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PESTALOZZIAN INFLUENCES ON FEMALE EDUCATION: THE WORK OF PESTALOZZI'S FEMALE ASSOCIATES IN SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

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PREFACE

The idea to start researching Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi must be credited to my first professor in Educational Studies, Dr. Susan Laird. I had asked her to help me select a subject that would employ my understanding of German or Russian. When Dr. Laird suggested researching Pestalozzi—the Swiss reformer—I vaguely remembered studying about him in the courses I completed for my Bachelor's in Education in my native Russia. My memory could not recall the many connections to Pestalozzi's merits except for one that kept coming to mind—philanthropist.

I began my research on Pestalozzi in the fall of 2007—my first semester in the Educational Studies program. At the beginning, my goal of digging into history was not completely clear to me. I started by reading English sources written about Pestalozzi and immediately discovered that most English-speaking authors did not use the German sources, including primary sources, to conduct their research. Moreover, the historical texts written by American authors used abridged versions of the translated Pestalozzi's works. His most popular writings such as *Leonard and Gertrude* was abridged to 150 pages from the original 1000. I did at last discover a few books written in English that were either translated from French or German or at least were written by English-speaking authors who could speak either one language or the other, or both languages. These works include: *Pestalozzi: his life and work* (1890) by Rodger de Guimps, *Pestalozzi and the foundation of the modern elementary school* (1901) by A. Pinloche, *Pestalozzi and the Pestalozzian theory of education; a critical study* (1952) by Mary Walch, and *Pestalozzi: the man and his work* (1973) by Käte Silber. These historical sources

were supported by the primary evidence; they highlighted details that I could not find in the English-based history texts. For instance, in Guimp's and Silber's biographies of Pestalozzi I read for the first time about his female associate Rosette Kasthofer. This discovery sparked my interest toward the work of women who associated their educational practice with Pestalozzi's philosophy. I started connecting the dots—the reformer's childhood was spent almost entirely under the guidance of women. As a consequence, the mothering, or the mother's teaching formed his theory, and his method proved successful when a nurturing environment and a loving atmosphere were in place. I developed additional questions for my investigation: How far-reaching was the influence of Pestalozzi's educational reform? What role did it play in the United States? How much did his reform affect women?

I learned from both German-and English-written sources that there were no regulations regarding teachers' qualifications. Universities did not offer degrees to prepare teachers for their professions. Under the guidance of these "teachers," students learned using rote memorization. Harsh physical punishments were administered to those who failed to commit the assigned texts (usually of religious nature) to memory. Teachers widely used this approach in the United States and Europe prior to the educational reforms at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These reforms owed their roots primarily to Pestalozzi's theory and practice and were first successfully adopted and implemented in Prussia and other German lands (Raumer 1846; Cubberley 1920). These schools were exemplary to

European and American educators who realized that there was a need for reform in their countries.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century many educational journals and magazines in the United States described Pestalozzian ideas and their implementation in Prussia and the German lands. The primary sources regarding educational developments at the beginning of nineteenth century America extensively covered the subject of Pestalozzi's reforms in education. These sources included widely read educational journals such as *the Annals of American Education* under the editorship of William Woodbridge and the *American Journal of Education* edited by Henry Barnard. Woodbridge visited Pestalozzi's establishments prior to 1830 and translated Pestalozzi's works to present them to a U.S. audience of educators and parents via the publications in his journal. Henry Barnard also went abroad and published a number of Pestalozzi's works. Barnard described his methodology and the work of the Swiss reformer's associates. In 1837 representatives of the U.S. Board of Education decided to devise a similar plan to Prussia's common schools system following the suggestions of Woodbridge and Barnard as well as other progressives (Mann 1957).

Meanwhile, the women's movement in the United States was gaining strength. Pioneers of women's education sought new ways of teaching that would make their practices successful; they adopted Pestalozzian progressive ideas during this time and implemented them in their teaching. Many of their students found inspiration in this learned approach to instruction. They carried them as far as the Indian Territories and the western frontier where they finally applied them.

In this way, Pestalozzian methods were being disseminated through the growing number of women's seminaries that were "under the radar" of the "formal" educational establishments for men. The ways of teaching and the correlation thereof to the Swiss reforms were not taken into proper consideration during the writing of the history of the Pestalozzian movement in the United States (Fowler 1859; Fiske 1866; Cubberley; Downs 1975).

Familiarity with Pestalozzi's works in German allowed me to identify the gaps in the multiple sources written on Pestalozzi. First, this literature demonstrated that in regard to European and U.S. applications of Pestalozzianism, his method was often misunderstood and distorted (Walch 1952). Second, in relation to the historical development of Pestalozzianism, women's roles (his wife Anna Schulthess, his helper Elizabeth Naef, and his daughter-in-law Anna Custer's) were instrumental to Pestalozzi in the development and application of his theory (Silber & Hager 1993). Their merits were either omitted, or mentioned without any particular significance. Third, the new wave in women's education fueled by Pestalozzi's theory and practice at Yverdon, specifically the teaching and school management by women like Betty Gleim in Germany, and Rosette Kasthofer and Josephine Stadlin in Switzerland, were not given any credit in the multitude of literature works written on Pestalozzi in German, and even less in the translations. In some instances, there was no sufficient amount of information except for a short reference for some of the women's schools that were influenced by Pestalozzi, like Margarete Fellenberg's *Mädchenanstalt* (Wittwer Hesse 2002). Fourth, there is a misconception regarding the use of the "true" Pestalozzian method in the United

States. While Sheldon's Normal School (later known as Oswego) Movement is singled out as the major wave of Pestalozzianism, the transmitter of Pestalozzian ideas to Sheldon's schools was Margaret Jones, who practiced a reduced object teaching version imported from England (Rogers 1961). A few decades earlier in the United States, prominent male educators of that time had direct contact with Pestalozzi in Switzerland and observed Prussian developments in education that flourished with the establishment of Pestalozzian schools. Pestalozzianism was instrumental in the progress of the common school as it provided a successful Prussian model for school reform (Barnard 1859). At the same time, Pestalozzi's reforms in education and a new approach to teaching formed a strong foundation for newly developed female seminaries. Pioneers of women's education in the United States used progressive ideas to reform their teaching practice while gaining more support from the public for the establishment of better female education (Emerson 1822; Bass 1937; Capen 1947).

Some of the written themes that I develop in my dissertation gradually molded into shape as I became more familiarized with the primary and secondary sources authored by Pestalozzi and his contemporaries. Other ideas derived their roots from the collaborative research I conducted with my professor and adviser Dr. Joan Smith. Some of these works first appeared in the following publications: "Pestalozzi and His Significance in Democratic Education (Laubach 2010) in the *Journal of Philosophy and History of Education* and "Educating with Heart, Head, and Hands: Pestalozzianism, Women Seminaries, and the Spread of Progressive Ideas in the Indian Territory" (Laubach & Smith 2011) in the *American Journal of*

Educational Historians. The last article "Transatlantic Dialogue: Pestalozzian Influences on Women's Education in Early Nineteenth Century America" (Laubach & Smith) has recently been accepted for publication by the *American Journal of Educational Historians*. These articles contain the majority of my ideas about Pestalozzi and his influences. I have paraphrased excerpts from these articles, and with permission from the journal editors, I expand on them by adding more details and explanations for my claims.

This research primarily targets American educators, and therefore highlights the points in the study of Pestalozzianism and its influences that have been missed in the U.S. history of education. Historical accounts of Swiss education have focused primarily on Pestalozzi's achievements, and the achievements of his male associates in and outside Switzerland. My research will add a new chapter to the study of Pestalozzi by revealing roles and contributions of his female associates in Switzerland, the German lands, and the United States to women's movements and the common school movements in their native countries.

Another goal of this research is to add legitimacy to educational practices of women pioneers who aspired to excel in teaching by using progressive ideas in education in the early nineteenth century. It aims to refute the common belief that Pestalozzianism became widely recognized for the first time in the latter part of the nineteenth century; instead, this research brings to light the practices of female progressives, who were largely influenced by Pestalozzi's ideas at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and their successes that fueled the common school movement in Switzerland and the United States. The research on Pestalozzi's Swiss

female associates has been very limited in scope and has not been covered widely in the English-written literature. However, this gap is not due to the absence of primary sources. In the "Introduction" to Karl von Raumer's *Erziehung der Mädchen* (*Girls' Education*) (1988) originally published in 1853, Ruth Bleckwenn notes that in the recent years there have been multiple attempts to fill in the gaps of the history of female education. However, the difficulty of completing these historical accounts rests in the availability of sources that were either lost or forgotten over time in the male-dominated educational fields. For instance, one of the most valuable sources for my research—*Jahrbuch der Schweizerfrauen* (*Almanac of Swiss Women*) (1915)—by a Swiss female historian Emma Graf is not available through the library system. The primary source *Die Niedererische Töchter-Bildungsanstalt zu Iferten im Kanton Wadt in der Schweiz Ankündigung* (*Announcement of the Niderers' Female Educational Establishment in Yverdon Canton Wadt in Switzerland*) (1836) by Kasthofer and Niederer is another valuable source describing Kasthofer's female school. It is owned by two libraries worldwide and cannot be acquired through Interlibrary Loan. Fortunately, the libraries that own these items fulfilled my requests by emailing me scanned copies. I was able to access some of the primary sources through Google Scholar. These are *Blicke in das Wesen der weiblichen Erziehung* (*Insights into the Essence of Female Education*) (1828) by Rosette Kasthofer and *Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts: Ein Buch für Eltern und Erzieher* (*Education and Teaching for Female Sex: A Book for Parents and Teachers*) (1810) by Betty Gleim. These books demonstrated Pestalozzian influences on female education as represented

by these female associates of the Swiss reformer. Within these texts my research endeavors to illustrate the connection between the essential points in Pestalozzi's philosophy such as women's influences on children's development, their roles within the family, civic roles and, finally, the implications of their influence on the education of future generations. Thus, it offers a different perspective of the understanding of Pestalozzi's methods, and the application thereof, which were made effective through women's ideas and practices. Women associates of the Swiss educator presented their interpretations in their writings, thus giving us a blueprint of the implications of Pestalozzianism in the development of women's education and the rise of common schools.

Chapter one is a short biography of Pestalozzi that introduces the reader to peculiarities of his childhood, school years, and the beginning of his college career. This chapter serves as the background to the later developments of the Swiss innovative methodology and the influences thereof. Chapter two continues to highlight Pestalozzi's life with the emphasis on his career. This chapter covers the development of his methods in their practical application at Stans, Burgdorf, and Yverdon and consequently illustrates the spread of his progressive ideas. Chapter three investigates the role of women in Switzerland and the German lands in the growth and application of Pestalozzi's method in female educational establishments. Their contributions to the dissemination of Pestalozzian methodology through their writings are also discussed. Chapter four serves as an exposition of Pestalozzian influences on Prussian, German, and American education. Influences on Prussia and Germany are particularly important since

these countries were the first and most successful in applying Pestalozzi's method. These countries also served as examples for American progressive educators who sought to improve their own system of education. Chapter five is the conclusive chapter of this research, and it investigates the spread of Pestalozzianism in the United States through the work of pioneers in female education. Their influences contributed to the wide expansion of Pestalozzian progressive ideas not only in the northeastern part of the United States but also in the western frontier and the American Indian territories.

DESIGN AND METHOD

This study fits within the design of intellectual history. The study addresses the development and implications of Pestalozzi's ideas during his lifetime and shortly after his death. It is based on the written interpretations of the Swiss reformer's theory represented by his contemporaries who studied at his educational establishments, those who associated themselves with his philosophy of teaching, and historians who have performed extensive research on the topic. Allan Nevins points out that "[history] touches the realm of ideas at more points than almost any other study." He goes on to say that history is in contact with and influenced by all of the great ideas of any civilization that create the uniqueness of any age" (Nevins 1962, 299). Similarly, in *Historical Analysis* Beringer claims that intellectual history "always involves the transmission of the thought of the past, usually by means of literature or the arts" (Beringer 1986, 15). This type of research identifies with intellectual history as it deals with the spread of Pestalozzianism. The history of Pestalozzianism has been associated with multiple influential male associates of the reformer who had been practicing and spreading his methods. However, history texts describing the spread lack essential parts pertaining to women's thoughts and influences in the dissemination of Pestalozzi's ideas. As this research shows, the discourse on the Swiss educator should not continue without women's voices such as Anna Schulthess-Pestalozzi, Anna Fröhlich-Pestalozzi, Betty Gleim, Rosette Kasthofer, Josephine Stadlin, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon. These women had an

interest in Pestalozzi's method, used it in their teaching and contributed to its spread in Europe and in the United States.

The making of history is a multifaceted process that involves various means for understanding the time period and the implications of issues that a historian interprets and relays onto the reader. This study is situated in the period of Romanticism following the Enlightenment and therefore deals with the complicated outcomes of these contradictory movements. According to feminist historian Sandra Harding, the Enlightenment strengthened the already existing dichotomy in the intellectual sphere between men and women (1991). With its emphasis on reason and science, it contributed to the extended period of women's exile from these domains. However, many women during this period began to challenge their social and political roles. Pioneers of female education associated with progressive and Pestalozzian ideas found ways to overcome the barriers set by Enlightenment ideology and managed to successfully prove their intellectual capacities as educators. The Swiss philosopher spoke in defense of these aspirations as his theory was based on the convictions and beliefs in women's mothering and teaching potential. Women's rights and common school movements, the beginnings of progressivism and Pestalozzianism were mutually beneficial developments in the history of education and women's history.

The outcomes of this study are based on the interpretation of primary sources written in German and English. Literary analysis will be the basic method used to derive evidence such as women's practices of Pestalozzian methods, spread of Pestalozzianism through women-teachers, women's interpretations of

Pestalozzi's philosophy, and the significance of Pestalozzianism in Prussia, the German lands and the United States in the early nineteenth century.

This dissertation aims to fill in the gaps of previously conducted research regarding Pestalozzi's theory and practice or praxis. First, this research describes the Pestalozzian method that is inseparable from the biography of his life, character, and career. The Swiss reformer's method has often been misunderstood and therefore denied its significance when treated independently from Pestalozzi's personal life. Second, the intent of this research is to reinstate the role of women in the practice of the progressive teaching methodology. Although their contributions are essential for Pestalozzi's contributions to the field of pedagogy, the work of the reformer's female associates has been overlooked and devalued. Third, this research provides a broader view of the events that fueled the early nineteenth century women's movement and common school movement. Fourth, this research puts a renewed emphasis on the study of Pestalozzi's methodology much of which is still applicable in today's education. Primary and rare sources written in German assisted in the materialization of this work. Of equal importance were the English primary sources pertaining to education in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century such as journals, magazines, newspapers, and even personal correspondence.

ABSTRACT

Pestalozzi, the Swiss educational reformer of the early nineteenth century, changed the landscape of education for centuries to come. His praxis spread to European countries and to the United States. The reformer's influence has been primarily explored in men's education. This research aims to bring to light the unexplored field of Pestalozzi's influence—female education through the work of Pestalozzi's female associates such as Rosette Kasthofer and Josephine Stadlin in Switzerland, Betty Gleim in Germany, and Emma Willard, Zilpah Grant, Mary Lyon and Catharine Beecher in the United States. The first two chapters trace the development of Pestalozzi's character, views and methodology. Chapter three treats the subject of female education in Switzerland and the German lands and the work of female Pestalozzians. Chapter four illustrates the implementation of the Swiss system of education in Prussia and other German lands and the adaptation thereof by the United States. The conclusive chapter demonstrates the effects of Pestalozzianism on the American female education and its spread.

CHAPTER I

PESTALOZZI'S BIOGRAPHY: FROM A SENSITIVE BEGINNING TO PUBLIC RECOGNITION

Early Years

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) lived during the time of Enlightenment and Romanticism that, along with his personal experiences, shaped his character and his way of thinking. Switzerland, the country of his birth, consisted of thirteen independent cantons. The country's political history could be characterized by great freedom in trading, political accommodation to the majority of citizens, and a rather accessible way to acquire citizenship. In the seventeenth century, however, Switzerland became more constrained by the growing power of the aristocracy. In time the social mobility that people had previously enjoyed became more limited. In the midst of these rising injustices, Heinrich was born into a middle class family. His father Johann Baptist Pestalozzi (1718-51) was a reputable surgeon and an oculist who inherited from his ancestors the right of citizenship. Citizenship allowed the Pestalozzis some privileges, such as the right to vote, to hold a public position, and access to free education. His mother Susanna Hotz of Richterswyl (1720-96) was a well brought up lady from a respectable family residing near Zurich. Heinrich was one of seven children born in the first eight years of his parents' marriage. Johann Heinrich, his elder brother Johann Baptist and his sister Anna Barbara were the only surviving children after the death of their father in 1751 (Guimps 1890, 1).

The death of the family provider brought financial difficulties that would be hard to overcome without careful economic planning. Understanding this consequence, Heinrich's father had asked family servant Barbara Schmidt to stay with his family and manage the household. Barbara promised to remain with the Pestalozzis for as long as they would need her. Widowed Susanna and servant Barbara (Babeli) struggled to save in order to survive. To get the best prices, Babeli often went to the market three times a day, made the children change their clothes as soon as they came home, and forbade the children "unnecessary" physical activities. At the same time, Babeli managed to maintain the status of a respectable family by spending money on generous tips and the upkeep of family traditions. These financial difficulties created circumstances harmful for the physical aspect of the children's development. For example, in his recollections, Pestalozzi described their life as follows:

> When we children wanted to be off somewhere and there was no particular reason for us to go, Babeli would stop us, saying: 'Why do you want to go and spoil your clothes and shoes to no purpose? See how your mother goes without everything for your sakes, how saving every farthing for your education.' But of herself, of what she did for us, of her continual sacrifices, the noble girl never spoke. The economy in the house was not allowed to interfere in any way with the family traditions, and the money devoted to alms, gratuities, and new year's gifts was out of all proportion to our personal expenses (Pestalozzi 1944 v. 10, 486; Guimps 3-4).

Babeli helped by maintaining the household with great devotion. She turned down better job offers and a suitable marriage proposal in order to keep the promise she made to Johann Baptist to remain with the family. Thus, the faithful servant stayed with the family for forty years until her death (Silber 1960, 4).

Although Heinrich recalled the shortcomings of his upbringing, he always remembered with gratitude Babeli's devotion, love, and personal sacrifice. His

experience helped him understand the perspective of the poor whose preoccupation with financial circumstances often led to harmful parenting techniques. As an alternative for parents, Pestalozzi suggested to encourage children to be watchful for their clothes while playing. He demonstrated it in the example of Gertrude's mothering technique in his famous novel *Leonard and Gertrude* published in 1781 (Pestalozzi 1944 v. 1 & 2).

The image of his mother, Susanna, is a recurring motive in Pestalozzi's recollections. The descriptions of Pestalozzi's mother delineate a picture of a strong, loving, self-denying and sacrificing woman who at the same time was incapable of taking charge of the household with the scarce means she had left (Morf v. 1 1868; Guimps; Silber 1973). Babeli, skilled in economic matters, stayed beside her. Morf and Guimps refer to Susanna's mothering abilities in vague terms:

> Susanna Pestalozzi was a gifted woman and an admirable mother. Having been well brought up herself, she now thought of nothing but her duty to her children, and it was undoubtedly the educational advantages of Zurich that made her prefer this town to the pleasanter and easier life she might have led near her brother at Richterswyl. … [Johann] Pestalozzi passed his childhood in an atmosphere of love, devotion, and peace, of rigid economy and of noble generosity (Morf 69; Guimps 2-4).

This description does not provide any specifics of Susanna's exceptionalities as a mother. However, it is clear that she provided the children with a secure home environment, an education and all the necessities of life. Morf notes that one of her most important characteristics was her spirituality that deeply penetrated mother- and sibling-relationships in the house. The children grew up in the atmosphere of Susanna's "trust, faith, [and Babeli's] self-denial, abstinence and sacrifice" (69). These experiences found their expression in Pestalozzi's philosophy on moral development where mother's care and devotion became fertile grounds for the

seeds of trust and love. The Swiss philosopher further attributed the initial unfolding of morality and religion in his life to his mother's influences (Pestalozzi, Lohner & Greaves 1924; Morf 70).

Although the sources describing Pestalozzi's mother are very limited, we can gather enough evidence to conclude that Susanna had a strong nurturing side to her character. She was the only person Heinrich could trust with the most important matters in his life. Susanna, in turn, knew her son's character well enough to help him make decisions. When Heinrich proposed to a lady who was eight years older than he was, his mother was the first to know. Perhaps understanding his immaturity and weaknesses, she supported him fully in this matter. Pestalozzi's future bride found a new mother in the face of Susanna. In her letter to Heinrich she stated that she "did not know even a shade of mother's kindness and tenderness" until she met Susanna (Rappard 1961, 9). Susanna's influences in Pestalozzi's early and later life made a tremendous contribution to the unfolding of his love of humanity, especially for the poor (Delekat 1968, 71).

Pestalozzi's family life, so strongly supported by the love and care of his mother, substantially contributed to the development of his character traits such as sensitivity, emotionality, spirituality and a sense of justice. However, this development was short of the experiences needed for the acquisition of social and practical skills. Therefore, it was not a surprise that Pestalozzi later named work and social intercourse the two missing aspects essential to children's early education (Silber 5). This lack of socialization earned Heinrich the nickname "Harry the Fool" during his school years. Babeli was no help because she did not

seem to understand children's social needs. He also did not acquire any practical skills such as personal business management that later would be the primary contributing factor to the ongoing failures of his establishments (Morf; Guimps; Silber).

From Pestalozzi's point of view, these issues would not have arisen had his father been alive to teach Heinrich his knowledge and practical experiences. For example, at eighty years of age, Pestalozzi regretfully recalled the lack of the paternal guidance in his life, i.e. the development of practical skills as well as manly and physical strength (Pestalozzi v. 10, 484). The result of the dominant women's influence was Heinrich's sensitivity that in turn helped him relate to other people's misfortunes. During the visits to his grandfather's village, Höngg, located three miles away from Zurich the young boy often witnessed the life of the poor and their unfortunate circumstances (Guimps 7). Grandfather Andreas Pestalozzi (1692-1769) was the village pastor who dedicated his life to serving the poor. During the time Heinrich spent with his grandfather, the boy learned about the peasants' lives and their sufferings. Heinrich realized that oppression was the reality for the majority of the people in the country. His awareness combined with his own personal experiences, gave him a desire to find a remedy for the injustices he witnessed. The boy's feelings on this topic were deeply embedded within him as noted by Guimps:

> [t]his life of active charity and sacrifice, corresponding with the boy's deeper feelings, and appealing strongly to his emotional nature, soon became his ideal and his ambition; and he made up his mind to be a pastor like his grandfather. It was therefore decided that he should study theology (7).

College Years

Pestalozzi's sense of patriotism, civic responsibility, and sympathy for the oppressed developed further while he studied philology and philosophy at the Collegium Carolinum in Zurich. During the time of his study this institution had highly distinguished professors, one of whom was Johann Jacob Bodmer (1698-1783). Bodmer greatly influenced young Petalozzi. By the time Pestalozzi entered the Collegium Carolinum, Bodmer had been teaching at the College for 50 years and was particularly skilled at teaching Swiss history and politics. Being an advocate for the wellbeing of his country, Bodmer awakened in his students a sense of patriotism, love for their country, and an interest in their past. By teaching about antiquity, "he set forth an example of freedom and justice, of simplicity and self-sacrifice for the common weal. 'Virtue' was the keynote of his moralizing lectures" (Morf 76; Silber 7).

Although historians single out Bodmer's influence as the primary factor in Pestalozzi's development as a patriot during his college years, the atmosphere created by all professors made a tremendous impact on students. The students "came to despise wealth, luxury, and material comfort, and cared for nothing but the pleasures of the mind and soul, and the unceasing pursuit of justice and truth" (Guimps 10). Pestalozzi and his friends took these teachings to heart and exercised them by sleeping on the bare ground covered up with nothing but their clothes and limiting their diet to bread and vegetables (10). These experiences, however, did not prepare Pestalozzi to face the harsh reality of poverty later in his career:

> The spirit of the public teaching in my native town, though eminently scientific, was calculated to make us lose sight of the realities of life, and lead us into the land of dreams.

> … We had decided to live for nothing but independence, well-doing, sacrifice, and love of country, but we were without the practical knowledge necessary for reaching these ends. We were taught to despise the external advantages of wealth, honour, and consideration, and to believe that by economy and moderation, it is possible to do without most of the things considered essential by ordinary middle-class people. We were beguiled by a dream, to wit, the possibility of enjoying independence and domestic happiness without having either the power or the means… (Pestalozzi v. 10, 498; Guimps 10-11).

