accessible on internet,
- · Improve our relations with touristic institutions, to provide there our services,
- · Deepening our contact with our partners in the context of Héloïse,
- Adapting our communication and information means to the actual technologies.

Being part of the Cultural route porject of the European Council Héloïse, the Route of the European pedagogues

Our Center had joined the Héloïse Association, which will submit a certification request to the European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) in Luxembourg. This process is a window on the European plan and requires from each site to meet expectations on 3 topics:

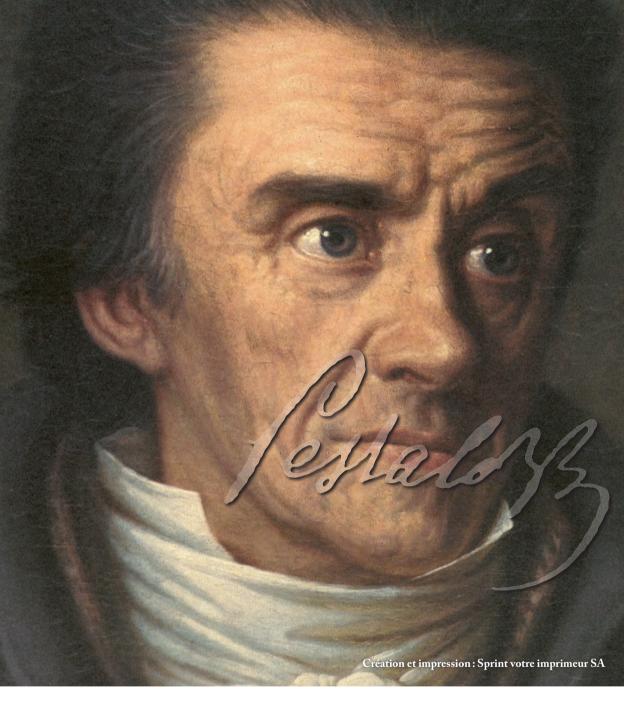
- · Research and development on intangible and tangible cultural heritage,
- Sustainable tourism,
- · Cultural mediation to the general public and youth.

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Partenaires