Lack of practical experience for Pestalozzi, however, dated back to his early years and the influences of home education. In college, the student observed his professors and truly aspired to the ideals of their philosophy (Morf v. 1 75-6). For example, when the lack of improvements for female education had become a more urgent issue, the professors supported Ms. Gossweiler by founding a higher educational establishment for future mothers in 1768.[1] The most influential of Pestalozzi's professors—Bodmer—"donated his house and a substantial sum of money to this cause" (Morf v. 1 75). This example provided a glimpse at the progressive influences during the Swiss educator's college years that undoubtedly left an impression on his career. Being especially sensitive to such aspirations, he was eager to put them to test in his future practice.

Pestalozzi's biographers agree that the reformer was detached from the "realities of life" in many ways such as having practical abilities and common sense (Morf v. 1; Guimps; Silber). At the same time, he had a deeper understanding of the social dynamics in the poor communities than most of his classmates. This understanding was a result of his experiences of both urban and rural life. Pestalozzi knew that Zurich residents had the privileges of free education, and citizens had the right to vote and to hold a position in a public office. People in

[1] Ms. Gossweiler taught at Usteri's school also known as school for mothers and homemakers. It was the first school that concentrated solely on the practical training of women. More information on Usteri's school is provided in Chapter III.

rural communities, like that of his grandfather's struggled in poverty, lacked civil rights and were not allowed free trade. As Pestalozzi learned in college, it had been hard for noncitizens to acquire citizenship for the past two hundred years, and as a result the power became more condensed in the hands of the privileged. This situation made the difference between urban and rural communities even more distinct. To Pestalozzi and his college community the worsening situation of the oppressed called for change (Morf v. 1 79-85; Silber).

In 1765 Bodmer formed the Helvetic Society (*Helvetische Gesellschaft*). The most enlightened students of the College Carolinum became its members. They met weekly to discuss essays by its members on history, education, politics, and ethics. These meetings and discussions contributed to the spread of liberal ideas among the students. Soon after the establishment of the Helvetic Society, its members realized the need for an outlet for their ideas. Johann Caspar Füssli and Johann Caspar Lavater started editing a newspaper *Der Erinnerer* to spread their progressive views, and Pestalozzi became a leading contributor.[2] They called for political and social changes by publishing the column that was entitled *Wishes*. This was the only style permitted by the strict Zurich censorship for the expression of one's hopes or even demands. Many of the ideas expressed in *Der Erinnerer* were fueled by Jean Jacques Rousseau's philosophy for improvement of social conditions and education, specifically *The Social Contract* (1762) and *Emile or on Education* (1762). In tune with Rousseau's views, members of the Helvetic Society

[2] The German noun *der Erinnerer* has several translations into English such as "memorial" and "reminder." The verb *sich erinnern* means "to remind oneself" or "bear in mind." Thus any of these translations as well as the combination of the corresponding English terms do not transmit the exact meaning of this word.

published their views often opposing the ruling aristocracy. Most of Pestalozzi's wishes or aspirations addressed morality and education of the common people:

> I [wish] that some one would draw up in a simple manner a few good principles of education intelligible and useful to the roughest townspeople and peasants; that some generous people … would then make it possible to give away this pamphlet for free or for a single shilling. I would then have clergymen distribute it to all fathers and mothers, so that they might bring up their children in a rational and Christian manner. But perhaps this is asking too much at present (Pestalozzi v. 5, 6).
> I wish that all who work with their hands, all whose lives are strict, frugal, independent, and republican were looked upon as the pillars of our liberty, and held in more honour and high regard amongst us (11).

These hopes illustrated Pestalozzi's desire to see home education improve among the common people. Although the term "rational" hinted at Rousseau's philosophical views, it also was a reference to Pestalozzi's experiences with Babeli's restrictions from physical activity. By "rational" he probably meant being informed of the ways to bring up children in a healthy way, beneficial for their proper development. The term "Christian" reminded him of the home environment that his mother filled with the highest feelings of religious expression.

In these early writings Pestalozzi's ideas began to take shape while emerging from the synthesis of his recollections and theoretical knowledge acquired in college. Familiarity with Rousseau's ideas on politics, morality, and education helped the Swiss philanthropist reinforce his hopes for the regeneration of rural communities. Rousseau's emphasis on nature made possible the connection to nature and rural areas which had already won over Pestalozzi's heart as a child. However, the fascination with Rousseau was short-lived. In *Schwanengesang* the author described his admiration for Rousseau's philosophy as another dreamlike state, an answer to his troubles that (he was now convinced) took roots in his unfit early childhood education. He stated: "As soon as *Emile* came

out, my dreamy nature was taken in the highest degree of enthusiasm by this, the likewise highest degree impractical book of phantasy" (Pestalozzi v. 10, 500). Before the Swiss innovator comprehended the shortcomings of Rousseau's philosophy he set on the path of trial and error to prove the success of the new educational methodology. The educator eventually learned that most of Rousseau's ideas would fail in practice, however, with the encouragement of Rousseau's utopia he created a new theory of education. Pestalozzi's sensitive and easily impressionable nature motivated him to later deeds that changed the field of education forever (Hager 1975).

Marriage and Life in Neuhof

Meanwhile, Pestalozzi's life was going through a dramatic change. Among his friends was Caspar Schulthess from a prominent family in Zurich. Caspar introduced the young intellectual to his sister Anna. She impressed Pestalozzi with her progressive views on education and expressed her support for natural education based on Rousseau's ideals. Anna was well educated and already as a child "understood and enjoyed both the intellectual and emotional pleasure of the study of literature and the fine arts" (Guimps 22). She was from a wealthy and well-connected family whose standing and education involved contacts with the intellectual and upper class—interactions which she handled with ease (Morf 100).

Anna enjoyed the atmosphere of the liberal circle of patriots consisting of Pestalozzi and his friends. In this circle the future reformer and the noble woman seemed to have a special connection—besides a common interest in Rousseau's

philosophy and their close relations with Caspar Schulthess; Heinrich and Anna shared the friendship of Bluntschli who was at the time deathly ill. This link was especially important as Bluntschli deeply cared for his close friend, knew his personality and was worried about his vulnerability. He often shared his impressions and judgments of Pestalozzi with Anna so that she was aware of his shortcomings before they became engaged. Before his death, Bluntschli forewarned Pestalozzi:

> Pestalozzi! I am dying and you will be left alone. I want to discourage you from starting any career in which you might suffer from your own goodness and trust. Find a quiet career in which you will run no risk. Do not take part in any important undertaking without having at your side a man who, by his cool and quiet judgment and knowledge of men and things, and unshakable fidelity, may be able to protect you from the dangers to which you may be exposed (Pestalozzi v. 10, 501).

The death of this deeply caring young man in 1767 made the bond between Heinrich and Anna stronger than ever. They began to date. Anna was eight years older than her fiancé and the differences in their financial standings at first prevented them from dating openly. Instead, they would correspond and meet secretly. However, after two years of dating, Anna's parents finally gave in and allowed their union (Pestalozzi v. 10; Guimps; Silber).

The couple must have made an odd impression. Anna was a "good-looking, well-to-do, educated, and capable" woman (Silber 11). With the exception of his intellectual capacities, Pestalozzi stood out as a complete opposite to his wife. Guimps describes her chosen one before their marriage and settlement in Neuhof as follows:

> [He was] small and ugly. His health, never good, had been broken by work and study, and the doctors had advised him to take a long rest in the country. He was entirely careless of his appearance and was, indeed, incapable of dressing properly; he was clumsy and awkward in everything he did, and in his absentmindedness often forgot part of his dress. He was, in short, without any of those qualities which are supposed to inspire a woman

> with liking for a man. But Anna saw deeper. "Such nobleness," she said, "such elevation of character, reach my very soul (Morf 101; Guimps 24).

Silber confirms that Pestalozzi came across as an "eccentric" and Bieber describes many anecdotes from the Pestalozzis' life to emphasize the contrast between the man and wife (Bieber 1831, 87; Silber 12). But however unfit the public found Anna's husband, she always supported him and remained devoted to him. She rescued the entrepreneur multiple times from his financial troubles, helped him teach at his first school in Neuhof, edited his writings, and provided an ongoing moral support either through her presence or correspondence (Silber).

Both Anna and Heinrich were naively inspired by the idea of living together out in the country and putting their ideas on education into practice. Pestalozzi wanted to combine teaching with agriculture and decided to acquire experience from Rudolf Tschiffeli who had been successful in using new agricultural methods like fertilization in farming. However, the innovator was so eager to start his experiment together with Anna, that he left his internship with Tschiffeli before the end of the year to start looking for an affordable piece of land. This he found near village Birr, and thus decided to settle there (Morf 102).

With the financial help of his mother and Anna's family, Pestalozzi started his agricultural enterprise in 1769 following their marriage. The newlyweds were enthusiastic at first. Heinrich worked in the fields and supervised the building of a family house most of the time. However, at the very beginning of the enterprise Pestalozzi made a mistake of entrusting the management to a very unworthy man, Merki who had earned a bad reputation in the neighborhood. Being new in town the young entrepreneur was unaware of his reputation and continued relying on

his services until the agricultural experiment was no longer sustainable (Guimps). Additionally Pestalozzi blamed his naiveté and lack of practical skills for the failure of his project (v. 10). A more objective view of the situation points to a number of factors that added to his failure, such as Pestalozzi's reliance on unworthy people, land that was hard to cultivate, and the retraction of financial resources by Anna's father upon learning of his difficulties. In spite of these circumstances, Neuhof agricultural experiment managed to last for about three years (Morf 126; Guimps).

In 1770 Anna gave birth to their son, Jean Jacque or as they called him Jacobli. From his early childhood, Jacobli freely experienced nature and the lack of restrictions in the Neuhof environment. Following Rousseau's educational philosophy, his father insisted that he would not learn any subjects until he was ready, and the parents allowed him to do as his nature required. Pestalozzi remained true to these beliefs until 1775 when he decided to start teaching poor children. Until then "the poor child, who was the subject of all these experiments, and to whom we perhaps owe the Pestalozzian method, paid dearly for them" (Guimps 48). For example, at the age of eleven Jacobli still could not read or write. Additionally, Pestalozzi was disappointed in the lack of his son's preparation for the future life. The educator realized that instruction could not be entrusted to the work of "blind" nature. Instead, education was in the hands of teachers. At the age of fourteen Jacobli was sent to school in Colmar and afterwards to an apprenticeship at a commercial firm in Basle. He never seemed to develop normally and unfortunately he passed away at the age of thirty due to ill health (Guimps; Krüsi 1875; Silber).

Although many scholars like to point out Rousseau's influence on Pestalozzi, it is only true for the beginning of his educational endeavors (Walch; Downs; Heafford 1967). The unfortunate experiment with his son proved to him that Rousseau's system did not yield the results it promised, and his first educational experiment with groups of children confirmed this finding. The main difference between Rousseau and Pestalozzi was in their approaches to educational theory—Rousseau's being more theoretic and Pestalozzi's being based on his practice:

> There is a strange contrast between the men Rousseau and Pestalozzi. Rousseau was a voice and nothing else. Everything that he did tended to lessen the influence of everything that he wrote. But Pestalozzi taught mainly by action. In him the most interesting thing is his life (Morf xv).

At the end of 1775, the reformer started his Neuhof experiment with the opening of an Industrial School for the Poor (Guimps; Krüsi 21; Silber).[3] He welcomed poor and abandoned children to his establishment where they learned the crafts of local production such as weaving and spinning. Children also learned arithmetic and catechism by repetition while they worked during the day. In the evenings, boys were responsible for gardening while girls were sewing and cooking (Silber 22). The educator's original idea was to provide instruction in exchange for labor—in this way the pupils would financially sustain Neuhof and learn the school basics along with vocational skills. The children showed good results after the first year and Pestalozzi enthusiastically stated:

> More than a year's experiment has convinced me that now that the first difficulties have been surmounted, there is nothing to prevent my plan being carried to a successful issue. I have proved that children will thrive and grow on the very simplest diet, if properly varied.

[3] Kuhlemann and Brühlmeier date the beginning of Pestalozzi's industrial school back to 1773 (2002, 25).

> … I have proved that it is not regular work that stops the development of so many poor children, but the turmoil and irregularity of their lives (Guimps 56).

The teacher was eager to evaluate his enterprise as being successful, but once again he underestimated the financial side of the matter. The school was not yet financially self-sufficient, and it continued to exist by receiving some financial support from Anna and other sponsors. It was becoming obvious that it would not be self-sustainable.

The decline in the function of the Neuhof establishment did not prevent the reformer from continuing to develop his ideas. Pestalozzi's observations were ripening into a plan of education for the poor as well as school management. For example, at the beginning of 1777, he proposed admission of children aged eight to nine years. According to his plan, children should be instructed for six years. He then provided a calculation of what a child would learn with his or her labor arguing that the students could sustain the school. A year later he offered a glimpse on the organization's enterprise (Pinloche 1901, 23). The proposal was radical as it involved a completely new approach to educating the poor. It also entailed reorganization of the school management.

Neuhof provided a model for Pestalozzi's proposal while the employment of both men and women was the example of the reformer's progressive views. The management and care of his establishment was entrusted to Madelon Spindler, of whom Pestalozzi spoke highly (Pilonche 23). Other women taught weaving, spinning and working in the garden (Guimps 64-65). Unfortunately, references to the staff at Neuhof are limited to the information provided above. We can assume, based on the employment of both women and men—with the leading position

entrusted to the woman—that Pestalozzi considered both men and women to be capable of teaching.

The most reliable and respected Pestalozzian scholars' published in the nineteenth century such as Morf and Guimps's did not address the important influence and help of Anna Schulthess-Pestalozzi at Neuhof. Yet her faith and dedication to her husband proved to be essential to the survival of the establishment for a number of years. According to Silber, another respected biographer, Anna had an "insurmountable amount of work ... on her shoulders. She guided girls in the tasks of the household, in the kitchen, in the bedrooms, in knitting, sewing, laundering and patching. Also, they had to help plant and become proficient in gardening" (Silber & Hager 1993,150-1). Anna was especially skilled in spinning and during these lessons girls sang songs while their teacher tried to turn their minds to God. Besides managing the household and the workers, she was also responsible for extensive bookkeeping and the management of the students' accounts (Silber & Hager 151).

Despite her aristocratic background, Anna was raised to be responsible, skilled in practical female household tasks, and business management. At first, in order to lead this enterprise she took her strength from the belief in the humanistic ideology that she shared with her husband. However, after the ongoing failures of her husband's enterprises and as she came to the realization that she could never rely on Pestalozzi's abilities as the family provider, she finally faced the harsh reality of her marriage. She turned to God and in her faith she found strength to continuously support the entrepreneur and the ideas they mutually

cherished. She also became fond of the children, and it helped her carry out her tasks necessary to facilitate the fulfillment of their goals (Silber & Hager 150).

Anna's responsibilities grew as her husband began to write. She was responsible for corrections of multiple manuscripts (Silber & Hager 152). Her editorial work was probably extensive as Pestalozzi's writing style was hard to read. Besides the rewriting of her husband's works, Anna wrote letters following his dictations. She also took out long passages from the books that he intended to read (Silber & Hager 152). All in all, Anna had done such a tremendous amount of work to assist her husband in his endeavors, that he could hardly imagine his functioning without her. For example, in a letter to Anna's siblings Pestalozzi stated: "If my wife comes home tonight, I will be sending you thanks in my next letter. If she does not come tonight, I will have to wait to express my thanks and start to vilify you for holding her for so damn long" (Silber & Hager 152). Thus Anna did everything in her power to sustain the Neuhof establishment including its financial rescue. However, her doings were not enough to battle the unmanageable expenses and unpredictable circumstances.

The school continued its existence for five years, finally yielding to financial burdens (Pestalozzi v. 10). During these years, it accumulated about forty students who learned with varying degrees of success. Most students showed talents in different areas, including artistic inclinations (like drawing and music); some adjusted well to the curriculum and some refused the challenge of everyday work and study (Silber). Pestalozzi describes some of his pupils as follows:

> Barbara Brunner, of Esch (Zurich), 17; admitted three years ago in a state of utter ignorance, but very intelligent. Now she spins, reads, and writes fairly well, likes singing, is principally engaged in the kitchen (Guimps 63).
> Henry Vogt, of Mandach, 11; has been here three years, can weave, is beginning to write, works hard at French and arithmetic, is exact and careful in all he does, but he seems cunning and deceitful, suspicious and greedy; has good health (63-64).
> Friedly Mynth, of Bussy, near Aubonne, lived afterwards at Warblauffen, 10; has been here six months; she is real weak and incapable of real work, but is clever in drawing, and has very artistic tastes. Inclined to fun; does nothing but draw (64).

These three accounts (of the total of thirty seven) offer a glimpse at the spirit of the school. Children of ages varying from four to seventeen had different abilities and talents. For all, good health was the prerogative that could ensure their survival and success in the labor market in the future. However, physically weak students were not denied placement at Neuhof and, similarly, dull students were also given admission (65). According to Guimps, the school resembled a family where all were welcomed and accepted, as dear children to a loving father (65). Some of the students, however, did not always realize the benefits of the Neuhof environment. They escaped as soon as they received their Sunday clothes but some of them returned, this time with a better understanding towards philanthropic ideals at the school (Pestalozzi v.10).[4]

While the Neuhof curriculum was heavy with manual training, other subjects such as reading, writing, language learning, and arts were not ignored. At the end of the fifth year of its existence, Neuhof showed enrollment of about forty students, each of whose inclinations and talents the Neuhof principal recorded in his letter to potential school sponsors (Guimps 63-64). Pestalozzi understood the

[4] Upon entering the Neuhof establishment children received free Sunday clothes that they could wear to church. Most of them did not have means and were dressed very poorly. With the encouragement of their parents these children went to Neuhof to receive a free set of clothes. Soon thereafter, they were back on the streets begging with their parents.

reality of the Industrial Revolution and the change the society had to undergo. He admitted:

> But, however much I felt that my institution required this, I was no less convinced that every vocational training which did not provide the individual with a commensurate cultivation of the head and the heart would not only be inadequate but would be unworthy and would degrade him to the status of one slavishly trained merely for making a living (Gutek 1968, 147).

With this in mind, the Swiss reformer seized every opportunity his fortune provided to destroy the existing myth of the *natural* dullness of the poor. He endeavored to convince the ruling class that the poor should be given opportunities to learn and become autonomous beings capable of further intellectual development and skills to become financially sustainable. The reformer tried to provide various learning environments to his students so their education would enable their survival in the changing world. However, soon after reporting its successes in 1778, the school started to decline. Three primary reasons for the school's downfall are discovered when evaluating its functions. First, there was an increase in enrollment, which was hard to support financially. Then, there were complaints from the parents who no longer could use their children for work or begging. These parents created multiple obstacles to the school management. In the meantime sponsors got discouraged from continuing their support. Finally, as a consequence of the second, the public started losing interest in the establishment. Pestalozzi's original plan to sustain the school by the labors of children who learned cotton weaving and gardening failed because of the quality of their production. In 1780 the Neuhof educational establishment gave in to financial burdens (Morf; Guimps; Laubach 2010).

Roger de Guimps would call Pestalozzis' first attempt to serve those in need with education "the heroic struggle" that ceased to exist in 1780. After "resources and credit alike being exhausted, an enterprise to which the husband and the wife had devoted their last strength and shilling, it had to be finally abandoned" (Guimps 68). Both Heinrich and Anna were discouraged after multiple attempts to save their establishment. Anna became ill and could no longer attend to her duties while Pestalozzi himself "disheartened, awkward, and worn out in mind and body, was hardly able to provide the barest necessaries"(Guimps 69). Right at this time when the Pestalozzis were in need just as much as the children they were trying to rescue, they received help from a noble but common woman, Elizabeth Naef.

Pestalozzi referred to her in German as Magd meaning "maid" in English or more specifically "a young woman from a common family." Elizabeth, barely twenty years of age, came to the rescue of the entrepreneurs just when they needed her the most (Guimps; Pestalozzi v. 10; Silber & Hager). Even after most of the land was repossessed by the creditors, there was enough left to bear a sufficient amount of produce. According to the witnesses, Lisabeth, as the educator and his wife warmly called her, reestablished the garden and restored the cleanliness and order in the household. In a short period of time, the Pestalozzis raised her to the position of the household manager in their newly regenerated *Wohnstube* (Morf v. 1 105).[5] Counsillor Nicolovius of Berlin who came to visit Neuhof farm in 1780, recorded Pestalozzi's words of gratitude and admiration for Lisabeth:

[5] "Die Wohnstube" is literally translated into English as a living room. Pestalozzi uses Wohnstube to represent his concept of a secure and loving home environment that can also be created at school.

> I should like … to give you some idea of this woman's quiet activity, that you may always have a picture of her in your mind. … God's sun pursues its path from morning to evening, yet your eye detects no movement, your ear no sound. Even when it goes down, you know that it will rise again, and continue to ripen the fruits of the earth. Extreme as it may seem, I am not ashamed to say that this image of the great Mother who presides over the earth is an image of Gertrude, as of every woman who makes her house (*Wohnstube*) a temple of the living God, and wins heaven for her husband and children (Guimps 70; Morf 105).

Elizabeth enriched the image of a woman that already became an essential component in Pestalozzi's teaching practice. As he learned from his experience at Neuhof, the first step to successful learning was the creation of a homelike environment that only women were able to maintain. At first, his mother Susanna embodied the role of the "great Mother," then his wife Anna and Madelon Spindler, and finally Lisabeth. These women served the good cause and understood the importance of it. They were the main supporters and informers of Pestalozzi's ideas, and they never abandoned him during the difficult times, which were almost never-ending. It was no surprise that the main character in his most popular educational novel *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781) was a woman whose characteristics were exceptional.

The Novel *Leonard and Gertrude*: Woman's Domestic and Public Roles

Pestalozzi attempted to be a writer during his college years, however, only a few of these manuscripts survived. The year, 1780, could be designated as the year of the beginning of his career as a writer, when he authored the *Evening Hour of a Hermit*—a collection of short, pithy aphorisms inquiring into men's nature and forms of its cultivation through religion, social environment, and education (Pestalozzi v. 8). Although the *Evening Hour of a Hermit* addressed Pestalozzi's views on education, it did not receive as much attention as his educational novel *Leonard and Gertrude*.

In 1781 the first part of *Leonard and Gertrude* was published. "It had an immediate and immense success; most people of the papers praised it, and extracts were inserted in many almanacs" (Guimps 79). The novel was written in a simple and comprehensible style with lively characters who immediately won the hearts of the readers. The author chose to place the action in the small village Bonnal. Bonnal inhabitants Gertrude and her seven children live in distress because Leonard—the head of the family—has recently become a common visitor to the local tavern therein spending his scarce income on alcohol. The owner of the tavern is the town bailiff Hummel who gladly lends money to his customers and uses their inability to pay back to his advantage. Gertrude becomes extremely concerned when she finds out about her husband's debts to the bailiff. She could pay the debt with the money that she saved for her children's education, however, she is afraid the bailiff will take advantage of the situation and continue to be a bad influence on her husband. Thus, she decides to visit the town squire Arner and ask him for help. Arner is very impressed with Gertrude's wisdom in that she analyzed the situation and tried to resolve it. From Gertrude he learns about the bailiff's tricks, the town's degradation from alcohol, and the sufferings of poor families that are unable to make enough money to live. Consequently, the squire becomes involved in the troubles of the village people. He reassures them that the bailiff will receive punishment for his manipulations, and he begins a project that employs the most needy in the village. He also opens up a school where Gertrude teaches the village children to have faith in God and to learn vocational subject such as spinning cotton, weaving and the basics of arithmetic and reading. With the help of

Gertrude the community that was on the way to degradation changes its course to regeneration and the revival of Bonnal.

The first part summarized above was a success. Three additional volumes followed but they were never read with as much enthusiasm as the first volume, nor were they fully translated into other languages (Guimps). Although the first part contains important components of Pestalozzi's thoughts, it does not reveal the complete picture that the author intended to delineate. The full four volumes that amount to approximately one thousand pages describe a combination of forces such as education, religion, law, and administration that are directed at the reestablishment of moral values and the community's wellbeing. These parts of the book were published during the years of 1781-1787, and Guimps points out that most of the reforms suggested by the writer sooner or later were implemented in Switzerland (Pestalozzi v. 1).

As Pestalozzi saw deep into the nature of people and compared his personal experiences with those of his students, he realized that the child's upbringing was inseparable from education.[6] Since mothers were the traditional caregivers during the early years of children's lives, only they can ensure the children's proper development and create a secure home atmosphere—*Wohnstube*. Consequently, a healthy relationship between mother and child was the most important aspect of opening up the child's mind to explore and understand the elements around him or her. By delineating Gertrude's character as an exceptional woman and mother, Pestalozzi expresses hope that a mother's understanding and learning of her roles

[6] In German both nouns "die Erziehung" and "die Bildung" mean "education." The former is identified with the person's upbringing and the latter with a more formal or institutional learning.

would bring a better future to the country. Gertrude's most distinguishing characteristics were her faith in God, her wisdom, her maternal qualities, her love of family and neighbors, and her industriousness and bravery (Pestalozzi v. 1 & 2).

As mentioned earlier, Gertrude's image was a collective image of women who played an important role in the author's life up to the publication of his first popular work, *Leonard and Gertrude*. His mother was a prototype of self-sacrifice, quiet religiosity and unlimited love for her children. Babeli the servant stood beside Pestalozzi's mother—a faithful, helpful, caring, and pious friend to Pestalozzi's parents (Rappard 12). Both women gave him support during his childhood. They provided all physical necessities and the other created a loving and caring environment that Pestalozzi recognized as one of the most important aspects in the early years of a child. His fictional character Gertrude definitely possesses the qualities of both women. She loves and cares for her children, while trying to protect them from distresses of poverty and irresponsible behavior. Gertrude makes sure that her family maintains a good financial position and takes the proactive role in resolving the situations that negatively affects her children and neighbors. Similar to Babeli, she is frugal with money, and she manages to save for the future education of her children from whatever scarce means she has to survive.

The reader familiar with Pestalozzi's biography and with the roles of women who shared his life up to 1780 would also recognize characteristics of his wife Anna in her teacher role. Similar to Anna's instruction at Neuhof, Gertrude makes sure that children have some vocational skills such as taking care of the

household, and the basics of reading and writing (Silber 150-152). In the novel we also find descriptions of Gertrude's teaching skillfully combined with knitting or weaving that Pestalozzi based on observations and his own teaching experiences at the Neuhof establishment.

Finally, Elizabeth Naef completes the image of Gertrude with her industriousness, strong faith, and modesty thus confirming Pestalozzi's admiration of this common but outstanding woman. Until her old age Elizabeth managed the household at the reformer's educational establishments creating the atmosphere of *Wohnstube*. Similarly, Gertrude, a mother, maintains her *Wohnstube* in order to insure the wellbeing and positive development of her children. She makes sure that the family not only stays intact but also in a healthy and balanced relationship. However, outside of her domestic role she is a guide for a rural family, and she is the hope for the better future of a new generation.

There is a striking difference in women's roles in Rousseau's *Emile* and Pestalozzi' *Leonard and Gertrude*. Rousseau saw women (Sophie) filling the functions of an assistant to their husbands. For example, Sophie is intellectually incapable of an independent and responsible role inside the home or outside of it. Pestalozzi, however, saw an opposite role for women in society that was decisive inside and outside the family. This perspective was visionary for late eighteenth century thinking because it was inclusive of women's civic functions outside the home. In the first instance, Gertrude is more responsible and active than her husband in providing security for her home. In the second instance, she is a proactive leader acting on behalf of the whole community (Silber & Hager 173).

This image of a woman did not fit the ideas of Enlightenment that had no place for women in the intellectual or social public spheres; it also was the opposite of the romantic image of a woman whose existence was defined by idleness and bringing pleasure to a man's life. Gertrude's characteristics incorporated the most progressive ideas of the time when it came to women's independence and their public roles.

Leonard and Gertrude won immediate popularity in Switzerland and the various German lands, but not among the common people to whom it was addressed (Silber). The novel was widely read by intellectuals, aristocracy, and political figures of the day. Many prominent figures visited Pestalozzi's establishments and corresponded with him regarding educational, social, economic and political issues. *Leonard and Gertrude* was translated into many languages. Its abridged English translation appeared in 1800 under the title *Leonard & Gertrude. A popular story, written originally in German; translated into French, and now attempted in English; with the hope of its being useful to the lower orders of society* (367 pages). The English version was published in Great Britain and apparently did not make its way across the Atlantic immediately. In 1801 a more abridged translation of the novel appeared in Philadelphia with a more democratically oriented title *Leonard and Gertrude □a popular story, written originally in German, translated into French, and now attempted in English, with the hope of its being useful to all classes of society* (276 pages). However, even by 1824 American literary circles did not seem to know about the British translation of the novel and its 1801 publication in Philadelphia as shown by the author of an article

in *The New monthly magazine, and literary journal* (297). Instead the journalist recommends *Leonard and Gertrude* for translation into English: "It is very desirable that *Leonard and Gertrude* should be translated into English, and circulated among lower classes." In 1859 Barnard published an exposition of Pestalozzi's novel by selecting sixty-two chapters from the first volume (587-648). These chapters highlight Pestalozzi's ideas about religion, social, economic, and political structures. The reader also learns about Gertrude's important role in the family and society. Barnard summarized volumes two, three and four in eleven short chapters under the title of *The School in Bonnal* (651-664). This summary describes the organization of the newly established common school where Gertrude teaches (Barnard 1859). In this way progressive thinking people of the nineteenth century New England made the ideas of Pestalozzi accessible and contributed to the progress of the common school movement. The exposition of Pestalozzi's thought communicated through his first novel also presented women's roles in a new light and corresponded to the idea of Republican Motherhood (Nash 1977).[7] For example women's new task of raising and educating the new generation of citizens required of women more activity in the public sphere supported by better female education.

The novel *Leonard and Gertrude* echoed and encouraged the developments in common school and women's movements at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was a timely addition and contribution to these progressive

[7] The term "Republican Motherhood" refers to the phenomena of women's domestic duties as mothers and their responsibility for the upbringing a new generation. Benjamin Rush was an ardent advocate of the idea on Republican Motherhood.

developments. Successful publication of *Leonard and Gertrude* set Pestalozzi on the writing path that he continued until political changes started taking place in Switzerland. Pestalozzi returned to his educational practice in 1799 shortly after the establishment of the Helvetic Republic in Switzerland.

CHAPTER II

STANS, BURGDORF, AND YVERDON: PESTALOZZI'S ESTABLISHMENTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS METHOD

Orphanage in Stans

In 1798 France invaded Switzerland, which resulted in political changes in the Swiss cantons. The cantons lost their independence and became united under a centralized form of government, the Helvetic Republic. While the republic was unpopular, some of the prominent people of this time hoped that it would give a boost to "long-waited" reforms. Enthused by the changing political climate in the political arena, Pestalozzi developed a renewed hope for possible social and economic transformations. He wrote several pamphlets, such as *On the Tithe* (1778) in which he demanded equal taxation for all citizens (Pestalozzi v. 6).[8] Unfortunately, the tithe was abolished before the Swiss government found new sources of income, and soon thereafter Switzerland waded into extreme financial difficulties. In his second pamphlet *On the Tithe* (1779), he proposed using progressive taxation based on income (Silber 110). Although none of these proposals was accepted by the government, they showed how involved Pestalozzi was in matters that concerned the poor and the wellbeing of his country. Pestalozzi believed that it was the perfect time to demonstrate the advantages of his educational system for the schooling of the common people. In May 1798 he wrote the following letter to the Minister of Justice Meyer:

> Citizen Minister,--Convinced that the country is in urgent need of some improvement in the education and schools of the people, and feeling sure that three or four months' experience

[8] After the Revolution that followed Napoleon's invasion, the oppressed surfs became free citizens.

> would give the most important results, I … offer … my services to the country … (Guimps 127-128).

Stapfer, the Minister of Education, immediately started working on Pestalozzi's proposal. First and foremost, the minister wanted to establish a training school for teachers so Pestalozzi's experience would continue on with his students and spread to other schools. However, the reformer wanted to establish a school for poor children "such as he attempted in Neuhof and described in *Leonard and Gertrude*," so that he could test his ideas while training others to teach (Guimps 128-129). Pestalozzi was appointed to serve as the director of the Stans institute for orphans as was his choice. The institute opened on the 14th of January 1799 and started receiving children immediately. The first report to the directory gave an account of twenty-nine boys and fifteen girls, some of whom were reported as follows:

> Jacob Baggenstoss, fifteen, of Stanzstad; father dead, mother living; good health, little capacity; can do nothing else but spin cotton; accustomed to begging.
> Gaspard Stieer, eight, of Stanz; father killed, mother living; bad health, more than average capacity, unwilling to learn, is beginning the ABC, can spin; very poor.
> Josephine Rieter, thirteen, of Stanz; father and mother both dead; healthy, average capacity, is beginning to read, can spin; extremely poor.
> Catherine Aieer, five, of Stanz; father killed, mother living; healthy, good capacity, knows nothing, poor (Guimps 135-137).

These descriptions of the children's capacities and their biographical information illustrated the overwhelming challenges in teaching and managing the students as a group. Within six weeks there were over eighty children at the orphanage and many of them had just lost their parents as a result of the recent destruction by Napoleon's army (Kuhleman & Brühlmeier 2002, 46). With these orphans and with

the help of just one maid, Pestalozzi had to prove the worthiness of his method to the Swiss government which he eagerly set out to do.[9]

School in Stans started at six in the morning and ended at eight in the evening. The first two and the last four hours of the day were dedicated to the learning of traditional subjects. The rest of time was devoted to the development of vocational skills or some type of handwork. Although the establishment lacked many essentials needed for living and study, students showed some progress in spinning and learning. Those children who acquired some knowledge or skills would teach the others. Some of the children were connected by the understanding of their circumstances and were happy to share what little they had. The children were hard to teach for the most part(Pestalozzi v. 9). Only a few months after its opening, the castle in Stans where the orphanage was located was requested for medical use by the military. Most children went to their relatives and the local priest took the remaining orphans. The teacher left with a broken heart and unfulfilled hopes (Kuhleman and Brühlmeier 48). In his famous *Letter from Stans* written 1799, Pestalozzi described his experiences in Stans as being very difficult:

> Many [children] came covered in vermin. … Many came with an ingrained scar that they would not let go, many with badly injured heads, many with scars loaded with vermin, many gaunt and haggarded like skeletons. Yellow, grinning, with eyes full of fear and foreheads full of wrinkles, hypocrisy and all kinds of falseness; others overwhelmed with misery, enduring but mistrusting, loveless and timorous (Kuhlemann and Brühlmeier 50).

Pestalozzi went on to describe the conditions of the land and the compassion that he felt toward his orphans, giving them motherly attention, stretching his hands to

[9] Pestalozzi's wife Anna remained in Neuhof after the recovery from her illness brought on by the stresses of the Neuhof educational enterprise. She would never teach alongside her husband again. However, she would provide him with the moral support and help maintain Pestalozzi's emotional balance.

them and keeping his eyes fixed upon them to search for any improvements in their conditions. His first objective was to provide them with a secure environment—*Wohnstube*—like a mother would create at home. He concluded by describing the method that, in given circumstances, was of practical value to the children: he combined vocational training with study, tried to involve children in the teaching process by using the monitorial system, and provided them with motherly care thus attempting to restore their feeling of worth (Morf 1868; Kuhlemann & Brühlmeier).

Work in Burgdorf

In July 1799—the next month after leaving Stans—Pestalozzi was hired as an assistant to a schoolmaster in Burgdorf. The school was intended for poorer children of non-citizens. The newly hired teacher started working and used his experiences in teaching in Neuhof as the basis for his approach. Unfortunately, his success with the children excited the schoolmaster's jealousy who accused Pestalozzi of antireligious feelings before dismissing him (Pestalozzi v. 9, 65; Krüsi 38).[10] Pestalozzi applied to a school for girls where an older lady, Margaret Stähli, taught the skills of reading, spelling, recitation and singing to children ages five through eight. The teacher used Siegried's *Beginnings of Christian Teaching*, *Heidelberg Catechism*, Gellert's *Spiritual Songs*, psalms and celebration songs, and Miller's *Bible History*. With the help of minister Stapfer Pestaozzi was accepted for a teaching position in Mrs. Stähli's school which accommodated twenty to twenty-

[10] The traditional style of teaching was based on the recitation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Pestalozzi was against dry dogmatic learning and boring recitation so he refused the traditional way and replaced it with phonetic reading.

five children (Morf v. 1 217). Still fearing opposition from the authorities and parents, he nevertheless kept applying his innovative methodology, and this time his efforts were rewarded. The school committee observed his teaching in Burgdorf and reported his accomplishments as follows:

> [Pestalozzi] has shown what powers are hidden in the feeble child, and in what manner they can be developed. The pupils have made astonishing progress in some branches, thereby proving that every child is capable of doing something if the teacher empowered by the knowledge of psychology is able to draw out his talent, and awaken the powers of his mind in the order of their natural development (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2009 364-5; Krüsi 39).

Pestalozzi's skill was his understanding of a child's psychology and making the subject of study appealing to her senses. In order to make some aspects of learning less abstract, he used the surrounding physical environment in his teaching, thereby grounding children's experiences in tangible reality. Morf described how as a teacher Pestalozzi worked from eight to seven often without any breaks for the sake of finding the key to the successful instruction of different subjects. First, he pointed out how children's understanding of the subject had to correspond to their developmental level. Dogmatic learning, recitation, and other teaching means insensitive to the children's developmental stages would only harm the natural flourishing and progress in their learning. The innovator was afraid that it would be an unmanageable task to take over children's instruction in a school after their nature had been harmed by the traditional way of teaching. His success with children, later proved that his fear was premature. Children had not fully absorbed the harmful affects of the old school. The Swiss educator was able to revive their interest and enhance their comprehension by grounding children's learning in the surroundings of concrete objects. For instance, Pestalozzi asked them to form

simple sentences using the color, number, form, and position of the holes in the wallpaper. Using these sentences as a base, they formed larger and more complicated sentences. Next, he attempted to simplify spelling by stressing syllables. Morf notes that the educator wrote books full of syllable rows trying to find the best correspondence between them. The innovator put letters together into syllables in front of a child's eyes, and then let them dissolve into single letters again. Thus, in a short period of time, Pestalozzi achieved tremendous results in teaching spelling. Last, he worked on simplifying arithmetic and having it based entirely on sense impression. For instance, a group of students received a table, each square of which had a number of dots, and with the help of these tables, students practiced counting, addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. All in all, he sought to simplify all subjects to the most basic forms (218-219).

After thorough acquisition of the first/basic step, children could slowly proceed to the second, third, and fourth steps. In each of these transitions, the teacher required a solid understanding of the previous step. Although the new methodology was not fully developed yet, it was taking shape, and the Swiss innovator felt like he was nearing the formation of the method with the practice, search, and everyday observation of children's activities (Morf 218-220).

At the end of eight months (March 1800) of Pestalozzi's experiments at Mrs. Stähli's school, a committee evaluated the results of the students' progress which appeared in a report:

> Children aged five through eight, who until now learned letters, syllables and to read following the only known agonizing method, have not only learned to read well; the most able ones also demonstrated the ability to write beautifully, draw and calculate. You

> [Pestalozzi] managed to awaken and animate the desire to the study of history, natural history, measuring, earth observation and so on... (Morf 223)

The school committee continued describing how useful this methodology would be if applied by mothers at home. Mrs. Stähli's establishment for girls served Pestalozzi as an experimental lab for the application and further development of his method of simplifying learning for young children and making it appealing to their senses. Unfortunately, scholars such as Morf and Guimps undervalued the fact that this experiment and its successful application took place in a girls' school. While they mention Pestalozzi's employment at Mrs. Stähli's establishment, they do not provide any specific details of his work. It should be no surprise that this part of the reformer's biography is missing from the English- and German-written sources. Pestalozzi's tenure at Mrs. Stähli's was significant, because it was there that he developed his method in order to universally apply it to boys' and girls' education. Proving that the method was successful in teaching girls implied equal learning capabilities of both sexes, an assertion that was controversial for centuries to come. This was a progressive step during the prevailing Enlightenment ideology that condemned women as incapable of rational thinking, and learning the same subjects as men. These findings became the foundation of the Pestalozzian method that he later applied in his private schools for boys.[11]

[11] The Pestalozzi's method kept evolving throughout his practice, however, the foundation of it formed during the period of his teaching at Mrs. Stähli's school. The whole method is more complex and includes spiritual, intellectual, and physical and vocational developments (heart, head, and hands). During the time at Mrs. Stähli's school, Pestalozzi primarily engaged in the development of the intellectual part of the method coming to the formation of the following foundations of teaching: simplifying a subject to its basic form and building up knowledge from simple to more complex. The latter involves the use of concrete objects that later became the main characteristic of Pestalozzi's method in some schools.

Next, the Swiss educator turned his attention to devising a plan for a private school. The government let him use the Burgdorf castle rent free with wood and land for gardening. Stapfer kept supporting Pestalozzi and even helped organize a Society of the Friends of Education in order to provide an ongoing funding source for his enterprise. For his contribution, the educator wrote a short report called *The Method* (1800) to give his supporters an idea of his methods. The report began with the words: "I seek to psychologize human education" (Guimps; Silber). His methodology continued forming as he realized that the key to educational success was in the connection between human development, or the mechanism of nature and educational means that had the most appealing power to the sense impression of a child. In order to help teachers implement his method, the innovator published school books and tables of words and figures—helpful and much needed instructional materials. At the same time, Pestalozzi worked on a more elaborate explanation of his methodology later to be known as *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (Silber 123).

By 1800 Pestalozzi was working day and night to meet the demands of this new endeavor and to spread his ideas. He met Hermann Krüsi (1775-1844) who was not familiar with the reformer's method; however, Krüsi shared the same philanthropic philosophy with the innovative teacher. Shortly after their acquaintance Pestalozzi invited Krüsi to join him in opening a school in the old castle of Burgdorf (Krüsi). This new beginning in the career of the Swiss reformer was marked by a tragic event—the death of his son Jacobli at Neuhof. While devastated by the news from home, the grieving father continued his work in

Burgdorf. In the attempt to forget her sorrows, Pestalozzi's daughter-in-law Anna Magdalena Fröhlich-Pestalozzi followed her father-in-law to Burgdorf in order to assist him personally and financially in the organization of the establishment (Silber & Hager 201). Anna Magdalena became the good spirit of the school and took care of all necessities. An eyewitness reported:

> Without the assistance of this rare woman, Pestalozzi would not have been able to keep his establishment in Burgdorf. She was a tender mother to all pupils, she cared for the sick and healthy; meanwhile she took care of the big household with punctuality, with strict economy. She reached everybody with liberal kindness. Teachers and pupils loved her and willingly followed all of her commands (202-3).

Anna Magdalena made sure that the establishment never went without food supplies and did her best to prevent this from happening (203). She did not teach at Burgdorf, because it was not a co-educational institution like her father-in-law opened in Neuhof and managed in Stans. However, her ability to create and maintain the *Wohnstube* was irreplaceable and turned out to be essential in the survival of the school.

Pestalozzi's new establishment accommodated different types of students such as male students of middle and high income as well as students unable to pay. It was also a boarding school for non-Burgdorf-residents and a place for teacher training (Kuhlemann & Brühlmeier 58). It was a living community where the goal was harmonious development of the heart, head, and hands (59). As the number of students rapidly increased, so did the faculty. Friends of Krüsi , Johann Georg Tobler (1769-1843) and Johannes Niederer (1779-1843), joined the Burgdorf institution to teach religion, history, and geography, and later Johann Christoph Buss (1776-1855) was invited to teach form and drawing (Krüsi 49). Correspondence between Pestalozzi and his colleagues demonstrates the

excitement with which they learned the approach of the great Swiss educator. It must have been time consuming ventures for these trainees as the method was not yet ripe and no clear written instruction on its use existed yet. The most common approach to learning Pestalozzi's method at this time was observation. After observing his master's instruction and students' progress, Niederer stated: "I am becoming more and more convinced in the excellence of your method and in the solid foundation of your education. However, I am unable to communicate clearly my conviction to the others—not as clear as I feel it" (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 381). Niederer was one of the most active learners of the method, which became evident in his substantial correspondence with the Swiss educator.

The other trainee, Tobler, shared the exciting news with his teacher about the implementation of the method in Basel. He compared successful application of the method, and the difficulty, which belied learning in the traditional school. The traditional way of teaching was deeply rooted in schools, and it was hard to convince the teachers to break away from it (415). Consequently, Pestalozzi's methodology and practice were regarded as successful, controversial, and unworthy at the same time. Teachers, used to their old ways, and unwilling to change their approach, often criticized the successful application of the new methodology. Another reason for the critique and reluctance to adopt the new approach was Pestalozzi's confusing style of representing his ideas and his unfit demeanor. For instance, Ramsauer—the first orphan to enter the establishment at Burgdorf—referred to the educator's bad organizational skills, his impatience, and unclear explanations along with his improper appearance (Morf v. 1 224-5).

Fortunately, the innovator had politically powerful supporters who in their judgment relied on the successful results of his practice; with their help he continued on with his praxis. Although agreeing with Ramsauer on the subject of appearance, political figures like Stapfer and other administrators publicly voiced their faith in the reformer's success. The number of both proponents and opponents of Pestalozzi grew as more information about his innovations became available.

During the time of managing the Burgdorf school (1800-1805) people of high ranks including kings and queens expressed interest in Pestalozzi's accomplishments. Hundreds consisting of political figures, aristocracy, intellectuals, teachers, and families of potential students visited his private establishment in Burgdorf. At this point in time, all four volumes of Pestalozzi's novel *Leonard and Gertrude* had been in circulation for a number of years, and now sources written by the observers of the Burgdorf school started receiving attention, primarily in Switzerland, the German lands, and Prussia. As the reformer's fame grew so did the request from the public to have a better understanding of the method that he used. As mentioned earlier, his educational treatise *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* appearing in 1801 described his experiments and the developments of the method. However, the method itself was not yet completely formed. An understanding of how he arrived at these ideas and how these ideas succeeded became evident in this publication. The reformer worked on (1) expanding the area of students' sense impressions; (2) ensuring that these sense impressions materialized into concrete and clear ideas in their

consciousness; and (3) providing children with comprehensive knowledge of their language and becoming more self-sufficient (Pestalozzi v.9, 80). Under Pestalozzi's direction his associates continued using his method and helped him arrive at the conclusion that:

> Number, form and language together are the elementary means of a lesson. External characteristics of an object unite in the circle of its shape and in the relationship of its number. These features are translated to my understanding through language. The teaching skill is therefore to make these three fundamentals an unchangeable rule in education that should be used to: (1) teach children see every object that appears before them as a unity inseparable from its characteristics; (2) introduce to them the form of every object, i.e. its measure and its proportion; (3) introduce children as early as possible to the whole range of words and names that would correspond to the objects familiar to them (Pestalozzi v. 9, 163-4).

The educator broke down his theory further in that he identified the elementary parts of cognition such as (1) voice agency responsible for the ability to speak; (2) indefinite, simple sensorial perception responsible for awareness of all forms; and (3) definite sensorial perception responsible for awareness of unity along with the abilities to count and calculate (165). He provided a detailed description of each of these elementary parts giving examples and explaining the practical application of sound (sounds→words→language), form (measurement, art of drawing, art of writing), number (calculation), and language. All of these method essentials began with the type of the simplest form of their application, leading to a more complex approach. Finally, the last part of the book addressed the maternal role in the acquisition of elementary learning. The author claimed that just as natural disposition of a mother is to care for and nourish her children, it should also be her natural inclination to provide her children with the basic elements of education. Education at home as a part of a woman's responsibilities should start in the crib, when children's senses begin to develop. Thus he concludes: "The first lesson is

never the work of the head, is never the work of reason—it is forever the work of senses, it is always the work of the heart—the work of the mother" (Pestalozzi v. 9, 306).

Silber pointed out that the structure of the book did not meet the author's intention to write a methodology consisting of three equal parts: intellectual, physical, and spiritual. This book, presented in a form of correspondence with a friend, overrepresented the intellectual part, which did not correspond to the teacher's beliefs of harmonious education.[12] Furthermore, there was inconsistency in the use of terminology which can be confusing to the reader (133). Guimps also refered to problems with the writer's style pointing out numerous repetitions and some inconsistencies (228). Despite these problems, the book excited much interest—"the fame enjoyed by Pestalozzi in his lifetime was founded on it" (Silber 133). Pestalozzi sought to communicate his ideas to a wider public and thus spread a method that could serve the common good. The book referred to the roles of mothers in educating their children at home in a way that would not disturb the Enlightenment ideology of women's domestic roles. Although his work was far from the quality of a masterpiece, his ideas on instruction could finally serve as a guide to the teachers seeking to improve education and its outcomes.

By 1802 Pestalozzi was feeling the need for official evaluation and approval of his private school in Burgdorf. He requested that the Swiss government form a committee that would objectively evaluate the outcomes of his practice. Shortly after his request, the decision followed:

[12] *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* consists of fourteen letters to Pestalozzi's friend Gessner.

1. A committee should be appointed to conduct an accurate examination of Pestalozzi's teaching establishment in Burgdorf;
2. The department of internal affairs should nominate two or three men experienced in educational matters for the committee;
3. This committee should return the results of this examination in addition to a report describing the methods of Pestalozzi's establishment and the benefit to common public to the government (Kuhlemann 1972, 27).

A committee of Johann Ith, Friedrich Benteli, and David Stokar was appointed, and two of the committee members Ith and Benteli started their investigation a month after Pestalozzi's request. The report highlighted the following major points of the school. First, harmony and moral conduct of so many students of different status was very unusual. Morality and good behavior were not the outcomes of the strict disciplinary rules and physical punishment that existed in most schools where the new method was unfamiliar. Second, the students were under the fatherly supervision of their teachers who worked among them day and night and breaks were filled with physical activities such as gymnastics, ball games, swimming, walks, and singing that avoided an atmosphere of boredom. These activities contributed tremendously to the healthy and flourishing physical conditions of the students. Third, the lack of governmental support was evident in the condition of the building; otherwise the building was clean and the quantity of food was "rich" while the quality of it "frugal" (Kuhlemann 32).

The results of this evaluation convinced the Swiss government of the benefit it would bring to education in general. It was decided that: (1) the expenses of the school should be covered by the public; (2) boards of education and school inspectors should familiarize themselves with the report in order to recommend the methodology to the schools of their districts; (3) Pestalozzi should receive

financial support for his publications; (4) Pestalozzi and his colleagues, Krüsi and Buss, should receive salaries; and (5) twelve additional stipends should be set up for the training of teachers (Kuhlemann 1972, 28). Ith's report and his recognition of the innovative and beneficial methodology launched this innovative practice in the realm of the general public. The Burgdorf school became a model for Swiss common education mainly because its doors were opened to all—rich and poor.

Regardless of social status and financial standing, the school seemed to gather its inhabitants into a family. Guimps recorded an interesting anecdote pertaining to this aspect of the school that describes a conversation between a peasant—father of one of the student's—and Pestalozzi himself: Very surprised at what he saw, [the peasant] cried: "Why, this is not a school, but a family." "That is the greatest praise you can give me," answered the reformer; "I have succeeded, thank God, in showing the world that there must be no gulf between the home and the school … " (Guimps 210). He constantly had to prove that his practical method application was good, because it was simple and went against the traditional setting. It was surprising to an outsider to see this free family life having educational outcomes.

Most students residing in his schools enjoyed its environment. However, there were bitter moments in the life of children, especially for those with unfortunate family circumstances. These students found support not only in Pestalozzi's compassion but also in the compassion of women working at the establishment. Mentioned earlier Pestalozzi's student Ramsauer called Pestalozzi's daughter-in-law Anna Frölich-Pestalozzi "another genius to hold me fast, and make

me forget my troubles. [She] was ... an excellent woman, whose own sufferings had strengthened her, and filled her with compassion for the sufferings of others. For everybody in the institute she was a guardian angel" of strength and compassion (Guimps 208). The educator himself said of her to have: "an unequalled mother's heart and was, where love, loyalty, care, kindliness, devotion, and sense of duty were concerned, specially made for looking after children" (Silber 129). Thus women provided an ongoing support to the students while understanding the significance of the implemented educational innovations.

In November 1802 Pestalozzi's wife Anna and their servant Lisabeth joined the reformer in Burgdorf. Frau Pestalozzi was looking forward to the change after her home in Neuhof became the place of sorrow filled with recollections of her son Jacobli. Her arrival brought peace that her husband longed for the three years apart. To him her parlor became a resting place from the turmoil of the day; she knew how to manage his impulsivity and emotional outbursts (Silber). With the support of his wife, daughter-in-law Anna, and dear servant Elizabeth, assistance of his colleagues, and a convenient set up for teaching and writing, Burgdorf became an ideal if brief place for Pestalozzi's practice.

Throughout 1802-1803 Pestalozzi's practice continued gaining fame with his publications, by word of mouth, from publications of his visitors, and from his own correspondence and writings. Johann Samuel Ith's *Examination of the Burgdorf Establishment* (1802) report was widely read in the German lands and was mentioned to Wilhelm III multiple times (Kuhleman 33). Johann Friedrich Herbart, German philosopher and educator, who visited Pestalozzi in Burgdorf was

also widely known and published his *Report*—an evaluation of Pestalozzi's work at Burgdorf. Finally, there was Johann Torlitz's report on the Burgdorf school. Torlitz not only took note of the life and functions of the institution, but also of Pestalozzi's character. Similar to other eyewitnesses, he described Pestalozzi as a person totally neglecting his appearance and thus not corresponding in his look to the observer's expectations. His hair looked like it was never touched by brush or scissors and was full of feathers from the bed pillows. He invited the barber only on Fridays to get himself shaved. After observing such negligence in the manager's appearance, Torlitz found it surprising to see the institution in excellent condition. Students were under constant supervision and seemed to enjoy learning, daily exercise, and the intellectual atmosphere (Kuhleman 35-37). The manager's shaggy appearance, his simple manners, and his emotionally unstable demeanor were astonishing to most visitors who met the educator for the first time. However, those making an effort to know him soon discovered his sincere intentions and heartfelt love of the oppressed (Guimps; Silber). While not all reports were in favor of the educator's innovations, most of them acknowledged the benefits of Pestalozzian methodology. These multiple reports circulated in the German-speaking territories exciting the feeling of hope toward a better future as a unified and educated nation.

In the meantime, the Swiss cantons had restored their independence, and the Helvetian Republic lost its autonomy. Without the support of the centralized government, Pestalozzi's establishment was at the mercy of the Canton Berne where Burgdorf castle was located. Unfortunately, Berne repossessed the castle in

1804 and the reformer along with his family and staff were asked to leave. The Swiss educator immediately received multiple proposals for his relocation including some from outside of Switzerland; however, Pestalozzi decided to stay in his native country to finalize his educational system while continuing to practice. His establishment accounted for over one hundred people now. Most of his staff and students went to Münchenbuchsee and a few went to the castle of Yverdon where they organized schools. Münchenbuchsee was not far from Hofwyl where Fellenberg had successfully managed an industrial school based on Pestalozzi's methods.[13] This proximity and the seaming commonality of their practice resulted in the collaboration of the two educators. Pestalozzi sought to write in order to further organize his method as well as fill in the gaps thereof. Conveniently for his goals, Fellenberg offered to take over the management of the Münchenbuchsee school and Pestalozzi was relieved by not having the managerial responsibilities. This collaboration was short-lived, for educators quickly learned that their approaches to the school organization were very different: Fellenberg ruled his school with unbending authority and established a strict discipline, while Pestalozzi (perhaps mistakenly) was more inclined to rely on emotional attachments and the ties of friendship. His discipline was love and his goal was equality among colleagues and students. Before long, Pestalozzi and his colleagues

[13] Emmanuel von Fellenberg was an acquaintance of Pestalozzi and a friend of his son since Neuhof years. While his industrial school was very influential among the educators and often referred to a school in Pestalozzian spirit, it differentiated greatly from Pestalozzi's schools in a number of things. First, Fellenberg divided students according to their social class providing them with the different instruction. Second, he used a very strict authoritarian and disciplinary approach that was the opposite to the atmosphere of freedom and love at the Pestalozzi's establishments.

relocated to Yverdon leaving the well-to-do students behind for Fellenberg to teach(Silber 160-162; Kuhlemann 106-7; Soëtard 1987, 93-94).

Years in Yverdon

During the flourishing years of the Burgdorf establishment (1802-1803) the faculty increased considerably in number. Johannes Niederer (1779-1843), Johannes von Muralt (1780-1850), Johannes Hopf (1784-1830), Josef Neef (1770-1854) and Jean-François Barraud (1776-1851) came from different backgrounds to join Pestalozzi under the same roof and to share his aspirations for serving the common good. The aging teacher must have counted on these mature men devoted to their common goal, for at sixty years of age (1805), he started his new enterprise in Yverdon.

The establishment proved to be an immediate success. In 1807 there were 143 students enrolled including 30 students from abroad (Soëtard 95). According to one of the eye-witnesses, students came from Russia, Spain, America, England, and Italy as well as other countries. Some of his former students and trainees came from other countries to teach at Yverdon. All together, there were about forty, including Friedrich Froebel who taught alongside Pestalozzi from 1808 to 1810 (Soëtard 96). In 1806 Krüsi and Hopf established a school for girls—*Mädcheninstitut* or *Töchterinstitut*. It was auxiliary to the school for boys and was located in town Yverdon separately from *Knabeninstitut*. At the end of 1807 there were seventeen female students enrolled. The *Knabeninstitut* faculty commuted to the girls' school to teach the traditional subjects; female students also learned household management or subjects "specific to women engagements" (Soëtard

96). The sources and descriptions of the *Mädcheninstitut* especially in its beginning years are very scarce. Most descriptions of day-to-day activities are based on the activities of boys in *Knabeninstitut* for obvious reasons: the majority of students that enrolled were boys, and therefore, the curriculum was developed to suit the needs and interests of students in *Knabeninstitut*.

Many students left recollections of their time at Yverdon. Roger de Guimps who spent a number of years at the institute, has a record of these accounts in his biography of Pestalozzi. One of them, Vulliemin, a professor in his adult life, started attending Yverdon in 1805. As with many descriptions of Pestalozzi's establishments, Guimps records Vullemin describing the educator first. Even in his old age his demeanor did not change but it was evident that he was slowing down:

> A very ugly man, with rough, bristling hair, his face scarred with small-pox and covered with freckles, a pointed, untidy beard, no neck-tie, ill-fitting trousers, stockings down, and enormous shoes; add to this a breathless, shuffling gait, eyes either large and flashing or half-closed as though turned within, features expressing either a profound sadness or the most peaceful happiness, speech now slow and musical, now thundering and hurried and you will have some idea of the man we called "Father Pestalozzi" (Guimps 253-4).

Students, however, continued to love their teacher and enjoyed the time they spent around him. They seemed to enjoy their days at school as well, because most of them did not consider their daily exercises to be "learning." Most students had been educated the traditional way before coming to Yverdon. Although Vulliemin observes the quickness and success of his classmates' subject acquisition, he claims that no assistant really understood the method and had no clear idea of how to use it (Guimps 254-6). His claim, however, goes against the fact that students acquired subjects successfully.

One can see how, among the variety of subjects that were offered at the institute, those that were easily collaborated with Pestalozzi's ideas of proceeding from simple to complex—and consequently having the most appeal to the senses—were the most remembered. For instance, in language instruction, the teacher carefully introduced the basics and continued step by step until he observed a thorough understanding of the subject and until the students "had no trouble to express [themselves] clearly" (Guimps 255). The subject of geography was taught through the exploration of the land around the castle. Students went to the river bank and observed the surrounding area which they later reproduced with clay. Each student was responsible for a stretch of land that he designed out of clay thus experiencing what he observed through touch. Every day students would climb up higher in order to see a larger area. By the end of the project the teacher would show them a map of the area that they observed (Guimps 255). In geography this approach was also known as "near to far." Taking it step by step and with a close introduction to the physical landscape, students developed an understanding of how maps were made. After the introduction to their surrounding areas with rivers, lakes, hills, and valleys, they transferred this experience into the larger world context of larger rivers, oceans, mountains, and steppes.

To complete the picture of students' lives at Yverdon it is necessary to describe their daily routine. Students arose at six in the morning to have their first lesson. At seven they washed themselves with the water from the well in the courtyard. Breakfast followed, and at eight students returned to their lessons. They

went on a break at ten where they were free to choose their activities. Most of them received snacks consisting of dried fruit and some bread. At noon, students had an hour for recreational activities followed by lunch. Starting at half past one, they were back to their lessons for three hours followed by a snack and more play time until six. The playtime included working on their plots of land in the garden. From six to eight there were more lessons and after that time supper (Guimps 269). All totaled, curriculum included a variety of subjects consisting of physical exercise, play, lessons in German and French languages, arithmetic, history, music, science, geography, and manual training (Jedan 39). Thus, students' learning was by no means monotonous. As Guimps observed:

> Gymnastics, prisoner's-base and other games went on regularly. There was skating as well in the winter; and in summer, bathing in the lake and mountains excursions. The first day of spring was celebrated every year by a walk on the neighboring heights. … (272)

No description of Pestalozzi's most successful enterprise would be complete without a sense of special ceremonies and celebrations. One afternoon every week students participated in military exercises consisting of some maneuvers and occasional training in shooting. Their families enjoyed watching these events and often were the witnesses to their practice. Hands-on activities such as gardening also took place a few hours a week—most students enjoyed cultivating their little patches of land and seeing the land produce. Their indoor activities included bookbinding, cardboard work, and making solids for the study of geometry. Before New Years Eve children made albums for their parents that included "drawings, maps, mathematical problems, fragments of history, descriptions of natural objects, and literary compositions" (Guimps 272). Children's albums served as

reinforcements of the learned material for the past year; they also demonstrated the amount, variety, and quality of learning that the children acquired along with the progress of their studies. The time spent making the albums was also a precursor for the most waited-for events of the year—the New Year's celebration and shortly after, Pestalozzi's birthday on January 12th:

> On New Year's day there was a religious service, with a discourse by Pestalozzi; a distribution of presents from the parents; a grand dinner; and, in the evening, a torch-light procession through the town (each pupil made his own torch), followed by a ball to which the girls of the neighboring institute were invited, together with a certain number of guests from the town (Guimps 272).

The next day students started preparations for the master's birthday celebration. Students secretly made up decorations for their rooms, learned songs in Pestalozzi's honor, and rehearsed for a dramatic performance. Hard work paid off with many surprises and the joyful activities (272). Birthday parties at Yverdon resembled that of a big family closely connected and rewarded with common joys. It seems the students highly esteemed and loved their father Pestalozzi who replaced their parents for most of the school year. The school founder was undeniably the heart of the Yverdon school while his assistants were the hands of his institution.

According to Pestalozzi's assistants his method of instruction was as much a result of instinct, as was the benevolence which inspired him; but he was unable to state its principles philosophically, or present his methodology logically. Therefore his colleagues and apprentices came to his assistance in formulating his views and praxis. In 1808 Schmidt, a renowned mathematician at the institute, who came from a poor family and was educated in Pestalozzi's school, published *ABC of Sense Impression in Mathematics*. Charles Ritter who trained at the institute during 1807-

1809 formulated the method of teaching geography that he based on his observations at Yverdon. Music teachers Pfeifer and Naegeli in turn formulated the *Method for Music Education* (Soëtard 104-105). According to the educator the pledge of his successes was seen in the remarkable abilities of his assistants to state his views and help run the institution. Also, in Pestalozzian schools children developed intellectual, moral, and manual/industrial skills harmoniously, which set this education apart from and ahead of the contemporary schools (Pestalozzi v. 9).

Unfortunately, just as previous institutions managed by Pestalozzi, the most successful of all schools, Yverdon, was destined to fail. The founder had a premonition of this failure in 1808 when he delivered his New Year's speech. His former student Guimps described this discourse as "full of sadness and discouragement" (276). Visually, it was a very dramatic scene with an open coffin made for Pestalozzi and brought into the room. Next to his casket the aging master spoke:

> The past year has not been a happy one. The ice has broken under me just where I wanted to walk more surely; my life-work has betrayed defects which I had never suspected; the very bond which unites us has shown itself very weak where I thought it strongest… (Guimps 276).

The institution he had hoped to demonstrate as a model school for his methodology was failing due to jealousy, internal conflict on behalf of some staff and other circumstances. At the time he hardly realized that the failure of his institutions was directly connected to the success of his methods and practices as well as the fame that his schools acquired through his writings and achievements. The method had to be used as the foundation for the development of human

faculties such as heart, head, and hands. However, multiple factors did not allow for such consistency. First, Yverdon was not established by the government and thus lacked organizational leadership and financial support. Second, national diversity at the school did not help matters as students from various countries spoke different languages and had difficulties relating to each other. Third, mixing groups of mature men and thinkers with young boys was not beneficial to either group. Students of different ages and capacities were not separated according to a level of their knowledge but rather worked side by side on the same assignments. Fourth, because of their fame Pestalozzi's schools were observed and visited constantly. As a result, order and regularity were sacrificed (Krüsi 74-5).

Another reason for instability of these innovative establishments was the ongoing formation of the method, which was evident in the educational writings of the reformer. Throughout his career, Pestalozzi kept attempting to clarify his method never completing and fully representing it to the public. When in 1805 the educator published *Spirit and Heart of the Method*, it was clear that he was making an attempt to remediate the flaws of *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* as well as to provide a model for his Yverdon school. This educational treatise overemphasized intellectual education to the exclusion of moral and vocational training (Guimps; Silber; Soetard). In *Spirit and Heart of the Method* he made moral education the focus of his writing:

> In order to meet its goal, our house must become more of a paternal home than a public school. We must build our house on cheerfulness, closeness, trust and fall in the hands of teachers like we would fall in the hands of mothers. … We must do it despite the opinion of the world that currently evaluates every school based on the results of the lessons (Pestalozzi v. 9, 328).

Pestalozzi also emphasized the role of mothers in their children's moral development. Naively, he attributed natural abilities to educate to mothers and claimed that every mother who loved her child would teach the elements of number, form, and word. Her children's further success depended on the home education of mothers. Unfortunately, Pestalozzi did not discuss how this change in the lives of women would take place. Love that was supposed to trigger such changes in mothers' dispositions towards home education could be expressed in many different ways besides education. Mothers needed guidance to understand their roles and the method in order to mobilize changes in society that the reformer and his followers had hoped for. Interestingly, these changes were initiated next door to the *Knabeninstitut* under the guidance of Pestalozzi's female assistant and the manager of the *Mädcheninstitut* Rosette Kasthofer.

The Swiss educator longed to reevaluate the spirit of educational institutions and at the same time to establish the spirit of a home in his school. Apparently, the Yverdon school lacked the spirit of the *Wohnstube* at the moment. The quarrels between his assistants set them farther apart and distanced them from their common and philanthropic educational goal. Although the school existed until 1825, its decline began in 1810 when Schmidt took over the leadership. Pestalozzi had entrusted the management to his colleagues who continued to fight and finally brought on the downfall. He died two years later at Brugg at the age of eighty-one (Morf v. 1; Guimps; Silber).

CHAPTER III

WOMEN PESTALOZZIANS IN SWITZERLAND AND GERMANY

Early Influences and Developments in Female Education

During the Age of the Enlightenment the shortcomings of female education came to surface. Prominent progressive figures of this age argued that the domestic role of a woman was of utmost importance for the future of the country. The Helvetic Society at College Carolinum became actively involved in this discussion making female education the recurring theme for their meetings. Helvetic Society founder, Johann Bodmer, was an early advocate who expressed the urgent need for a better female education. In *Discourse of the Female Artists* (1721) he discussed the shortcomings of contemporary female education. He primarily criticized parents' efforts directed solely towards the marriage of their daughters. Bodmer kept emphasizing that men and women are equal at birth and should treat each other equally: "Appreciate her as much as you want her to appreciate you" advised Bodmer, "She is a person of nature similar to yours; she has as many abilities, as good of a genius, as complete of a soul as you" (Graf 1915, 111).

Bodmer's desires to improve female education were not realized in his lifetime. However, being one of the most influential professors at College Carolinum he continuously encouraged discussions on female education that gained great attention of the broader public through *Der Erinnerer*, published by the Helvetic Society (1765). As mentioned earlier, Pestalozzi was an ardent advocate of the idea of women's equality and a harsh critic of women's idleness

(111). His views were in step with those of his contemporaries who wrote on the subject of women's education. They explored the subject in their publications such as *Mixed Writings* (1770) by Pestalozzi's friend Isaak Iselin, *Instructions for the Upbringing of his Daughters* (1781) by Johann Sulzer, *The Young Housemanagers* (1785) by Joseph Zimmermann and others. The primary goal of these writings was to communicate to women the importance of their roles as mothers and wives. As promoted by the advocates for better female education, women's functions were no longer limited to their domestic realm. Although mothers and wives were active inside of the home, their activity extended beyond the domestic norm and into the public realm as they raised a new generation.

Usteri opened the first female school that prepared women to fulfill their domestic duties with the utmost responsibility in 1768. Usteri's school was where previously mentioned Mrs. Gessweiler acted as the principal teacher and was financially supported by Zurich professors and other wealthy sponsors. The curriculum concentrated heavily on maternal and household duties thus redirecting female education onto the path of practical engagement (Graf 111-117). Usteri's school functioned successfully for nineteen years ultimately becoming a model for other female schools (Morf v. 1 75).

In the late eighteenth century throughout the German lands, the subject of female education rapidly gained attention. Literature addressing women's education, and their domestic roles became a popular theme well into the beginning of the nineteenth century. This new education stood in opposition to old approaches such as educating women to entertain. Usefulness of women's work

was widely discussed, however, altering from men's spheres of usefulness. A very famous treatise was Campe's *Vaterlicher Rath* (*Fatherly Advice*), that advised girls to understand the difference between women's and men's destinies and urged women to accept the inferiority of their sex. An anonymous woman author of that time claimed:

> The man makes himself useful and recognized in public affairs. As statesman he assists princes with his insights; as judge he administers the laws. As soldier he defends the state; his breast is the wall behind which the merchant and worker provide for the needs and the wants of fellow citizens and the farmer tills his land. The pastor and the doctor serve similar roles, each according to his specialty and gifts. The stage on which they play their roles is the world … Fame makes their names known. In good circumstances they earn … riches and honors … The Frauenzimmer has quite a different nature. Her business is in her house, and her praise is limited to the small circle of her family and friends. Her vocation is to become a wife who brings happiness, a mother who educates, and a wise manager of household affairs (Gray 2000, 247)

Unlike their Swiss counterparts, by the 1800s German women were voicing their opinions in the defense of improving female education, and women's engagement in the public sphere. The accounts of progressive women writers during this time demonstrate women's awareness that female education was inadequate in comparison to women's capacities. They began to challenge an education that did not prepare girls to be rational thinkers in their adult lives. For example, Caroline Rudolphi (1754-1811) and Betty Gleim (1781-1827) argued that women needed to be taught maternal and professional skills such as public teaching. They stated that: "If all men are to be educated from boyhood, then all women as potential mothers must be equipped to provide at least the basics of their children's education" (Too & Livingstone 1998, 61-62). Gleim and Rudolphi also recognized that women's domain should reach beyond the domestic level and that it "might

include teaching at an elementary level, as an extension of their childrearing role" (61). All of these improvements required reorganization of female education.

Petalozzi's Views of Women

During the time of this heated discourse Pestalozzi was laboring to create a universal method of education that would be entrusted to his famous female character, Gertrude. The image of a woman who was the leading member of her family, skillfully engaged in teaching inside and outside the home, and occupying an active civic position in her community considerably influenced the debates on women's education. For example, one of the most outspoken women in the German community emphasized the need for changes that Pestalozzi called for regarding female education (Gleim 1810). This discourse began to shape social dynamics in different venues. First, women's education had to adopt a more challenging curriculum similar to that of men's so that mothers could be prepared to be adequate teachers for their children; second, women's roles were no longer limited to their domestic spheres, as they were instrumental in the upbringing of a new generation; and third, the Pestalozzian method (the execution of which required maternal skills such as love, example of moral behavior, and an ability to create the *Wohnstube*) opened up the possibility for women to become school teachers outside the home, like Gertrude. Women running on the forefront of educational change were equipped with these arguments, using the idea of the preparation for motherhood as their main claim for educational change (Gleim; Too & Livingstone).

Pestalozzi's praxis was founded on women's roles as mothers and their dispositions toward their children. He emphasized that the roles of women were essential to social improvements and education of all people. Moreover, the guiding role of a mother extended beyond the domestic and personal spheres into a larger social context that was important for a community and for the public domain. The innovator asserted that mothers were capable of educating a new generation of independent citizens and self-sufficient individuals who would possess intellectual, moral and vocational skills (Pestalozzi v. 1, 2 & 9).[14]

In order to empower women to fulfill their new roles, they needed an appropriate education. Pestalozzi at first believed that women could guide their children using all elementary aspects of his method motivated by love and by following their natural instinct. He published a number of books and pamphlets on the subject and naively hoped that availability of educational materials may trigger the change in mothering practices. However, he finally realized that these attempts were failing in the social settings that did not reward maternal responsibilities of the like that the reformer proposed. This was the purpose that *Mädcheninstitut*, or *Töchterinstitut*, was supposed to fill when it was opened in 1806 in Yverdon as a part of an already existing establishment for boys. The latter name—the Institute for Daughters—better reflected Pestalozzi's views of a family school setting. Women visited *Knabenschule* at Yverdon to learn about the new method, students' progress, and the school setting for boys prior to the opening of the *Töchterinstitut.*

[14] One of the major differences between Rousseau's and Pestalozzi's philosophy is the role of a woman. Rousseau prescribes Sophie a role of a helper and supporter of her husband Emile. While her help is essential to Emile's success as a civic member, she herself is incapable of taking initiative in domestic or public matters.

For example, in 1808 the wife of prominent German philosopher Johann Fichte—Marie Johanne Rahn Fichte—wrote to her cousin about her intentions to send her nephew to Pestalozzi's school. "Pestalozzi's method is the only way to open boys' minds to education"—claimed Marie Fichte (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2010, 633). As records show many women were aware of the new method and its successful application in boys' instruction (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler). Progressive women like Fichte and Gleim must have been even more inspired to be the eyewitnesses of a school for girls where the progressive theory of education became reality for female teachers and female students.

Pestalozzi's First Female Assisstant Rosette Kasthofer at the Yverdon *Töchterinstitut*

In 1806 the *Töchterinstitut* was managed independently from the *Knabenschule*, but soon Krüsi and Hopf transferred the operation to Pestalozzi who gladly accepted it. Shortly after this transaction, the manager realized that together with *Knabenschule* "his house outgrew him" and that it was difficult to be in charge of such a grand enterprise (Koethe & Brockhaus 1816, 56-57). A closer look at the institution revealed that the management and lessons, with the exception of mathematics, were unsatisfactory. When addressing the malfunction of the *Töchterinstitut* Pestalozzi stated that: "children on this establishment should not be the victims of conflicts between the faculty and staff members, their personal dispositions, [and] their foolishness…" (Morf v. 4, 159). Apparently Pestalozzi's assistants neglected the quality of their teaching along with the regularity of their visits. Consequently, *Töchterinstitut* was in need of reorganization and better

instruction. Most importantly, the establishment lacked a competent directress. These suggestions pointed out the problems and inefficiencies during its beginning stage of the girls' school. The founder of Yverdon school had already been in contact with Rosette Kasthofer regarding the management of the *Töchterinstitut*. His letters to Kasthofer expressed high hopes for her abilities and the future of the establishment under her guidance (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2010, 505). Kasthofer finally agreed to manage the institute after completing all necessary preparations for teaching.

An excursion into Rosette Kasthofer's childhood provides a glimpse on the formation of her character which later played a crucial role in her career. Rosette Kasthofer (1779-1857) grew up in a well-to-do family with a well-educated father and a spoiled-by-her-parents wealthy mother. Rosette—one of seven children in the family—had an unhappy childhood, filled with parents' quarrels and deprived of a mother's tender attention and understanding. Rosette's siblings were gifted, educated, and successfully established in military, medical, writing, and administrative professions. Rosette was very sensitive and recalled often being misunderstood. She described her mother as a loveless person, never showing affection toward her husband, who, according to Rosette, was a warm and loving father (Leimgruber 2006, 21). Her parents' relationship resulted in a stressful home environment that took a toll on the children. They mostly ran together, but, Rosette, being the youngest of three sisters, often felt isolated. She was treated like a doll by her sisters, and often abused by her brothers. She finally became withdrawn and quiet. When she started school, matters became worse: "Two

devils resided there that kept the children in the state of constant fear. They would wrap the victims' hairs around their hands and hit the heads of the defenseless children on the wall until they would bleed. Forgetfulness was punished brutally" (Eichfuss 1940, 9). Rosette quickly learned the requirements for her performance and always earned good grades. She was especially gifted in arithmetic, drawing, and the writing of compositions (Eichfuss 9; Leimgruber 26-27). It is most likely that Rosette's descriptions of school horrors referred to her first school. At about ten years of age, she attended another school that was known to provide a challenging curriculum for girls. Rosette also succeeded in her studies (Leimgruber 27).

Her successful learning, however, brought her little satisfaction, as she could not find peace and happiness at home or at school. Rosette turned to God; this relationship developed a strong spiritual side of her character, which remained her strength for her entire life (Eichfuss 9; Leimgruber 28). Religion also helped her to express compassion for other people's sufferings. As a child Rosette had access to the hospital that her father managed. She became deeply involved in the "worries and needs of the seventy patients while developing a deeper spiritual perspective" on people's suffering (Eichfuss 10; Leimgruber 23). After the death of her father, she lost her connection to the hospital and moved in with her oldest brother Rudolf, to care for her mother who had lost her eyesight. Referring to this change in her life, she regretfully exclaimed: "Mother is now left to her daughter's care, but what did this mother give her? Father, there in heaven, you know it! She gave her daughter only pain" (Leimgruber 31). While Rosette's mother neglected

her maternal role when her children needed it the most, the daughter dutifully cared for her mother with the utmost respect. These experiences contributed to her understanding of a mother's role in the life of a child and eventually helped her realize the importance of female education. Her acquaintance with Pestalozzi lead to the beginning of her introduction into the field of education.

Pestalozzi had known the Kasthofer family since the 1800s and often visited them. His views made a deep impression on Rosette who "filled with Pestalozzi's ideas of education and ennoblement of people, and education of the poor, soon felt the awakening of the holy desire to dedicate her life to this higher task …" (Eichfuss 11). Rosette began to study his method and upon invitation visited *Knabeninstitut* in Burgdorf in 1803. Johannes Muralt, who started teaching at the *Knabeninstitut* in 1803, gave Rosette introductory lectures and during their short acquaintance, she fell in love with Muralt later describing her feeling as a "weakness" (Leimgruber 34). Rosette believed that marriage or love affairs were obstacles to a woman's way to self-advancement. She therefore declined marriage proposals until she reached the goals of her studies. The acquaintance with Muralt grew into a life-long friendship evidenced in correspondence between the parties. Initially her attachment to Muralt gave her additional reasons to seek employment at Pestalozzi's school (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2010). While Rosette was not eligible to teach at the boy's school in Burgdorf, she was extended an opportunity to seek the opening of the *Töchterschule* in Yverdon.

Rosette, being a responsible person, thought it was of the utmost importance to be adequately prepared for teaching. In the summer of 1808, prior

to the beginning of her employment, her woman friend Ray suggested that they teach children from wealthy families using Pestalozzi's method before they had been trained. Her response, quoted in a letter to the Swiss educator, demonstrated Rosette's sense of responsibility regarding teaching:

> What would we start together? To teach children! And how? Following your method says she. Good, following your method that we do not know… If I could offer a needy child my hand, while supporting myself with the other, then my guidance lacks certainty, while my course is erratic and slow (Pestalozzi, Horlacher and Tröhler 2010, 505).

She went on to say that the teacher learns while teaching by keeping a step ahead of the students. In order to have this advantage, she wished to dedicate a year of study to Pestalozzi's method (505). The reformer in turn followed up with numerous offers to her to take over his *Töchterinstitut* (506). In December 1808 Kasthofer moved to Yverdon and started visiting classes at both *Knabeninstitut* and *Töchterinstitut*, observing the educational and social dynamics of both places. On April 1st 1809 she officially took over the management of *Töchterinstitut*, not realizing the enormity of the job. Morf noted that she was faced with multiple difficulties but was challenged the most with the schedule and dealing with incompetent teachers. Singlehandedly, she transformed "the spirit of the establishment" (Morf v. 4, 160). In October 1811 she wrote to her friend Muralt:

> The weight of one very difficult year is resting on my shoulders. I have been very busy but also very lonely and abandoned. Pestalozzi and Niederer never entered our establishment except for taking time to rest from their work and troubles. None of them has visited a single lesson or concerned themselves with what is being done or if lessons follow Pestalozzi's design. … When I am forced to ask for help explaining that this is so and this is so, would you help me? Pestalozzi says: 'Yes, it must change. We will meet tonight and discuss it.' He leaves it at that. I could not find any help except for these empty promises for years (161).

Kasthofer's spirituality and inner strength helped her not only survive through the tough years of managing the school, but also move the school to higher

standards. Her hard work contributed to the growing reputation of the Yverdon *Töchterinstitut* winning the trust of a larger number of parents (Morf 162). By 1813 the success of the school was not the only news. Kasthofer and Niederer took everybody at the Yverdon establishment by surprise when they announced their engagement. Upon receiving this news, Pestalozzi decided to hand over to them the *Töchterinstitut* and under their guidance it continued flourishing for another twenty-five years (Guimps 302).

The success of the Niederers' establishment was rooted in their management and organization. Students were divided in three classes. In the first class or *Kinderklasse* (5-9 years of age) girls learned the foundations of study, female handcrafts and faith. In the second class or *Mädchenklasse* (9-18 years of age) girls engaged in a diverse curriculum that emphasized learning—quality over quantity of subjects. The curriculum included the following: religion, ethics, languages (German, French, English, and Italian), drawing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, botany, personal hygiene, history, housekeeping, horticulture and gardening, music, gymnastics, and rhythm and dance. Students of the third or the highest class were girls who were prepared to become teachers and, therefore, received the most comprehensive education of all. Acceptance into the program required absolute dedication to the teaching profession. Once accepted, future women teachers learned Pestalozzi's theory and methodology, practically applied it in a classroom or with individual students, and met with Pestalozzi for further inquiries into and clarification of his pedagogy. Their final task was to comprehend, interpret and apply the teaching techniques described by

Kasthofer-Niederer in her book *Blicke in das Wesen der weiblichen Erziehung: für gebildete Mütter and Töchter* (1828) (Eichfuss 41-46).[15]

During their time at Yverdon, the establishment earned a great reputation that was primarily due to Kasthofer-Niederer's efforts and to the employment of "the best teachers" as Kasthofer-Niederer proudly admitted (Eichfuss). Of no less importance was Kasthofer-Niederer's individual approach with students, her untiring work toward everyone's success, constant communication with parents, and a high regard for equality. Similar to Pestalozzi's *Knabenschule* setting, which supposed the same instruction and curriculum for rich and poor, Kasthofer-Niederer emphasized equality with her female students.

It is no wonder that relying on the hard work of this woman and providing progressive female education, this establishment became widely known. The popularity and the enrollment numbers confirmed the fame of the Kasthofer-Niederer's institution. During the course of twenty-three years, over six hundred women of Swiss, German, French, Italian, English, and Russian nationalities attended the *Mädcheninstitut*. Many of them continued on with professional teaching careers (Eichfuss).

In 1836 the Niederers decided to move to Genf in order to get access to a wider range of opportunities for the students and to increase enrollment. The second establishment in Genf had successful beginnings, however, in a few years the enrollment of the students from abroad started to subside. After years of cooperative work, the death of Joseph Niederer in 1843 left his wife to battle

[15] In the American Journal of Education Kasthofer-Niederer's book was literally translated as *Looks into the Essence of Female Education: For Educated Mothers and Daughters* (Barnard 1859, 152).

difficulties alone. Kasthofer-Niederer continued running the establishment, however, her declining years, and the desire to dedicate herself to writing, finally led to her decision to hand over the establishment to her two best teachers Ms. Broillat and Ms. Flaction. The transfer of management took place in March 1847 (Eichfuss 72).

After her success with *Blicke in das Wesen der weiblichen Erziehung*, Kasthofer's writing interest had grown. Together the Niederers published *Ankündigung: Die Niedererische Töchter-Bildungsanstalt zu Iferten im Kanton Wadt in der Schweiz* (*Announcement: The Niederers' Higher Educational Establishment for Daughters in Canton Wadt, Switzerland*) in 1836 while Kasthofer-Niederer authored *Dramatische Jugendspiele für das weibliche Geschlecht* (*Dramatic Plays for Female Adolescents*) in 1838 and edited *Doctor Johannes Niederer's Briefe von 1797-1803 an seinen Freund Tobler* (*Dr. Johann Niederer's Letters to his Friend Tobler 179 –1803*) in 1845. All of these writings carried great value for education, however, her *Blicke* has remained the most important writing on her ideas for female education.

Kasthofer's Educational Treatise *Insights into Female Education*

In relying on her extensive experience as a teacher and a caretaker, Kasthofer-Niederer addressed major issues in the formation of a child's character and the acquisition of professional teaching skills. In the section on instruction, she specified that a teacher was to rely on the students' interests, to treat all students equally, and to promote lifelong learning (Rosette Niederer 1828, 264). Her ideas and teachings added up to a very progressive and democratic vision of education

that would serve the female students in their professional and personal matters for life. To accomplish this, the book covered all aspects of a child's upbringing and the parental roles in a child's education. It also addressed the qualifications of parents and teachers, thus creating a system of education that would help teachers understand and take into consideration the importance of their natural development and interests. The first book, *Needs and Habits*, deals with the anthropology of childhood and covers:

> Desire and Aspiration
> Upbringing
> Treatment of Children
> Sleep
> Nourishment
> Dress
> Movement
> Gymnastics
> Habits
> Cleanliness
> Propriety
> Industriousness
> Home Economics
> Order in the Room
> Order in Time and
> Order in the Upbringing (2-115).

For instance, the chapter "Upbringing" contained in the first book *Needs and Habits* begins as follows:

> Upbringing guides people to the goal set by God and to the way of His laws. The human means thereof are the development and training of the body, spirit, and heart through reason and conscience, skills and science (scholarship). God's means are the development and training of reason and conscience through revelation that God brings to people through their destiny, through God inspired natural forces, through the church, through baptism and the sacrament (Niederer 14).

Kasthofer continued describing the unity of these educational means that were the prerequisite for a person's wholesome educational development. Nature provided an earthly example of education in that a person learned the order of things and their place in advancement. A child was to be guided in his or her development

without interruptions. As a person became enlightened through the ways of natural education, he or she began to influence nature in a respectful and loving manner that ultimately lead to unification. However, it was by God that people recognized the truthful and just ways for interactions with others. A good teacher, therefore, must know the stages of children's physical and intellectual development. Without the knowledge of these educational means, teaching practice would be inevitably accompanied by incurable mistakes. Kasthofer-Niederer included parents as teachers—the mutual understanding of their educative roles in the child's life was the most important educational experience.

Similar in its structure to the first book, the second book *Education of the Mind* covered the following topics:

> Development of Intelligence in Regards to the Bodily Care
> Mother's Love
> Domesticity
> Awakening and Unfolding of the Child's Mind
> Love
> Gratitude
> Trust
> Conscience
> Sincerity and Truthfulness
> Will
> Obedience
> Sense
> Attitude and Personality
> Constancy
> Faith
> Audacity and Humility
> Punishment and Reward
> Ethics of Children's Relationships
> Elements of Religious Development and
> Reconciliation (115-239).

One of the most decisive influences on the formation of a child's character was a mother's love:

> Mother's love is the devotion of the physical existence to the emotional; it is a woman's mind filled with pleasure of sharing life and love of her child's being; it starts its full activity earlier than the love of a father because the mind of a child maturates earlier to feelings

> and activates mother's immediate attention already during the first steps of its advances (122).

Kasthofer also considered negative implications of a mother's love which were related to the mother's fears for her children. Such fears eventually lead to overprotection and indulgence. She could become blinded by her love and start seeing her child's abilities as representative of her own, the source of her pride. Also, in social circles a child's talent could quickly awaken jealousy of other parents who for instance sent their children to schools where "fashionable" talents were supposed to be cultivated. They often forgot about the development and dispositions of their children and, giving in to a fashionable wave in education, send their children to study here and there disregarding the harms of such educational experiences. On the positive side, Kasthofer took a note of a mother who refused worldly pleasures and devoted herself to a higher spiritual purpose. She observed her child's developing abilities and nurtured these abilities by setting her own moral example and teaching her child to love and care by setting an example.

In the third book she addressed *Spiritual Education* extensively, covering the following eighteen topics:

> Relationship of Sexes in Regards to Spiritual Education
> Awakening and Unfolding of the Child's Spirit
> Nature and Law of the Spiritual Education
> Lesson
> Constitution of the Institute in Regards to Spirit
> Rationality
> Intellect
> Memory
> Imagination and Phantasy
> Tactfulness
> Self-evaluation
> Self-control
> Discretion

> Influence and Relationship of the Spiritual Faculties to the Rest of Human Faculties
> Mistakes and Aberrances in the Ways of Female Spiritual Education
> Reading as a Means of Spiritual Education
> Natural Disposition of Women to Spiritual Education and
> Consequences of Female Spiritual Education for the Humanity (239-365).

In the chapter entitled "Lesson" Kasthofer offered her view of the teacher's influence in the process of learning:

> Subject matter and form of the class are the concerns of an elementary teacher… The instructor who follows the rules and applies them together in a meaningful way, enables the students to transition from a preparatory activity to readiness. If the students progress with stimulated consciousness, then he is productive in his field of activity, and he achieves his purpose while providing the basis and development for his lesson.
>
> Spirit and essence of the class are the concerns of a science teacher. If he presents the science subjects truthfully, so that the subject matters and forms become clear and comprehensible in their meanings and natural law order; that the preparation leads immediately to the field of activity, the understanding leads to that of scholarship, and the class becomes a unity from which arise satisfaction and life for the spirit, as well as the aspiration to advance generates from the enlightened consciousness, then he has achieved his purpose as a teacher, and his merit is great as such (265-266).

The most challenging task for a teacher was to lay out all the parts of the lesson such as subject matter, form, and meaning so that they combined into harmonious unity and lead to a logical conclusion. Once a teacher had achieved this unity, he fulfilled his task. However, a dedicated teacher should not forget that while his/her aim was the subject, his/her means were students' interests and comprehension and not their age, status, or development. In comparison to the teacher of scientific subjects, the early childhood/elementary teacher considered her students her aim while the class her means. Their ages, developmental levels and their ranks affected her choice and her handling of the subject. Again, only a dedicated teacher who was fully absorbed by her profession, and who continually made advancements in teaching and learning was worthy of the title of early childhood/elementary teacher.

The last book entitled *Social Education* covered the following aspects:

Aesthetic Education
Design and Character of Society
Sociability
Rank
Luxury and Fashion
Talent and Genius
Profession
Educational Establishments for Women
The Public
Festivities
Freedom
Fatherland and
Church (365-496).

The longest chapter "Educational Establishments for Women" addressed the need for female education. Kasthofer-Niederer stated:

> The need for female educational establishments lies in the educational needs of society and especially in the need of educating our daughters. The aim of female education is trifold: (1) to provide parental guidance and schooling where they are absent; (2) to supplement what is lacking in the home- and school education and to carry forward, continue, and extend their work; and, finally, (3) to elevate women's education to another level and to create for women cultural means while making these means accessible (433).

Furthermore, Kasthofer-Niederer argued that the wisdom of upbringing and teaching skills were not inborn talents—they were acquired in a learning process. She prescribed teaching roles to women primarily in early childhood (*Erzieherin*), but did not limit their abilities to early childhood education. She pointed out that women were in need of education, be it preparation for motherhood, the study of early childhood education, or a higher level of education for a teaching profession.

It is evident that Kasthofer-Niederer built on Pestalozzi's theory of maternal love. However, her philosophy is not a naïve belief that the mother becomes transformed by her love into a skilled and understanding teacher (Pestalozzi v. 9; R. Niederer 1828). She demonstrated a thorough knowledge of child and parental psychology and cultural influences that informed her ideas on teaching. While she

alluded to the value of maternal love, she understood that this feeling had to be given a proper direction.

Overall, her work is better organized and better grounded in practical experiences, the knowledge of human nature and the reality of her time than the works by Pestalozzi highlighting women's roles in education and elementary education in general. Pestalozzian theory was a path of trial and error that he explored while teaching. Kasthofer, on the other hand, did not experiment with her writing until she fully understood her teacher's philosophy and developed her own theories based on her practical experiences at the Yverdon female school. Thus *Blicke* is the most complete representation of Pestalozzi's elementary method highlighting the aspects of women's roles in education.

Kasthofer's book had a great impact on Swiss education and on the education of neighboring countries, as it enjoyed great reviews (Eichfuss 94). For example, *The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle* in England described the book as a masterpiece among educational writings, naming it "a mustard-grain of wisdom … in the midst of all this quackery, nonsense, and sectarianism, which our age has honoured with the name of education" (1829, 258.) Eichfuss mentions that Kasthofer-Niederer's book was read in Russia, published in Dutch, being first available in Amsterdam, and was also supposed to be translated into French. The author stated that she was half way finished translating her book into English, but there is no evidence that it was ever published (Eichfuss 95). Across the Atlantic prominent educators also knew about the publication of *Blicke* and Kasthofer's accomplishments in the field of female education. Henry Barnard translated the

title as *Looks into the Essence of Female Education for Educated Mothers and Daughters* and referenced it in the *American Journal of Education* alluding to the high value of Kasthofer's experiences as an instructor of young girls and future teachers (Barnard 1859, 152). Despite her influence, Kasthofer rarely appeared in history alongside Pestalozzi's male associates. Even less known are her other written works. Her book *Insights into the Essence of Female Education*—a well-organized presentation of educational principles for parents and teachers has remained unexplored in the United States, probably due to the fact that English translations had not been available.

Kasthofer's Student Josephine Stadlin

Among many female students whom Kasthofer-Niederer inspired to serve their country by responsibly fulfilling their roles in the upbringing and teaching of the new generation, the most distinguished was Josephine Stadlin (1806 -1875). Josephine was exposed to Pestalozzi's ideas from her childhood growing up under the guidance of her aunt who received her education at the Yverdon *Mädchenschule*. After the death of her father, she opened a school and successfully operated it until she learned about Yverdon and decided to move there to study. Under the guidance of the Niederers, Stadlin acquired a thorough knowledge of Pestalozzi's method, and upon her graduation was offered a teaching position at the *Mädchenschule* (Graf 128-9). In 1839 she opened her own school for girls near Yverdon, but two years later she transferred it to Zurich.

Besides her work as an educator, Stadlin organized and managed the Union of the Swiss Female Teachers (1841), and starting in 1845, she was the editor of

the journal entitled *Die Erzieherin* (*Female Early Childhood Teacher*) for five years. In 1847, she organized the Swiss Female Seminar for women who wanted to become teachers. Being far ahead of her contemporaries, the female Pestalozzian must have surprised them with the progressive and innovative ideas which went beyond those of Kasthofer. She argued that the domestic roles of women such as mothers and wives did not define their personhood. Just as men, women needed self-advancement:

> A life that is confined and confronted with unlimited demands; the sex that is reproached by the other with the lack of foothold and God knows what else is disallowed to gain the missing—such life must look for real light above itself and receive it; must resolve with the use of intellect the apparent contradictions in its nature and purpose. Some fruitful principles could develop if such life does not degenerate (Graf 130).

Many parents found her ideas unorthodox and were unwilling to place their daughters in Stadlin's establishment. She had to close her school due to the low enrollment (Graf; Grunder 1991).

At the beginning of the twentieth century Graf noted that Stadlin's philosophy and practice corresponded to those of a modern woman (129). For example, she was the first to introduce Switzerland to the challenges of female emancipation and to declare women's independence as a defining part of their human existence. She claimed that every woman had the right to education, the right to be educated by female teachers, and the right to enter the teaching profession in educational institutions (130). In this way Stadlin improved Kasthofer-Niederer's theory and gave it a more democratic and progressive direction.

Pestalozzian influence helped Kasthofer and Stadlin surpass their contemporaries on ideas about women's and children's education. For instance,

both women's views of children went against the romanticized image of a child that prevailed during this time. Instead, they used theories and observations—a type of praxis—that took into consideration the children's development. Both female Pestalozzians also contradicted the common image of woman during the times which idealized as feminine, tender, adorable, quiet, and inseparable from her domestic role (Eichfuss; Grunder 1991; Raumer 1988). In this way, fighting against the *Zeitgeist* of their time, Kasthofer and Stadlin defined the ideals of the emerging women's movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Graf wrote that these women:

> …developed [Pestalozzi's] ideas further. Rosette Kasthofer brought the female sex into working life and into the domain of national patriotic interests. Josephine Stadlin made the right of women's self-determination into a principle and declared their right to a universal humane education. The threshold of the women's movement was thus reached. A strong impetus from the economic transformation had then to occur to realize Pestalozzi's program as well as that of his pupils (Grunder 1992, 11).

Following in her teacher's footsteps, Stadlin published a pamphlet, *Ankündigung für die Meisterschule im schweizerischen weiblichen Seminar* (1867) (*Presentation of the Model School in the Swiss Female Teachers' Training Seminar*). Here she presented ideas on female education and the organization thereof. She also referred positively to the Pestalozzian methodology of elementary teaching by which the students should learn and be taught. Her voice appears to be more forceful than that of Kasthofer when she declares in *Die Erzieherin*, that women have to take charge of their education and the education of their daughters (Grunder 1991, 247).

Betty Gleim: A German Female Pestalozzian

The few sources that are available on Pestalozzi's female associates are focused on Rosette Kasthofer and her student Josephine Stadlin. However, this list is incomplete without another associate, Betty Gleim. Gleim practiced Pestalozzi's methods in Bremen Germany prior to Kasthofer's and Stadlin's work. It is, therefore, not a surprise that she was one of the leading German female voices at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The German Pestalozzian advocated on behalf of women the need to make improvements in women's education and their employment opportunities. She was familiar with Petalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude* and *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, and she visited Pestalozzi's *Töchterinstitut* at Yverdon in 1806. Inspired by his practice of girls' education, she opened a similar school in Bremen shortly after her visit (Simonton 2006, 104).

Gleim grew up in a middle-class family where a good education was highly valued. As a young woman she was briefly engaged but did not marry, opting instead to dedicate herself to teaching. Her father died when she was twenty-five leaving her to support her family. During the same year she founded the School for Daughters of the Higher Classes. The school followed a more serious academic curriculum than most female schools of the time by offering vocational training, and thereby encouraging women to be engaged outside the home in pursuit of a profession. In her writings, Gleim presented education as an opportunity toward equality between men and women, and thus argued its equal importance to both sexes (Simonton 105). Unlike many male leaders, she placed emphasis on education of the individual rather than politics. She explained her position in her

book *Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts* (*Education and Training of the Female Sex*). Published in 1810 the book greatly corresponded with Pestalozzi's idea of education for the sake of common people and social regeneration (244). Gleim used multiple references to Pestalozzi's philosophy, methodology, and quotes from *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* thus revealing her connection to the Pestalozzian method (Gleim). The treatise became an important basis for the German-speaking feminists to support their arguments in defense of vocational opportunities for unmarried women.

The work of Pestalozzi's female associates and successors, such as Kasthofer, Stadlin and Gleim, was the hopeful beginning for improvements in female education for generations to come. Despite the hostile environment of the male-dominated intellectual and professional life, these women advanced in their intellectual pursuits and professional careers. Their work opened up the opportunities for other women to receive an intellectually challenging education and to enter professional fields outside the home. Their accomplishments were in close correlation with their networking skills which were needed to advance and promote their writings and their views regarding women's professional work and gender injustices. Johannes Muralt wrote to Kasthofer in 1848:

> …you are a world-citizen who has loving and grateful female friends everywhere. You rise above the changefulness and ignorance of our time and live in the rich enjoyment of nature, always thinking, loving, and researching. You are faithful to the Kingdom of God and believe in His justice. I hope you will enjoy happy days filled with pleasures (Eichfuss 18).

Muralt pointed out that her ability to network led to the dissemination of her ideas and her methodology. However, her successful networking cannot be completely attributed to her accomplishments. First and foremost, the fame of Pestalozzi's

Knabenschule attracted the majority of visitors, and the proximity of the *Mädcheninstitut* allowed visitors to make trips to the girls' school at Yverdon. As a part of the Yverdon establishment for boys, girls' school received some recognition from the observers, and Kasthofer took advantage of these encounters. For instance, after the visit of the American educator William Woodbridge, she sent with him her newly published book along with an introductory letter to one of the pioneers of American female education—Emma Willard. Kasthofer wrote:

> As summer nature is the same in every part of the world the laws to regulate and to improve it ought to be the same, and the principles of education once discovered and established in their truth can never change.
>
> The half of my life was devoted to education and the rest will be […] to the same aim. The book I offer you contains the fruits of my labors. I hope you will find it worthy your attention.
>
> Mr. Woodbridge informed me of your efforts and the happ[y] results for female education. I am delighted to think that we pursued the same ends with the same desire to be useful and thought separated by land and se[a], we are united by our effort to promote the we[l]fare of mankind by the improvement of our sex.
>
> I am yours very truly,
> Rosette Niederer
>
> Yverdon 1 May 1829 (Willard 1829).

Kasthofer-Niederer also tried to establish contact with the American women in New York when her educational establishment in Genf experienced problems with enrollment (Eichfuss). Of no less importance were her immediate contacts with Pestalozzi's close associates: Niederer, Naegeli, and Tobler who observed and described the function of the girl's school, specifics of the instruction and the method, and the curriculum of the school (Israel 1904, 180-186). Their authority and fame helped to promote Kasthofer-Niederer's system for the girl's education and disseminate her ideas. Publications addressing girls' education and its

importance continued following Pestalozzian ideas throughout the nineteenth century.

The work and influences of Kasthofer, Stadlin and Gleim are irreplaceable parts of Pestalozzi's history of ideas. However, they have been denied their rightful place in the historical record. The influence of women on the formation of reformer's ideas as well as the praxis of Pestalozzian female associates cannot be ignored for (1) women's activities were essential to the development of the Pestalozzian method; (2) women's support was the legacy of the educator's success (for instance, his wife and daughter-in-law's financial support, their skillful management of finances, editing of his writings, and teaching alongside the Swiss reformer); and (3) the significance of his influences on the development of female education. While we can observe the spread of his views in the traditional/male education of most European countries and the United States, the effects of his theory and practice on female education remain hidden. The impact of his praxis on the United States is especially controversial. In order to investigate the extent of Swiss influence across the Atlantic we follow the path of early American progressive educators to Prussia and the German lands where Pestalozzian methods were first and most successfully adopted.

CHAPTER IV

PESTALOZZIANISM IN PRUSSIA, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES[16]

Preconditions for the Adaptation of Pestalozzi's Method in Prussia and Germany

Pestalozzi earned an international reputation as an educational reformer as a result of the widely circulated novel *Leonard and Gertrude* during the late eighteenth century. The novel also described the lives of common people in a village, the dynamics of their relationships and of the socioeconomic structure of their community and the means through which a community could undergo a total change. These means included better education, more active participation of the community members in the life of a community and communication with the administration. It demonstrated humane relationships encouraged by religious/spiritual feelings, and most importantly, it displayed healthy and loving family relationships. The novel appealed to a wide audience due to the simple natural development of community life. However, many political figures also seriously considered its message regarding education. For instance, an Austrian Minister of Finance was in correspondence with Pestalozzi regarding his popular work (April 26th 1784):

> Your plans and efforts for the education of the poor, and the reform of vicious children, and more particularly whatever you think necessary for the instruction of the people, and whatever you think should form the object of legislative measures, will have a great importance in my eyes, and I shall receive with the greatest pleasure everything you write on this subject (Guimps 84).

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[16] After the Napoleonic wars in 1810, Prussia was the core of the North German Federation which became part of the German Empire or Deutsches Reich with the territories that at the time rivaled the Austrian Empire and included parts of Poland, the provinces of West Prussia, East Prussia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Pomerania, Rhineland, Westphalia, Silesia, Lusatia, and a small detached area in the south called Hohenzollern, the ancestral home of the Prussian ruling family.

Then again, on December 19th 1787, the minister wrote to the educator: "I have read the fourth volume twice. From page 164 it is of the deepest interest, and develops views of great importance for all legislation affecting the masses" (Guimps 85). Pestalozzi's hope that the novel would bring on changes in education and society started taking shape. Although the author was disappointed in the lack of public interest in all parts of the novel, he was aware that the most important benefit of these volumes was that people who were capable of setting in motion the changes he proposed, were interested in his praxis.

His writings and practice in Burgdorf attracted many intellectuals looking for ways to improve education. In 1793, he started a friendship with German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) at Richterswyl where Pestalozzi was paying a visit to his maternal uncle Hotze. Fichte already held Pestalozzi and his ideas on popular education in high esteem. His visit to Richterswyl and his promise to do everything he could to help spread Pestalozzian praxis proved to the Swiss educator that his intentions were sincere. Being philosophers and sharing the same hope for social regeneration, they both enjoyed long years of friendship (Ehrhardt 1908, 8).

Fichte believed that Pestalozzi schools would bring unity and preservation to the German nation. He expressed his wish for the implementation of Pestalozzian education in his *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808) (Kuhlemann 309). Again, his primary desire was to see the German people unite and pursue common goals as a nation. Therefore, he argued for the improvement of education in multiple aspects such as spiritual, intellectual and vocational. Raising children to

love and care for their family and state was important to both Pestalozzi and Fichte; they also considered harmonious living and personal happiness to be important. Along with the acquisition of the three Rs, Pestalozzi's methodology called for teaching a balance between physical and mental work, as well as love, help and care for others. The Swiss reformer desired his students to be industrious and disciplined. Fichte became one of the most influential disseminators of Pestalozzi's ideas among the German-speaking intellectuals, because he believed in the same educational means for the common people (Kuhlemann).

During the 1780s-90s Fichte was not alone in his endeavors to implement Pestalozzi's educational method in the German lands. Many intellectuals of the time were interested in the reformer's ideas and those who did not visit Burgdorf in person could familiarize themselves with his practice by reading Ith's, Herbart's, and Torlitz's reports of the Burgdorf school that were based on their observations.

Political developments were the great mobilizers of educational reforms as well. In 1806 the battle at Jena between Prussia and Napoleon's army ended in a shameful defeat for Prussian King Wilhelm III. After this victory, the French army fortified its position by occupying Prussian lands. The occupation, lasting for several years, awakened many Prussians to think of ways to improve their military defense and their spirit of patriotism in the country. Prussian generals proposed the establishment and reorganization of military schools along with the establishment of normal schools. Generals August Neidhardt von Gneisenau (1760-1831) and Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) experienced the defeat at Jena firsthand. Their frustration and humiliation after the conquest mobilized them to

look for ways to advance Prussian defense, and to improve upon what they considered to be a lack in national sentiment and unification among the Prussian people. They became among the most dedicated and enthusiastic advocates in the implementation of the Pestalozzi system in Prussian military and normal school education (Stübig 1982).

Gneisenaus was not personally acquainted with Pestalozzi but he knew about his innovations in educational theory and practice through Pestalozzi's writings and eye-witness accounts of the successes of his establishments. By this time Pestalozzi's methodology was beginning to take shape in his four volumes of *Leonard and Gertrude* and *How Gertrude Teaches her Children* (1801). Because the latter was based on his more matured teaching experience in Burgdorf (1799-1804), the work delineated his method in a more precise and concise way, than did *Leonard and Gertrude*. Gneisenaus's recommendation to implement Pestalozzi's method was based on the treatise *How Gertrude Teaches her Children* and the *Report* by Johann Ith. The general referred to Pestalozzi's concept of *Elementarmethode*, i.e. the educational foundation of number, form, and language and other means of pedagogical instruction.[17] First of all, Pestalozzi addressed the need for prior knowledge and skills in former learning. It was important that subjects not be taught in isolation but rather in correlation to real life experiences. Secondly, he stressed the development of the inner nature that is informed by the external influences especially when the experience of external nature is rooted in

[17] *Elementarmethode* is literally translated into English as "elementary method." It included the basics of number, form and language combined with other forms of education such as religious, moral, and vocational teaching.

the realities of life. For example, maternal love (external influence) triggers positive moral development. However, nature itself is not necessarily educative—it requires guidance and organization (methodology).[18] Finally, he noted that the methodology must rely on natural (external) processes that should be taught in an organized way and in correspondence with the developmental stages of a child (Pestalozzi v. 9). From previously mentioned Ith's *Report* Gneisenaus learned that Pestalozzi's system received high evaluation and it had been recommended to the Swiss government to establish more schools based on Pestalozzi's principles (Stübig 7). Based on this information, Gneisenaus thought it was most useful in enlightening the common people and rousing the national sentiment. He recommended this methodology to Wilhelm III and respectfully asked for its implementation in the Prussian schools.

Meanwhile, General Carl von Clausenwitz learned about the Swiss methodology through another supporter of the reformer Madame de Staël.[19] Many Prussian military commanders were in the process of reforming their schools or the order of their teaching methods. While pursuing the same goals, General Clausenwitz was the only person from the top of the military hierarchy who became personally acquainted with Pestalozzi. He then proposed to apply Pestalozzi's methodology in the setting of military training and common schools (Stübig 35). He also used his connections to help establish Pestalozzian schools throughout Prussia.

[18] This view contradicts Rousseau's idea that nature alone can educate a child.

[19] Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817) resided in Sweden after her marriage in 1786. She was known for her progressive views on political matters and education in which she actively participated. She was an ardent supporter of Pestalozzi's ideas.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Prussian generals and the government administration formed a strong coalition for reformation and establishment of schools in accordance with this new method. Some of Pestalozzi's acquaintances sought his friendship and others met him on rare occasions when he left his residence and work. In 1791 he met Georg Heinrich Nicolovius (1767-1839), who later became Concillor of the Prussian government, placing him in charge of education (Pinloche 28). When Pestalozzi went to Leipzig for his sister's wedding in 1792, he used the occasion to meet some influential intellectuals and to visit several German Training Schools, which he found far from satisfactory. During this time he met such prominent figures like German poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1831), German poet and writer Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), German philosopher and poet Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and German philosopher Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743-1819) (Guimps 97; Pinloche 28-29). This circle of intellectuals held Pestalozzi's practice in high regard and promoted its application in the common school movement. Their respected voices made a considerable contribution to the dissemination of Pestalozzianism in the German-speaking territories and abroad.

Spread of Pestalozzi's Methodology in Prussia and the German Lands

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Pestalozzian praxis had much support from the prominent intellectuals, political figures, and military elite. The reformer's writings, others' writings about Pestalozzi's establishments, and the enthusiasm of his powerful friends who disseminated his ideas were evidence of

his success. However, practical application of the Swiss methodology by his students was a real test for the universal application of his ideas. The two most prominent figures in disseminating Pestalozzian principles in Prussia through practice were Johann Ernst Plamann (1771-1834) and Karl August Zeller (1774-1846).

After becoming familiar with Pestalozzi's writings, Plamann borrowed money and in 1803 went to learn the progressive method at Burgdorf:

> Pestalozzi received me like a father. No man ever looked so quickly and deeply into my soul as he. At once he comprehended my whole being, and pressed me to his breast with the warmth of a brother. At his side I learned to feel how many were my faults as a man. I was modest, and told him of my discovery with tearful eyes. "You are a child of nature," he answered; "adept in the rules of science and art, which I am not; and which, nevertheless, a man must be in this world." Thus he used to encourage me to have more confidence in myself. A poem which I gave him moved him to tears. He smothered me with kisses, and said, " No one has understood me so well" (Barnard v. 7, 310).

Pestalozzi recognized Plamann's great ability to teach. The master asked Plamann to stay after his training came to an end, but the student was too excited to begin teaching in Berlin. Thus he rushed to Germany leaving his teacher and friend saddened by his quick exit. Plamann established an institution in Berlin (September 1805) that quickly became popular:

> The founder soon drew about him a notable following. With enlightened judgment, the public authorities gave his enterprise material support, paying him to train students and teachers in the methods that he practiced. Friedrich Friesen taught at Plamann's… Jahn himself, the father of gymnastics, taught at Plamann's. Also teaching were Harnisch and Dreist, who were to render such noble service in the education of the people. August, also with Lützow, was noted in science and mathematics. Greatest of all was Friedrich Frobel, inventor of the kindergarten—these all served under Plamann … Ernst Eiselen, however, who taught the boy gymnastics, is less well known than some of those just mentioned… (Barnard v. 20, 603).

As a true Pestalozzian, he put emphasis on the harmonious development of mind and body. Physical exercises were frequently conducted between lessons and only those with serious illnesses could be excused. Students' progress in the sequencing

of the subjects depended on their preparedness. The formation of character was of utmost importance. Plamann believed that "all education is to bring the training of the mind into harmony with the moral and religious training, which can only be effected if the former is subordinated to the latter. Children must be taught in every relation of life to feel a higher regard for what has moral or religious worth than for the most brilliant intellectual achievements" (311). Plamann's publications demonstrated Pestalozzi's approach to teaching language, geography, and natural History (*Some Principles of the Art of Instruction According to Pestalozzi's Method, Applied to Natural History, Geography, and Language* (1805), *Course of Instruction for a Pestalozzian School for Boys* (1806), and *Elementary Methods of Instruction in Language and Science* (1806). According to Henry Barnard "... all applied to him for directions, school-books, plans for schools, and information as to the spread and results of the new method; he was also in communication with persons in foreign countries" (1859, 219; Laubach & Smith 2011). Prussian government took an interest in Plamann's efforts and it was in part due to his practice that Pestalozzian principles became the goal of the Prussian school reform (Krüsi).

Another teacher and follower of the Pestalozzian method was Karl August Zeller (1774-1840). Zeller was appointed to be a teacher in Brugg after graduating from a theological seminary. He taught for five years until he decided to get acquainted with Pestalozzi's institution in Burgdorf in 1803. He became dedicated to the new method, and in 1804 founded two schools for poor children in which he applied Pestalozzian praxis. In 1806 Zeller established a teacher training school in

Zurich which earned very positive reviews. In 1808 he taught with the reformer and later was asked to train teachers in Fellenberg's vocational school at Hofwyl, Switzerland. King of Wirtemberg Friedrich I attended five of his lectures and called him back to his native country to continue his work.[20] He continued training teachers until April 1809 when he received permission to open an Orphan School in Konigsberg that would serve as a model to teachers and clergy desiring to learn a new methodology (Stübig).

Concurrently, Zeller continued training teachers and by "May, 1810, the institution had grown so that the first course of lectures was attended by 104 deans, superintendents and pastors, and the second by 70 clergymen and teachers" (Barnd v. 7, 223-225). Encouraged by his success and with the support of the Prussian government, Zeller established two more teacher training institutes. Under Zeller's influence, and because of his initiatives, forty-five teacher-training institutes had become available in Prussia between 1826-1840 (Glenn 2011, 31). In the later years of his career, Zeller wrote extensively on the subject of education. Among his best-known works were *The Schoolmaster School* (Leipzig, 1839), *Elementary Schools* (Konigsberg, 1815), *The Evangel of Jesus Christ* (1839), *Methods of Learning, Elementary Geometry for Common Schools* (Stuttgart 1839), and *Elementary Singing-Book for Common Schools* (Stuttgart, 1839). In this way Prussian schools adopted many of Pestalozzi's views on moral instruction and vocational training. Prussian Minister of Education Schäffner referred to Zeller as a

[20] Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771-1844)—a follower of Pestalozzi who established a vocational school in Hofwyl. Unlike Pestalozzian schools, Fellenberg's school was separated into two—for the rich and poor.

genius whose fame served as proof to the success of Pestalozzian methodology: "If Zeller will be able to change much, Pestalozzi will remain Columbus in education, whose method simplified the learning process" (63). His influence remained an essential component in the implementation of Pestalozzi's method in Prussia (Stübig 63-64).

Another influential Pestalozzian follower who shared educational goals with Plamann and Zeller was Gotthilf Christoph Busolt (1771-1831). Busolt started practicing Pestalozzi's methodology in the 1800s; however, he did not fully dedicate himself to the purpose of disseminating Pestalozzianism until educational reform in Prussia came about. Along with other believers in the progressive method, he practiced in the heart of Prussia—Konigsberg. The state officials and Nicolovius supported these educational developments with enthusiasm. In order to assure the correctness of their application, they invited Zeller to conduct a demonstration in 1809, and also sent eleven Prussian teachers to Yverdon. This way the Prussian school reform made considerable advancements in the application of Pestalozzianism (Guimps; Soetard; Silber; Stübig). Since 1800 Busolt had worked as a member of the commission for churches and schools. He published various pamphlets and books on the subject of education. Napoleon's invasion brought on much desired reform in education and in 1809 Busolt served as a member of city parliament. He was an advocate for the establishment of Pestalozzian schools for the poor and ardently served this purpose by becoming a member of Wilhelm von Humboldt's committee on educational reform in Konigsberg (Busolt & Chambers 1990, 6).

Prussian minister and Pestalozzian advocate Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) described the fundamental aspects of the Pestalozzian system that he witnessed in Zeller's practice. He observed that religion played a central role in the children's upbringing. Everything was based on religious feelings of love and respect of a higher being. The implementation of this fundamental concept in the students' lives and learning, enabled teachers to avoid corporal punishment. Another aspect that Humboldt noted was children's active participation in the educational process. From the beginning, children were instructed to care for each other and help one another in acquiring knowledge. This way children became accustomed to order, strict rules, and fairness. These relationships were based on mutual love and the expression of mutual appreciation. An important aspect of the reform was the intertwining of the teaching and learning processes, which made knowledge acquisition more natural. The primary difference from the traditional approach to teaching was in Pestalozzi's goal to develop and practice the main abilities of a child (Stübig 66). Humboldt described his observations as follows:

> Parts of the method are identifiable as the following areas of development: body is strengthened and developed by means of physical exercise; eyes and ears are used to accuracy and acuteness by means of drawing and music; head by means of number correspondence part of which is arithmetic, by means of measurement that includes mathematical elements; by means of solid knowledge of the mothers tongue that relies on the clear and definite understanding of words and concepts; finally, head and heart are cultivated by means of religious teachings and the development of natural moral feelings. Reading and writing are naturally added in part to language and in part to drawing lessons. Work, instructions to some most useful crafts, dressmaking, shoemaking, weaving and so forth, gardening and agriculture are connected with physical exercise (Stübig 67).

Notable for the practice of a Pestalozzian system of education in Prussia was that in its initial stage the teachers were genuinely dedicated to its main tenet of harmonious development of heart, head, and hands. However, as any political

system that adjusts education to meet its goals, the Prussian system became identified with an autocratic form of government. While other countries looked up to Prussia and its growing success in educational improvements, some countries such as the United States, with a democratic form of government, was weary of the role of Prussian government in their approach to education. U.S. educators nevertheless borrowed heavily from the system while ridding of "undemocratic" aspects.[21]

Evidence shows that in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Prussian system of education reflected authenticity in the application of the Pestalozzian method which correlated to the ideals of democracy. For example, Prussian state minister Heinrich Friedrich Stein (1757-1831) wrote in 1807: "In order to improve our nation, we should give the oppressed freedom, autonomy and the right of property as well as protect them by law" (Stübig 53). Stein argued that such political change could not be achieved without school reform in the spirit of Pestalozzi. He wrote multiple essays stating the need for a new school system. His colleagues Nicolovious and Johann Wilhelm von Süvern (1775-1829) supported Stein in his efforts by (53-54). The direction of the Prussian educational system was entrusted to Nicolovius and Süvern in 1808, because they were already familiar with Pestalozzi's methodology and some of them knew him personally. Queen Louise also enthusiastically supported their efforts, since she herself was an admirer of the great reformer (Pinloche 66).

[21] U.S. democracy was in its beginning stage and it could hardly be called "democracy." Issues like right to vote limited to white males and racial and gender discrimination are among many that precluded the U.S. political system from being truly democratic.

Even the Prussian King, Wilhelm III, was well informed of the benefits of education for the common people, in which Pestalozzi's approach achieved great results. The King appointed Friedrich Leopold von Schrötter (1743-1815) to reorganize Prussian schools. Shortly after his appointment in 1808 Schrötter established communication with Pestalozzi. He wrote:

> Entirely convinced of the great value of the method of education invented and so happily applied by you, I have resolved to proceed to a complete reform of education in the Prussian provinces, founded on the introduction of this method in the primary schools, from which I expect the greatest affect on the education of the people (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2010, 540).

Schrötter informed Pestalozzi that by sending two very able young men to Yverdon, he hoped to "draw from the purest source itself for the spirit of the whole method of education and instruction," to be initiated in the method "under the guidance of its venerable originator," and not only to " learn the different isolated parts, but also to grasp the whole in its various relations and its most intimate connections" (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2010, 543; Pinloche 67). Pestalozzi agreed to hosting and training these young men. Also, in his letter dated February 13 1809, Nicolovius informed Pestalozzi that Johann Wilhelm Preuss (1770-1867), Peter Friedrich Theodor Kawerau (1789-1844), and Johann Wilhelm Mathias Henning (1783-1868) would train at Yverdon (Pestalozzi, Horlacher & Tröhler 2010, 649). Their practice must have been successful, for in September of the same year the fourth student came to Yverdon. Multiple people who sought to help their country's regeneration via a reformed educational system followed the example of these teachers. Pestalozzi was overjoyed by the increased interest in his theory and practice. Pinloche noted "his eager desire to fulfill all expectations, and the

superhuman work he imposed on himself to satisfy all the demands of his visitors" (Pinloche 67).

One can safely conclude that Prussia was the most eager among neighboring Swiss countries to accept such a system of education and reform for its schools. Several factors played a part in this rapid adaptation of Pestalozzi's methodology. First, the proximity of Prussia to Switzerland allowed fast correspondence and travel time to witness the benefits of Burgdorf and Yverdon. Secondly, the commonality of the language allowed for communication and understanding; and thirdly, Napoleon's invasion into Prussia raised people's national and patriotic sentiments. Consequently, the ruling class recognized the need of educational reform (Stübig). At the beginning of the nineteenth century one could see a unified effort of both the prominent people and the government officials to unite and share the same aspirations for the future of the country. The number of common schools grew, and teacher training institutions multiplied every year preparing new teachers, clergy, and educational administrators to use Pestalozzi's method. With so much effort and enthusiasm it is no wonder that the Prussian wave of school reform lured other European countries to its success and even had far-reaching influences across the Atlantic in the United States.

Pestalozzianism in the United States

The early nineteenth century in the United States witnessed the beginnings of several social movements. The seeds of two movements—common school movement and women's movement—grew together as (1) educators and political figures realized the need for universal education; and (2) secondary, boarding

seminaries for women were started. The attention observed in these movements lead to major educational changes suitable for a democratic society. Many educators and politicians traveled abroad in search of new ideas and brought back the progressive ideas of Pestalozzi from Prussia and the German lands. Information on these reforms became available to the general public through multiple publications as well as some early practices that fit Pestalozzian methodology. No less important was the work of women, many of whom sought employment as teachers. Graduating from some of the early female seminaries, these women were prepared in the progressive methods that included Pestalozzi's approach. Plied with strong religious beliefs and new methods, these young women dotted the landscape of schools in the western United States and its territories during the 1820s-1840s (Laubach & Smith 2011, 349).

By the late 1820s, Pestalozzianism started spreading in New York, Massachusetts, and other states in New England. The Swiss teaching methods found their way to the United States through educational reformers who went to Prussia and personally witnessed the implementation of Pestalozzianism in Prussian public schools and teacher training institutions. Also, educators familiarized themselves with the progressive ideas of the time through abundant publications that explained Pestalozzi's methods. In the first instance, men interested in reform, such as Charles Brooks, William Channing Woodbridge, and James Carter made trips to Prussia to better understand how the latest educational reforms were being implemented. Through dissemination of public lectures and speeches and translations of Pestalozzi's writings, these men reached a wide

audience upon their return. It was estimated by one Prussian professor that at least half of the Prussian design and implementation could be attributed to Pestalozzi. Professor, Dr. F. Adolph Diesterweg said that "after 1808 was the present Prussian or rather Prussian-Pestalozzian school system established for he is entitled to at least one-half of the fame of the German popular schools" (Cubberley 1920, 569-70; Laubach & Smith).

In order to familiarize the reader with Pestalozzi's publications and views William Channing Woodbridge started translating Pestalozzi's works such as *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* into English (Wright & Glass 2010, 14). Woodbridge edited *Annals of American Education* and already in the first volume of his journal described Pestalozzi's and Fellenberg's systems of instructions. For instance, the introductory pages of the *Annals* had a drawing of the Hofwyl's architectural design. Hofwyl school in Switzerland ran by Fellenberg—Pestalozzi's student and colleague—was a popular destination of the educators equal in its popularity to Pestalozzi's establishments. Woodbridge gave detailed account of Pestalozzi's and Fellenberg's establishments delineating their educational methodology and approaches. Furthermore, he attributed all progressive accomplishments in education first and foremost to Germany and Switzerland where Pestalozzian schools provided an exemplary model for normal schools (Russell, Woodbridge & Alcott 1826). Woodbridge also visited the *Töchterinstitut* at Yverdon and was acquainted with Kasthofer. He encouraged the networking of Pestalozzi's female assistant with the prominent American female educators (Willard).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century women were becoming outspoken advocates for education of their sex while taking up the opportunity to teach as the first step to liberation. For instance, Catharine Beecher saw the teaching career as a way for women to contribute to society outside of home. This path, however, was not to override the importance of women's roles as mothers and homemakers. Beecher believed that women's roles at home could directly translate into the outside roles in the important sphere of public education (Laubach & Smith 350). Public education and women's education that included their practical skills as homemakers and caretakers—Republican Motherhood—largely correlated with the beliefs of women-teachers in Germany and Switzerland.

An enormous amount of literature regarding Pestalozzi's methods was circulating in the United States in 1820s and 1830s. For women it was a valuable source of information as their social status limited them in their mobility and finances to travel abroad or receive education. The *Cambridge History of English and American Literature* references the *American Journal of Education* as an appealing source to a cultured audience that provided information on education and its "fundamental importance. In the broadest social sense, not in the narrow technical one, the journal aimed to be educative" (Monroe v. 23, 32). In 1826 William Russell founded the *American Journal of Education*—a rich resource on the latest ideas and practices in education that became available to professionals and the larger public (Monroe 32; Laubach & Smith).

The first volume of this journal covered several articles on Pestalozzian ideas. From reading these articles one can conclude that the readership was already informed of Pestalozzian practices and other educational reform efforts. For example, the use of sensible objects based on the concepts of Pestalozzian methodology was exemplified in one article on the Boston monitorial school:

> Pestalozzi wished to illustrate everything to the senses; and charmed with the philosophy of Bacon,—who reasoned only from facts and carried illustration by the side of theory, he [Pestalozzi] wished every child to begin with the elements of knowledge and advance no faster than he understood the facts and propositions presented to his mind (Russell 1826, 161).

Another was a report on the Christ Church Sunday School in Boston. This school used a combination of Lancastrian and Pestalozzian principles in teaching Sunday school to children from the ages of four to sixteen. The younger children were taught with Pestalozzi methods, and the monitorial classes were listed for ages fourteen to sixteen (Russell 278; Laubach & Smith).

A section of the journal gave an overlook of new books. In one, by William B. Fowle, entitled *The Child's Arithmetic*, the "elements of calculation in the spirit of Pestalozzi's method for the use of children between the ages of three and seven" were used. The reviewer also wished that this book would be "in the hands of every intelligent mother who feels an interest in the early improvement of her children" (Russell 384). This was an introduction to a more advanced math textbook by Colburn. Finally, the journal included reports written by European faculty. One of them mentioned the ideas of Pestalozzi along with those of Locke, Rousseau, Campe, Fellenberg, and Basedow (Russell 430; Laubach & Smith).

Charles Brooks was an ardent advocate for the establishment of normal

schools. After becoming acquainted with the Prussian system of education, they gave lectures on the topic of Prussian education and in 1835 proposed to hold a number of conventions regarding implementation of normal schools. These conventions started taking place a year later. Meanwhile, Brooks kept disseminating his ideas on education by traveling and making individual appointments. He lectured under the slogan "As Is the Teacher, So Is the School" calling special attention to the need of teacher training schools like Prussia had been employing for over a decade. Being a supporter of women's employment, Brooks encouraged the participants of the educational conventions for alliance and advocacy in women's defense. With the growing number of schools there was an increasing demand for good teachers and the support of women's education and employment (Barnard 1851, 125-127).

A supporter of Pestalozzian reforms, James Carter was another Massachusetts State Legislator and education reformer who was on the side of progressive Swiss reforms. James Carter wrote Influence on an Early Education (1826) where he emphasized the role of mothers in the further development of their children (Marting 1915). Advocates for educational improvements such as James Carter and Charles Brooks finally convinced the legislature to act on behalf of the matter, and in 1837 the Board of Education was established with Horace Mann as the appointed secretary. Brooks and Mann understood that training of teachers and better job conditions were needed to improve schools. There was no complete degree or program that resulted in teaching certification (Messerli 1972, 304). When Mann heard Brooks speak of the Prussian teacher training programs,

he became convinced that this training had to be centralized and government-controlled (Williams 1937, 262). However, Mann understood that education in all countries including Prussia could be used like a machine, working to support the political system of its country. The problem with the adaptation of the Prussian school system was that it supported the autocratic form of government and therefore did not correspond to the United States ideals of freedom and democracy. Mann found the answer to this dilemma as expressed in his report:

> If the Prussian school-master has better methods of teaching Reading, Writing, Grammar, and Arithmetic, so that in half the time he produces greater and better results, surely we may adopt his modes of teaching these elements, without adopting his notion of passive obedience to government. By the ordinance of nature, the human faculties are substantially the same all over the world; and hence, the best means for their development and growth in one place must be substantially the best for their development and growth elsewhere. If a moral power over the affections and understandings of the people may be turned to evil, may it not also be employed for the highest good? A generous and impartial mind does not ask whence a thing comes, but what it is. Those who, at the present day, would reject an improvement because of the place of its origin, belong to the same school of bigotry with those who inquired if any good could come out of Nazareth; and what infinite blessings would the world have lost had that party been punished by success (Mann 1957).

Stripped of the nationalistic components, Prussian-Pestalozzian system, was suitable for adaptation in the United States. The heart of Pestalozzian philosophy, however, would be missing with the bare application of three Rs in the common schools. A peculiar development of this time was that women to whom Pestalozzi attributed so much of the method were entering the teaching profession by large numbers. Many women teachers were trained in the spirit of progressive education in the female seminaries and experienced an atmosphere of sisterhood. As previously noted, family environment was the essential component of Pestalozzi's teaching in regards to the emotional security of school (Laubach & Smith).

For the rest of the century, Pestalozzian ideas seemed to have an undying interest of the general public and educators as the *American Journal of Education* continued to cover theory and practices of the Swiss reformer. Founded in 1826, the *Journal* continued its existence until 1881 under several different editors. Henry Barnard was one of the most dedicated Pestalozzians who edited the *Journal*. In the first four volumes, Barnard referenced and quoted Pestalozzian ideas and methods more than twenty-five times. The references assume some previous knowledge of Pestalozzi as opposed to articles that introduce his concepts and method. In one article dealing with rules of grammar, the author quotes Pestalozzi:

> Were children accustomed to hear nothing but correct conversation, there would be little need of their arbitrary rules of grammar. They would naturally speak and write correctly. . .Parents and teachers cannot be too particular in their use of language, in the presence of imitative children (Barnard 1839, 92; Laubach & Smith).

Besides articles written on the subject of Pestalozzian schools, Barnard published *Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism* (1859) and other works on Pestalozzi. The work of Barnard in disseminating Pestalozzi's ideas was continued by Edward Sheldon and the Oswego movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Edward Sheldon was Superintendent of the Oswego Normal Schools (Sheldon & Sheldon Barnes 1911; Rogers 1961). Under Sheldon's guidance, the Oswego Primary Teachers Training School opened its doors in 1861 using the British-adopted Pestalozzian methods of object teaching. Margaret Jones, who practiced the British version of Pestalozzi's teaching methods, trained teachers in Oswego to use objects when instructing the children (Sheldon 1911; Rogers). The National Teachers Association reported the success of these methods in 1865 and

several hundred copies of this report were distributed throughout the country (Barnard 1865). Many found the application of the object method controversial. The English version of Pestalozzian methodology was reduced to the application of object teaching, i.e. the main idea was to use objects while teaching regardless of the content and the subject (Rodgers).

Thus, in the nineteenth century there were two primary channels transmitting Pestalozzian ideas to the United States—Prussian in the first half and British in the second part of the century. At the beginning of the century there was only one direct link to Pestalozzianism—Joseph Neef (1770-1804), who taught alongside the great Swiss reformer in Burgdorf (1800-1804). Surprisingly, Neef's praxis was disconnected from the efforts of Russell, Woodbridge, Alcott and other pioneer editors of educational media despite the proximity of Neef's work to the timeline of these publications. Yet, his efforts deserve recognition as he represented the Swiss reform in its closest to the original form.

Neef arrived in 1806 upon the invitation of William Maclure (1763-1840), "pioneer American geologist and philanthropic patron of science and education" (Gutek 1977, 3; Barlow). Prior to Neef's coming, Maclure introduced the United States to the Pestalozzian method through his publications. According to Barnard, he published an exposition of the Pestalozzian method in *National Intelligencer* on June 6, 9 and 30 of 1806 (Barnard 1880, 561). With the financial assistantship and supervision of Maclure, Neef opened schools in Philadelphia, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, and Louisville, Kentucky from 1809-1825. When describing his teaching style Gutek notes:

> Neef was always a permissive teacher whose schools were noted for their freedom from corporal punishment, ridicule and fear. … His classroom conduct was generally much more liberal than that of the conventional nineteenth century American classroom. Like the twentieth century progressive educators, Neef believed that the child could exercise his intelligence more freely in an open environment rather than one in which inquiry was closed by fear and authoritarianism (91).

Neef also opposed "class distinctions, aristocrats, and slavery" and went further than Pestalozzi in creating a program for civic education (124). Contrary to Pestalozzi's romantic hope for a paternal ruler so idealistically delineated in *Leonard and Gertrude*, Neef grounded his method in the realities of the American progressive political environment of the 1800s. His "model for educating the good citizen was the self-governing, naturally educated, republican citizen" which was to come to realization through the student's ability to reason and thus come to "formulate his own beliefs and values" (124). This model resonated with Pestalozzi's philanthropic philosophy that was based on the hope that love has regenerative power and can minimize suffering through educating people to achieve their fullest potential intellectually and financially.

Although it is evident that Neef's school curricula and spirit had promising beginnings, his establishments did not stay open for long terms. One of Neef's difficulties in winning the trust of his students and developing a relationship with their parents was his heavy German accent and his implementation of progressive ideas. Some of his students had difficulty understanding him speak and their parents did not always agree with his liberal views (Gutek 1977). Due to these obstacles and ongoing failures, Neef sought other ways to spread the method. In 1808 he published a *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education*, and in 1813, *The Method of Instructing Children Rationally in the Arts of Writing and Reading*. His

writings largely corresponded to the methodology of Pestalozzi. For example, throughout his writings he emphasized quality learning, i.e. proceeding from simple to complex and learning step by step.

The last school where Neef taught, New Harmony, was established by Robert Owen and Robert Jennings. Shortly after its opening in 1825, the school's enrollment was 140. Girls were accepted equally with boys and followed the same curriculum. Moreover, New Harmony had an infant school where the children starting at age of two were taught by Neef's wife, Eloise, and Marie Fretagiot—a Pestalozzi trainee of his early childhood education (Gutek 1968, 45).

All schools where Neef taught were short lived primarily because of their progressive nature. Monroe points out that: "[Neef] came to America twenty-five years too soon. At the time of his coming, only a few generous souls like Maclure were interested in the improvement of the schools. The renaissance in American education had not yet begun" (Monroe 1894, 11). Although the early application of Pestalozzi's praxis through the work of Maclure, Neef, and Owen did not yield great results in the development of common schools, their educational establishments, especially New Harmony, deserved their rightful place in history. As Barlow points out, New Harmony was:

> (1) the first infant school in America—1826; (2) the first Kindergarten of any type west of the Atlantic; ... (3) the first distinctive trade school; ... (4) the first public school system offering the same educational advantages to both sexes; ... and (5) the most humane and enlightened system of school government to be found anywhere at that time even in Pestalozzi's and de Fellenberg's schools (Barlow 1963, 78-9).

Meeting the same timeline as New Harmony was the development of female seminarian education fueled by the progressive ideas of the time. Women pioneers

began to apply these views with the aim to improve female education by being in step with the advanced educational ideas that isolated centers like New Harmony promoted. Their efforts found substantial support in Pestalozzi's theory and practice and the political developments of the early nineteenth century.

CHAPTER V

SPREAD OF PESTALOZZIANISM THROUGH FEMALE TEACHING PRACTICES IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Pioneers of Female Education in the United States: Restoring Links to Pestalozzianism

The first half of the nineteenth century marked the spread of progressive ideas on female education not only in Switzerland and Germany but also in the United States. In unison with European developments, American educators, politicians, and intellectuals proclaimed that female education was needed for the preparation of motherhood in baring the responsibility for the future of the nation, and their usefulness in the teaching professions outside of the home (Sweet 1985). Cubberley points out that the new wave in education in the early nineteenth century did not only concern the reform of male schools, it also created fertile ground for the spread of female educational establishments, some of which were co-educational. He calculated that in New York State alone thirty-two female academies were established between 1819 and 1853 (188). These academies, in turn, prepared the way for Female Seminaries that were established by prominent women-teachers such as Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Zilpah Grant, and Mary Lyon. By striving to educate women and train them for the teaching profession, they were interested in educational developments including Pestalozzi's theory and practice. The curricula of their schools were informed by Pestalozzian practices and other advanced pedagogical ideas of the time (Unger 2001, 843).

An earlier pioneer, who worked to change female and common education, was Emma Willard (1787-1870), the founder of Troy Female Seminary in 1821. Willard had a well-developed ability to learn and understand as she was homeschooled and encouraged by her father to satisfy her natural curiosity. Due to an early start and her father's belief in home education, Willard was intellectually advanced and fully prepared to face the challenges of traditional schooling. When she started attending Miner's academy at fifteen years of age, she showed an excellent capacity to memorize and comprehend. In two years, she fully covered the curriculum of the academy and was even asked to teach at a local school. In one year and a half, Emma was ready to continue her education, which she did at the famous Hartford school (Fowler 1859).

Immediately upon her graduation she started a remarkable career in education. Willard received three teaching proposals one of which she gladly accepted. A year after her teaching employment began, she had an offer to become head of a school at Middlebury in Vermont. She became a successful principal supported by one of the prominent politicians John Willard whom she later married. In 1814, Willard opened her own boarding school. Under her leadership and due to her untiring work the school soon became a success accounting for seventy students (Fowler).

Willard exemplified excellent abilities to multitask and to work hard. She recollected spending twelve to fifteen hours working—teaching and studying the new subjects that she wanted to introduce (135). Willard's teaching skills also contributed to her success. In her instruction she used a trifold method consisting

of understanding, memorizing, and communicating the subject of study. Concurrently with teaching, Willard worked on a proposal to the legislature regarding the improvements of female education and seeking the support of the government to establish women's seminaries. This plan was approved in 1819 by the New York legislature and her school at Waterford took an official place among the academies for males. In 1821 Mr. and Mrs. Willard moved the establishment and renamed it Troy Female Seminary that became one of the most popular and progressive female schools in its time (Fowler 128-130).

Willard's success was indebted to her determination with which she pursued her goals. She worked with the utmost zeal toward improvements in education, always educating herself for the sake of her students and her female educational establishment. Willard developed and published a method of teaching history and geography which used Pestalozzian ideas of efficiency and child interests. She incorporated a large number of visual materials that helped enhance students' knowledge acquisition (Schulten 2007).

A number of facts confirms that Willard was familiar with Pestalozzian ideas. First, she worked closely with William Woodbridge who was "the catalyst for Pestalozzian principles" and with whom she developed textbooks (Gruhn 1993, 95). Woodbridge traveled to Europe stopping in Switzerland to visit Fellenberg's school in 1820 and spent three months with Pestalozzi and Fellenberg during his second visit 1825-1829 (Gruhn 95). Next, she was up-to-date on educational innovations in Switzerland through direct correspondence with Pestalozzi's female associate Kasthofer-Niederer in 1829, a year after publication of *Insights into the*

Essence of Female Education (Willard). Finally, she held views similar to those of Pestalozzi. Emma Willard put education for mothers on the forefront of female education:

> …our sex need but be considered in the single relation of mothers. In this character, we have the charge of the whole mass of individuals, who are to compose the succeeding generation; during that period of youth, when the pliant mind takes any direction, to which it is steadily guided by a forming hand. How important a power is given by this charge! yet, little do too many of my sex know how, either to appreciate or improve it (Lord 1873, 57).

The woman pioneer developed both a pedagogical and administrative philosophy that used ideas from Pestalozzi and John Locke's theory along with her own theoretical approaches based on her valuable experiences. Just as many other female teachers of her time, she put emphasis on the Pestalozzian concept of using concrete objects for teaching while adding "order" and "system" to her teaching method (Scott 1984, 45).

Willard provided countless women with an education equal in its challenges to that of men; moreover, she inspired them to be individuals relying on their own mental and physical capacities (Scott 1979). Her task, however, in spreading education to females was much harder than that of her male contemporaries because of the weak preparation of women in schools. In order to be effective in providing her female students with a secondary education and preparing them for professional and independent lives, Willard enhanced her instruction by incorporating the progressive methods of teaching. She used the progression from simple to complex and tried to involve more sense impressions to facilitate the students' understanding. The popularity of her teaching was evidenced by the hundreds of students who attended Troy Female Seminary since 1821 (Scott 1978, 680).

Another progressive American pioneer of female education was Joseph Emerson (1777-1833). He was educated at Harvard and later Dartmouth and upon graduation dedicated his career to female education. Engaged as a congregational pastor he was also the principal of Byfield Seminary from 1818 to 1822, Saugus Seminary, and Wethersfield. Byfield was a successful enterprise attended by hundreds of women including Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon. The success of the Byfield Academy as well as the two others could be measured by the growing numbers of students each year of its existence.[22] Emerson moved his school to Saugus Massachusetts in 1822. As Saugus became more and more popular he realized that he was unable to manage the teaching without help. Emerson asked Zilpah Grant to assist him, at this point he had over 140 students (Ralph Emerson 1834).

Although Zilpah did not join him at Saugus, they kept in touch through correspondence. Zilpah Grant was one of the people with whom Emerson freely shared his progressive views on education as well as expressed criticism regarding the widely practiced contemporary education. In a letter to Zilpah regarding the commonly practiced teaching methods he stated: "I am more and more impressed and distressed with a view of the extremely injudicious, defective, superficial, and atheistic methods of teaching in common schools... . It is my decided opinion that you and I can do much more toward effecting a reformation by united than by

[22] Ralph Emerson—brother of Joseph Emerson and his biographer—listed the enrollment numbers at Byfield as follows: 1818—45, 1819—85, 1820—69, 1821—50, and 1822—122.The biographer states that these numbers are probably incorrect since they do not include the number of students from the preparatory school. Ralph Emerson brings the total amount of students that Joseph Emerson had under his care to about one thousand (Emerson 1834, 262).

separate exertions" (Emerson 1834, 261). In order to remediate these defects in the contemporary schools, Emerson worked untriedly throughout his career preparing good teachers.

He outlined his plan of female education in his *Prospectus of the Female Seminary at Wethersfield* (1826) which demonstrated a thorough knowledge of Pestalozzian doctrines. He insisted that "maxims of education" for teachers must be: usefulness and enjoyment; spiritual welfare; religious teaching; the teaching of useful subjects; and teaching according to the students' needs, with a wise distribution of time allowing the instruction of more "useful" subjects. The educator also advocated teaching from simple to complex by understanding the previous step before proceeding to the next; encouraging independent learning and monitorial knowledge exchange; teaching by example; and rendering teacher's instruction interesting. "This is the method of Pestalozzi," wrote Emerson in conclusion of his outline "and is perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of that venerable man, whose well-earned popularity is continuously rising" (Emerson 1826, 13-17).

The twelve years of his practice at Byfield, Saugus and Wethersfield (1824-1830) introduced hundreds of women to his progressive views on teaching. These women went on to teach in different parts of the United States including western states and territories. Some of the women opened teacher-training establishments, which continued the spread of his legacy and encouraged more women to learn professional teaching skills. Emerson's graduates were exposed to a challenging curriculum equal to that of the establishment for men with some alterations that

did not fit his definition of usefulness, such as the teaching of Latin and Greek languages. He suggested to:

> [l]et her attend first to those things, which are first in the order of Nature, and most easy to be understood... [He suggested] the following order of studies, Mental Arithmetic [...], Reading, Spelling, Geography, Defining, Writing, Penmaking, Composition (in the form of journals and very easy narrations and descriptions, Arithmetic, History, Grammar, Punctuation, Rhetoric, Composition (upon various subjects), Logic, Natural History, Geometry, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Domestic Philosophy, Intellectual Philosophy, Moral Philosophy and Education (Emerson 1822, 22).

Being a pastor, Emerson also fulfilled his duty in aspiring to elevate the spirituality of his students. He emphasized that the study of the Bible was the most important subject in the whole curriculum, setting students on the path to moral development. Hence, was the emphasis on religion of Emerson's students such as Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon's teachings (Fiske 1866; Green).

Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts is considered the second most important female educational establishment in the United States after Troy Seminary (Cubberley 189). The path leading its founder Mary Lyon (1797-1849) to the establishment thereof sheds light on many aspects of female education that required change. A biographical excursion will also help understand the difficulties surrounding female reforms. As many of her female contemporaries Lyon had limited opportunities to study at a young age, however, when attending the closest school (first one mile and later two miles away), she demonstrated an excellent ability to memorize and understand. In 1817 she entered Sanderson Academy of Ashfield where she quickly learned all the subjects offered to her (Barnard v. 10, 649-680).

Lyon felt the ripening desire to teach which drove her to advance her education further. Teaching also provided her with the means to continue her

education. She often took on a group of students, and after earning enough money to continue her education, she would move on to the place where she could learn a new subject. Barnard noted that:

> At one time she was in the family of Dr. Edward Hitchcock, then pastor of a church in Conway ... learning from him the principles of natural science, and from his wife the arts of drawing and painting. Then she was for a time in Amherst Academy. Again she was found in a district school solely to improve herself in penmanship under a teacher who was known to excel in that art (Barnard v. 10, 652).

Lyon was soon attracted by the demanding curriculum of Byfield Female Seminary, which she entered in 1821. This time she graduated equipped with the knowledge of progressive teaching methodology. She also found an expression of her spiritual inclinations that flourished under Emerson's guidance. Her friendship with Zilpah Grant (1794-1874), formed at Byfield, played a decisive role in her future educational initiatives on behalf of female education. Lyon started her professional career with the help of Grant. Grant invited her to teach at Adams Female Academy upon completion of her degree (Fiske).

Grant and Lyon's friendship was cemented by commonalities of their experiences with education at Byfield before the beginning of their professional careers. Grant served as principal of Adams Female Academy (1824-1827) at Derry, New Hampshire where she invited Lyon to teach. The curricula and methods of instruction at the seminary were informed by the praxis from Byfield. Additionally, both women read monthly magazines and journals that described Pestalozzian ideas and that promoted the need for improved opportunities for young women (Green 45-6). By 1818 various journals and magazines "had done much to familiarize schoolmen with the ideas and practices of the Swiss reformer"—writes Cubberley in his *History of American Education* (Cubberley 294-

295). These media publications became more influential as a rising number of women became increasingly interested in progressive ideas. Women pioneers and others interested in the progressive theory of education could read about reforms and ideas on education in publications such as:

1. The Academician, New York, 1818-1820. Twenty-five numbers, edited by Albert and John Picket.
2. The American Journal of Education, Boston, 1826-31. Five volumes, edited by William Russell.
3. The American Annals of Education, Boston, 1831-39. Nine volumes, A continuation of no. 2. Edited by Wm. C. Woodbridge.
4. The Common School Assistant, Albany, 1836-40. Five volumes, edited by J. Orville Taylor.
5. The Common School Journal, Boston, 1839-48. Ten volumes, edited by Horace Mann.
6. The Connecticut Common School Journal, Hartford, 1838-42. Four volumes, edited by Henry Barnard.
7. The Rhode Island School Journal, Providence, 1845-48. Three volumes, edited by Henry Barnard.
8. Barnard's American Journal of Education, Hartford, 1855-81. Thrity-one volumes, edited by Henry Barnard... (Cubberley 260).

All of these publications covered Pestalozzi's reforms in Switzerland, Prussia, and the German lands so that reform ideas were topics of conversation among the middle class New England men and women.

Lyon's familiarity with these progressive methods was evident in her practice. Lyon used visual materials and objects to clearly illustrate the concepts she was introducing and to engage the students' senses in order to make these concepts more comprehensible. By proceeding from simple to complex, she ensured that the learners gradually developed an understanding of the subject (Fiske). Also, Lyon must have found useful the textbooks that employed Pestalozzi's methodology as she taught Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi* (Green 46). Another aspect of the Pestalozzian

spirit was that Grant and Lyon created an atmosphere of kindness and mothering in their relationship with students by making school resemble home.

In 1829 Grant established the Ipswich Female Academy in Massachusetts. Lyon taught there for the first five years and the academy continued to successfully operate until 1839 (Capen & Labaree 347). Grant and Lyon offered a variety of subjects to their students, putting emphasis on moral/religious development, industriousness and successful or quality learning. The emphasis on moral/religious training was to accomplish two goals. First, these women wanted to reassure parents that the school provided an appropriate environment for young women earning the school a good reputation. Second, women who were taught to enforce morals in their families were considered good mothers capable of setting their children on the moral path (Capen & Labaree). An observer to Ipswich Academy noted that,

> Emulation is not encouraged. The desire of meriting the approbation of teahers, parents, friends, the world around them; --and, above all, the love of mental and moral improvement, for the sake of the pleasure they afford, both in the pursuit, and in the acquisition, seem to be the principal motives to action in this seminary (Woodbridge 1833, 70).

The observer concluded that such an approach removed the need for rote memory, and external disciplinary approaches (Woodbridge 70). This method also accomplished an additional goal of educating students in a democratic environment.

Lyon's early teaching experiences, her work and study under the supervision of Emerson and Grant, and the successful school at Ipswich developed in a desire to open her own school, thus, she opened Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts in 1837. The setting of the school was based on "Principles and

Design of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary" written by Lyon with the following philosophy:

> It is to be principally devoted to the preparing of female teachers. At the same time, it will qualify ladies for other spheres of usefulness. The design is to give a solid extensive, and well-balanced English education, connected with that general improvement, that moral culture, and those enlarged views of duty, which will prepare ladies to be educators of children and youth, rather than to fit them to be mere teachers. ... Such an education is needed by every female who takes the charge of a school. … [S]he will … need the same well-balanced education at the head of her own family and in guiding her own household (Barnard 1861, 670).

The reform in female education was picking up pace, but no matter how bold women pioneers were in their innovations and proposals regarding female education, they had to ensure the stability of its progress by not completely breaking away from the traditional female role. Both Grant and Lyon probably well understood the impact public roles for women would have on society. Such a sudden change from domestic to public life would threaten the established and dominant male domain. For the time being, this type of female education fit well with the domestic "Gertrude" role of the household manager, guardian of morality, and teacher of children—a role that in some cases could be extended to teaching outside of the home.

The successes of the American pioneers in female education would be mere struggles without the excellent networking skills that were available. For example, women were able to persuade political figures of their time to support their goals by putting emphasis on the usefulness of female education, and even were able to communicate with each other to gain mutual support. Both Grant and Lyon were in correspondence with Catharine Beecher giving updates on their work, and

working together to employ women who wished to teach.[23] Being one of the progressives, Catharine Beecher (1800-1878) was also influenced by Pestalozzi's ideas especially those on moral education. As Von Dehsen discovered,

> Pestalozzi's advocacy of education across social and economic classes had a significant impact on American educators, Horace Mann (1796–1859) and Catherine Beecher (1800–1878)...Through such educational reformers as these, Pestalozzi's educational concepts gained wide acceptance and, eventually, formed the theoretical basis for much contemporary methodology (1999, 153).

Beecher recognized the role that public education was going to have to play in the moral, intellectual and physical education of American children and youth across social class boundaries, and she chose women to be the nation's public educators—especially for the younger children—for some of the same reasons that Gertrude was the educational and moral heroine in Pestalozzi's novels. However, she fell short of advocating for women suffrage, realizing that nineteenth century America, was not ready to allow women to enter the political arena. She stated, "Heaven has appointed one sex the superior, and to the other the subordinate station . . . " Thus, a woman must overcome by using "kindly, generous, peaceful, and benevolent principles" (Lewiss 2009, 7).

As the daughter of a prominent figure of the Second Great Awakening, she saw how the theological principles associated with religious salvation could become the foundation for moral salvation. This would occur through social reform and through the education of women as teachers whose work would result in the moral growth of the nation. Lewis noted that Beecher was "determined to develop a corps of teachers, convert the teaching profession to being one for women and elevate the nation with the superior example of women as the

[23] Sources use two different spellings Catherine or Catharine.

guardians of morality," thereby locating the moral center in the home under the direction of women, and away from the public sphere (Lewis 7; Beecher 1837, 98–101; Sklar 1976).

Beecher established multiple colleges for women across the United States, but her first establishment was the Hartford Female Seminary (1822) promoting the curriculum that included science, foreign languages and moral instruction. After a trip to the West, she realized that the need for prepared teachers in Western states and territories was critical, and in 1844 she founded The Central Committee for Promoting National Education, later to be called the National Popular Education Board (1847) by her successor. The purpose of this board was "to transfer the surplus of single eastern women already trained as teachers to the West . . ." (Kaufman 8; Laubach & Smith).

In order to be placed by the National Board into teaching positions in the West, women had to have several qualifications that followed Beecher's beliefs about the education of female teachers. First, they had to be evangelical Christians, and second, they needed to be well-educated intellectually and morally in ways that were compatible with motherhood and other homemaking or domestic roles that women played in society (Beecher 1837; Kaufman xxi–xxii). Once again, Gertrude's role in training and moral education was a model for the type of female training that Beecher advocated. G. S. Hall noted, "By the love and devotion of noble women overflowing into the community, by the good Gertrude of all stations in life, the born educators of the race whose work and whose 'key words' we men pedagogues must ponder well if our teaching is to be ethically inspired" (Monroe

1900, 156; Laubach & Smith). This was the type of woman teacher who came to Indian Territory between 1820 and 1860.

Spread of Pestalozzianism to the Western Territories through Female Seminaries

In his *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, Thomas Woody stated that "the academy and seminary movement grew at a phenomenal rate in the North, South and West," especially during the first half of the nineteenth century (Woody 1929, 363). This was due in part to the work of organizations such as Central Committee for Promoting National Education founded in 1844 by Catharine Beecher and continued as the National Board of Popular Education. The seminary model for a female course of study was academic and pedagogical in that: (1) it corresponded to Beecher's idea of creating a cadre of women teachers as "guardians of morality"; and (2) following in the footsteps of Troy, Ipswich, and Mt. Holyoke, the curriculum included subjects that were found in male colleges (Laubach & Smith). However, it did not compete with or threaten the traditional delivery of collegiate male education until after 1850 when many female institutions transitioned to colleges patterned after the male model.

This type of instruction spread rapidly to Ohio, Mississippi, Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois. By 1832 it was estimated that Ohio alone had thirty-two such female seminaries (Woody 367). Steubenville Female Seminary in Ohio was an example of this blend of academic and moral training for women that followed the Beecher, Willard, Grant, and Lyon models. Opened in 1829, the founder, Rev. Charles Beatty and his wife, Elizabeth, were interested in providing quality education for women,

and they traveled to Troy, Ipswich and Mt. Holyoke to learn about "the best type of school for young ladies" (Brownson and Reid 1883, 124). Mrs. Beatty served as the principal, and treated her pupils as family members. In fact, she was known to her "girls" as "Mother Beatty," and was described as a person with Gertrude's characteristics. As her pupils noted, she was a "true mother to everybody" (124). One of their graduates was Sue McBeth who taught school in Fairfield Iowa before traveling to the Indian Territory in 1860 (Laubach & Smith 2011; Smith & Cesar).

In Illinois, two female seminaries played early roles in preparing women to be teachers in the Mt. Holyoke/Ipswich tradition. Support for these seminaries came from a group of Yale graduates known as "the Yale Band," founded by Yale President, Timothy Dwight. He envisioned Yale as the base for an "Army of Christ" who would transport education for everyone including women to the West (Mitchell 2000, 250; Laubach & Smith 2012). These men helped to start Illinois College and two institutions for women (Mitchell 250). One of them, the Jacksonville Female Academy opened in 1833 with Sarah C. Crocker as the principal teacher. She had been recommended to the academies board by Mary Lyon. Two years later a second teacher, Emily P. Price became the principal when Miss Crocker married one of the board members. Crocker was recognized by Lyon and had been recommended by Zilpah Grant (Woody 372; Laubach & Smith).

When it came to the founding of Monticello, the "Band" familiarized themselves with the ideas and principles of Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon and Zilpah Grant. Beecher rushed to Monticello after it opened, and Lyon influenced the school's curriculum, policies and procedures. When Ipswich

closed, Grant left the library and a loan fund for prospective teachers to Monticello (Mitchell; Laubach & Smith).

In 1846 leaders of the Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory wanted a collegiate institution for young males and a female seminary. Then Cherokee National Council approved a plan to open the Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill in 1851. Prior to this Cherokees lived in Georgia and Tennessee during the first decades of the nineteenth century. According to Bass, the Cherokee theory of survival was to understand "the culture that threatened to exterminate them" (1937, 10).

Hence the Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill was patterned after Mt. Holyoke and other seminaries. The leaders of the Cherokee Nation said that the school exhibited "an elaborate, and carefully studied plan of education evolved by the leading men of the tribe" who had studied eastern schools firsthand (Bass 9). Two of the leaders had rushed to Mt. Holyoke to hire a principal and assistant teacher for their seminary. Ellen Whitmore was hired as principal teacher and Sarah Worcester as her assistant. The two men also asked the Acting Principal of Mt. Holyoke, Mary Chapin, "to make out a course of studies for the four years" (Bass 14; Laubach & Smith).

Twenty-five young women entered a large quality-constructed brick building ready to begin a Mt. Holyoke type of study program. By 1854 the principal reported to the Cherokee leaders that: "The [female] seminary is at present in a flourishing condition, numbering more than at any previous time. The pupils are permitted to enter at the age of fourteen, if they have reached the required

standard; and are expected to remain through a four years' course" (Bass 19). During the last season there were sixty pupils in attendance under the supervision of three teachers. School continued to offer strong academic curriculum that was the course of study for women, with subjects as difficult as those studied in male colleges. They included arithmetic, mental and written geography, botany, Latin, Watt's *Improvement of the Mind*, geometry, history of Greece, Paley's Natural Theology, and intellectual Philosophy (Bass 19). The Seminary operated until statehood in 1907. At that time it became a normal college and finally Northeastern State University of Oklahoma.

Early Pestalozzian Influences in America

Pestalozzi's ideas and principles became the legacy of seminarian education for women. Women pioneers Willard, Beecher, Grant and Willard incorporated Pestalozzian praxis into their teaching and enhanced by their own intellectual capabilities, their work ethics, and perseverance. This collaboration between the progressive ideas and women's teaching practices became the mobilizer for the rapid spread of female seminaries with the challenging curricula resembling those of male schools'. The archetypes for these methods were Mt. Holyoke, Ipswich, and Troy during the various times that they were functioning as women's seminaries. Having a more solid financial base, Mt. Holyoke's reputation for preparing teachers had a more lasting influence and can be summed up by how Mary Lyon, herself, was able to embody these principles. An author who studied the effect of Mt. Holyoke's curriculum on young Indian girls concluded that Lyon was a spirited, enthusiastic and astute teacher who understood young women and knew almost

instinctively which ones would make those excellent teachers. Thus, their success was virtually guaranteed (Bass 18). An observer who watched Lyon teach part of the Bible noted that children seemed to want to learn. They were engaged and learned easily without the use of rote memory, recitation, rewards or punishment:

> I must confess that [the lessons] were *never* more clearly presented to my mind than during this exercise. Every occurrence or event by the sacred writer, led to more or less rational and instructive conversation. The attention of the pupils was secured, and I am persuaded that every one [sic] must have received an accession to her stock of ideas, and acquired deeper and more abiding impressions in favor of virtue and piety. I have often wished, since that time, that it had been in my power to have written down the whole exercise. It would form a practical lesson of the very best character, and worthy of being regarded as a model in its kind (Woodbridge 71).

The following quote sums up the application of Pestalozzi's method of instruction. It comes from an 1850 report to the Connecticut State Teachers Association on the use of objects in elementary instruction, and it gives evidence to how widespread his method was before the opening of Oswego and other normal schools that followed the Pestalozzian approach:

> A judicious teacher [using natural objects] might accompany her pupils to the play-ground or to the field; and while the physical constitution was receiving the benefit of pure air and free exercise, the mind would be directed to observe and study from the golden alphabet of nature. Every plant and flower, shrub and tree, the fields, the streams, the beautiful landscape, the gay songsters of the air, the heavens above, the world around, would all have useful lessons, and in the hands of the skillful teacher, would do more to educate the mind and heart, than a hundred dull, monotonous lessons in a close school-room (Barnard 1854, 60).

In American educational historiography, Pestalozzi's ideas in teacher education are mainly situated in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is generally acknowledged that a version of Swiss pedagogy was taught in the normal schools that developed during this time. The most famous was the school in Oswego under the supervision of Edward Sheldon. Yet, there has been little, if any, acknowledgement that a strong connection existed between women's seminaries

and Pestalozzian principles as two educational reform movements took root and grew together in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first was the common school movement with its emphasis on teacher training and pedagogical reform, and the second was the women's movement which sought to give women a wider sphere for developing their intellectual and professional capacities. They made rapid progress in the first fifty years of the century. Both movements mutually benefitted from each other as their developments led to a growing number of women who seized the opportunity to teach and to study in New England and the newly developed western states and territories. A little known fact in America was the significance of the work of Kasthofer, Stadlin, and Betty Gleim as the associates of Pestalozzian methods. Educational leaders who were making trips to Prussia were observing Kasthofer's work without understanding how important she had become as one of the most practically effective interpreters of the Pestalozzian method (Laubach & Smith).

Among multiple German scholars of Pestalozzi only a few such as Morf, Guimps, and Silber mention the role of Kasthofer in the development of Pestalozzi's methodology and the successful application of his method. Even less attention is given to Stadlin and Gleim who were actively involved in the spread of Pestalozzi's ideas and developed them even further. Interestingly, Pestalozzian scholars agree that the Swiss educator was influenced by women and this influence formed his methodology, however, they choose to ignore his role in promoting female education and the role of his female associates in the development of female education. Yet, there is strong evidence that points to

Pestalozzi's continuing participation in the discourse of female education such as the influence of Bodmer and his friend Iselin. Pestalozzi eventually took the leading position in the discourse by providing a woman with the protagonist position in his writings whose sphere of usefulness extends beyond her home. More importantly he prepared the ground for the establishment of Yverdon *Töchtereschule* where the curriculum resembled that of the *Knabenschule*. These gaps significantly distort the portrayal of educational developments at that time not only in Switzerland and the German lands but also in the United States.

The vehicle for disseminating Pestalozzi's progressive ideas and efforts were the new educational journals that enjoyed widespread circulation among educated American middle class families in the states and territories. One that enjoyed a broad and extensive audience consisting of men and women was the *American Journal of Education* which featured many articles covering Pestalozzi's practices and his influence in the new Prussian school system. It also featured articles on education and teacher preparation for women who were seeking academic and professional roles outside of the roles of wife and mother in the home. Thus, it is not surprising that there developed an informal network of women whose work was to improve the much criticized pedagogy of rote memory and harsh discipline. What emerged in the early female seminaries was a strong academic curriculum that included math, science, moral instruction and a new Pestalozzian-based pedagogy. With the support of missionaries and the National Popular Education Board founded by Catharine Beecher, graduates of these

seminaries populated schools in western states and the territories (Laubach & Smith).

Emma Graf points out the uniqueness of the common school movement and women's movement in regards to Pestalozzian influences as follows: "...everywhere women's movement was the source of improvements in female education. The influence of Pestalozzi's practice, however, was twofold: Switzerland became identified not only as the cradle of common school movement but also of the women's movement" (1915, 108). What is somewhat surprising is that these accounts have had little impact on American or European educational historiography given the intent of the early nineteenth century sources that were founded for the purpose of diffusing "enlarged and liberal views of education, to lay emphasis on physical education, moral education, domestic education, and personal education" (Monroe 32). And most importantly the early journals regarded "female education to be unspeakably important" (32). Instead a discourse among women seemed to operate informally, out of the view of the more structured and formal network of schoolmen whose contributions dominate in standard texts on the history of education. In these accounts of Pestalozzi, women's education and teacher training are treated independently so that the original purpose of integrating these early nineteenth century accounts is lost.

CONCLUSION

Pestalozzi lived and worked with enthusiasm and energy which allowed him to conquer insurmountable difficulties in his career. Today the testimony of his work is evidenced in the instructional practices that put students' intellectual and emotional needs first. Pestalozzi's writings, as well as the records describing his establishments, are further testimony to his accomplishments. An integral part of the record refers to his personal characteristics that also played a role in his fame; similar to the controversial affects of his praxis his demeanor found little correlation to the significance of his position as the manager of his progressive schools. The Swiss reformer had a striking appearance which may have been considered appalling during the age of the study of physiognomy and phrenology. Yet Pestalozzi won the heart of every person who shared his humanistic views regarding education and more importantly, brought them onto his side. His emphasis on morality and his example of sacrifice inspired and encouraged many to pursue a teaching career in the same manner. For instance, his multiple associates interpreted, applied, and taught his method of instruction which made its implementation more understandable and applicable in a broader scope.

Unfortunately, the importance of Pestalozzi's praxis is diminished by the eventual failure of his institutions. For this reason, the Neuhof school is rarely exemplified as one of his successful schools. A closer look at his practice in Neuhof, however, offers a different perspective on the outcomes of his venture. During the Neuhof experiment, the Swiss educator formulated the main ideas of education for the poor. Also, he identified the importance of a mother and her role in creating a

Wohnstube, in setting the children on the right moral paths, in outlining the benefits of physical activity, vocational training and tending to individual differences of children's characters. In his school, Pestalozzi witnessed positive improvements in their learning, attitudes and aspirations. He did not, however, find continuous financial support and was forced to close Neuhof. The first Pestalozzian experiment failed because of financial hardships and other external and uncontrollable circumstances, such as parents' lack of understanding of the benefits of Neuhof's school environment, poor crop production, and the absence of governmental support.

The success of his educational novel *Leonard and Gertrude* was a legacy to his first educational experiment. Translated into multiple languages, this work inspired political figures to initiate educational, social, and political reforms. For many it was the beginning point for understanding the needs and struggles of the lower classes. Pestalozzi's greatest influence can be seen in the methodological changes that gradually transformed common schools and teacher training institutes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The new school would have a nurturing environment, well-informed and skilled instructors, child-centered curriculum, the atmosphere of love and care among students; the school would be free of physical punishment. This model was widely promoted in the German lands, Prussia, and the United States, especially in women's teaching practices. According to the novel, the establishment of such schools is impossible without women teachers. The image of an intelligent, independent, progressive and responsible Gertrude was spread around the globe providing a different

perspective on women's capacities and urging the governments to establish better educational establishments for females. The novel also gave women a place in the public sphere as Pestalozzi's belief that women were great teachers outside of home, encouraged women to pursue teaching careers. This progressive idea also led men to rethink the traditional identity of women as place-bound assistants relegated to homemaking. Women's new position in society required a corresponding education, the beginnings of which can be seen in early female seminaries and schools. The idea that mothers were responsible for raising the new generation and thus playing a role outside of the home, supported the early women's movement in the United States and abroad.

Pestalozzi's early career as a teacher and writer was influenced considerably by his childhood and college experiences. His emotional and sensitive nature was also a big contributing factor to the formation of his character. Various aspects of Pestalozzi's personal experiences helped him to identify some of the most important factors in a child's development such as love, maternal guidance and the creation of a secure and trusting environment. These early experiences also helped the educator form the foundations of his method such as language, form and number—all of which started with education at home under a mother's care. Unfortunately, German-speaking historians have downplayed the fact that men from Pestalozzi's collegiate circle also ardently disseminated the progressive ideas on women's education.

Emma Graf is the only scholar that highlights the significance of Johann Bodmer on Pestalozzi's thoughts on women's education—ideas that he promoted

throughout his career. Thus scholars like to point out the global significance of Pestalozzi's reforms in male education, but his influences on female education have become hidden from the historical record. Neuhof and Stans practices were based on teaching of both boys and girls, in fact, he was teaching girls during the critical stages of his method development. This evidence is particularly significant because he equated girls' intellectual capacities to those of boys' by claiming the successful application of his method to both sexes.

The reformer sought to empower women to teach and actively participate in civic life. Pestalozzi realized that women would be most effective in teaching children. He wanted to empower women to pursue the teaching profession and took the steps to provide them with this opportunity by opening the *Mädcheninstitut* at Yverdon while continuing to write on the topic of home education. The influences of his Yverdon establishment expanded under the management of Rosette Kasthofer, and spread to Germany, France, Italy, and Russia. In Switzerland, nourished by the ideas of Pestalozzianism, Josephine Stadlin became the famous advocate of female rights by advancing female education and teacher training. In Germany, Betty Gleim implemented Pestalozzi's ideas in the instruction of her school for females, and therefore was part of the circle of female Pestalozzians. However, Gleim has never been recognized as such. Together Kasthofer, Stadlin and Gleim comprised the list of Pestalozzi's female associates and should have been listed alongside his famous men colleagues. Yet their writings remain unexplored even as they provide valuable interpretations, additions, and organization of Pestalozzi's praxis.

The generally accepted view that Pestalozzi's reform became widely adopted in the United States in the later part of the nineteenth century is arguable. Historians overlook that seminarian education benefitted from the progressive ideas from abroad in the early nineteenth century, prior to the Normal School movement. Thus, evidence contained in the primary sources such as educational journals from the beginning of the nineteenth century confirms Pestalozzian influences on the development of the U.S. education system, especially female seminarian education. Pestalozzi's ideas widely spread through the work of women pioneers such as Emma Willard, Zilpah Grant, Mary Lyon and Catharine Beecher. Women leaders in female education in Switzerland, the German lands and the United States became united through the influence of Pestalozzianism on their philosophy and practice. Women pioneers of American female education established multiple women colleges and trained female teachers using progressive ideas that included Pestalozzi's method on education. Their influence on the education of female missionaries helped Pestalozzianism spread to the American frontier. Again, their work remains on the margins of mainstream history, thereby leaving in the shadows a complete picture of the forces that shaped American education.

Scholars generally agree that the major Pestalozzian influences on the development of Normal schools were mobilized by the Oswego movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Edward Sheldon—the leading figure in education of that time—became interested in the Swiss reforms while visiting an exhibit in Ontario where the teaching artifacts from Pestalozzi's schools were

represented. After researching the method, he found it worthy of introduction into the teacher training program and invited Margaret Jones the teacher from the Home and Colonial School in England to guide the training. Later she introduced Hermann Krüsi —the son of Pestalozzi's associate Hermann Krüsi —to Sheldon who continued the adaptation of the Swiss methodology in the United States. During this new phase of American Pestalozzianism, the Swiss innovative approach to teaching became associated with the method of object teaching thus reducing the complex way of cultivating heart, head and hands to an instruction that simply employed concrete objects in teaching. The application of the object teaching methodology was evaluated in reports in the *American Journal of Education* edited by Barnard. The "new" approach excited much hope for the transformation of education. By the early twentieth century, American progressivism found its way into public schools through the ideas and practices of reformers and philosophers such as Colonel Frances Parker, John Dewey and Ella Flagg Young. Thus, the success and application of the Swiss progressive method promoted by the Oswego movement are not clearly defined.

This research indicates that the Pestalozzian movement made its way to the United States during the early half of the nineteenth century. Historical records of this time period need to be revisited and reevaluated for the sake of presenting a more complete picture of Pestalozzian influences and the contributions of women to American educational reforms. This study is hopefully only the beginning of such endeavor.

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Bd. 9 Stanser Brief, Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt, Geist und Herz in der Methode (Letter from Stans, How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, Spirit and Heart of the Method)
Bd. 10 Lenzburger Rede, Schriften zur körperlichen Erziehung, Schwanengesang (Lenzburg Speech on the Subject of Physical Education, The Swansong)

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