



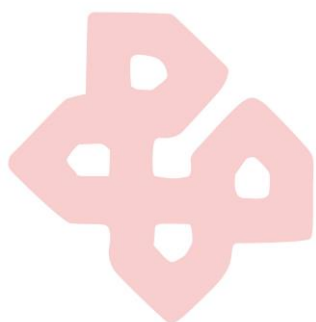
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¿DO EDUCATIONAL MODELS IMPOSE STANDARDIZATION? READING PESTALOZZI HISTORICALLY



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In the years around 1800, European states saw themselves confronted by a new problem: in the wake of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen - a key document of the French Revolution - and its partial implementation by Napoleon, individuals were *per definitionem* free and equal. New notions of human freedom had not only led economic and intellectual leaders to take arms against the state (in the American colonies, against British rule; and in France, against Louis XIV). They also led populations in various states to begin defining themselves as a “society,” i.e. as collective that was distinct from the state itself. However, new definitions of society and the individual raised various questions concerning social integration. Previously, the absolutist state, which had legitimated itself through the doctrine of *raison d'état*, had laid claim on the allegiance of the individual through the administrative tools of *policey*, i.e. through complementary agendas of social assistance and control (Foucault, 1981). It is no coincidence that *Policeywissenschaft* (“policey science”), which had been taught since 1727 at German universities, broke down after 1800: Society wanted and needed another form of social integration than the caste system of the absolutist state.

The new form of social integration that emerged was founded on a definitional trick: namely, the claim that all people who speak the same language belong together naturally as a nation (Horlacher, 2015, 43-5). The state thus no longer found its legitimacy in the principle of *raison d'état*, but rather in the notion of the state as a nation, i.e. the nation state (Anderson, 1983). In order to realize the ideal of a nation founded in language, institutions that encouraged unity were needed. Two of these institutions, the military and the modern primary school, proved to be particularly effective. While the first strengthened common resolve to defend the nation, the second was seen as crucial in creating the citizens of a new nation (see Harp, 1998; Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree, 2011; Horlacher 2012a; Dahn, & Boser, 2015; Tröhler, 2016).

The proper manner of efficiently organizing large armies had been shown first by the Prussians and then by the French. Yet there were no role models from the 18th century for the proper organization of schools: Traditionally, schools had been organized along religious and caste lines; the primary school in its modern form did not yet exist. There was thus a vacuum between the object of desire - i.e. a school for the masses in the service of the nation - and the absence of a proper role model (Horlacher, 2016a; Caluori, & Horlacher, in preparation). It was into this vacuum that a unique individual stepped and rose to fame, an individual, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, born in 1746 in Zurich, who claimed to offer a new method of mass instruction that was not only founded on natural principles, but also inculcated morality in its subjects (Tröhler, 2014). The promise held out this teaching method was first formulated in 1800, and by 1805 over 200 publications had already appeared concerning the method and its progenitor, including short advertisements, various articles, and even a first dissertation (Tröhler, 2003). By 1810, he was a prominent European personality with a large network of international contacts. As Pestalozzi announced in 1817 that he would be releasing a compendium of his collected works, over 850 people subscribed to receive a copy (Caluori, Horlacher, & Tröhler, 2012).

With the identification of Pestalozzi's teaching method as a potential solution to the "problem" of national integration and educational standardization, Pestalozzi's reputation quickly grew. In many parts of Europe numerous schools and teaching materials bore the Pestalozzi imprimatur, and various European states - particularly Prussia - sent teachers to Pestalozzi so that his methods could be learned and implemented at home. Yet with the spread of the Pestalozzi method, large differences became evident between the central school in Yverdon and regional schools in Europe; the differences between the regional schools themselves were also significant (Horlacher, 2011). In order to understand this variation, one has to examine the unique national, regional, and private interests that motivated the adoption of Pestalozzi's teachings. In this way, the question at hand is not to what extent Pestalozzi's teachings were "correctly" implemented by various recipients, thus serving as a model for standardization. Rather, the more pertinent question is: To which aspects of Pestalozzi's teachings were various recipients particularly attracted? And how did the implementation of Pestalozzi's teachings reflect national, regional, or private interests? Other, more specific formulations of this broader line of inquiry quickly

become apparent: What motivated the Prussian government to send its students to Switzerland? And what compelled private individuals to visit Pestalozzi and his schools? How did Pestalozzi's concepts change as they migrated to various countries; how were they reconstituted foreign lands? Can we point to specific national or regional differences, or were educational interests essentially identical during particular periods? In what ways did the implementation of Pestalozzi's ideas diverge on the ground in various nations? What parts of the model were adopted and what parts discarded? Did the model operate primarily at an organizational level, or in the choice of teaching materials, in the training of educators, and/or in the pedagogical and rhetorical orientation of teaching methods?

In answering these questions, we are led to the realization that during this period, the term "Pestalozzi" was transformed into an obligatory "buzzword" that invariably accompanied efforts to initiate educational reform (Tröhler, 2014). Yet it was perhaps more precisely the new belief in education as a tool for solving social problems that may be described as the true form of "standardization" that was afoot. In this respect, my thesis is linked to "educationalization," a concept that describes a belief, first ascendant at the end of the 18th century, that social problems can be solved by means of education (Tröhler, 2008). As a consequence of this belief, schools assumed on a new level of importance for the state. Just as the church had used schools and education to inculcate the young people of their community in common values and norms up to that time, the 19th century state now sought to co-opt this vehicle for its own purposes, substituting political catechism for what had previously been religious catechism. Overall, the schools were transformed into places for educating the future citizens and thus became a key object of interest for the state (Tröhler, 2015).

I will examine this process using concrete examples from Prussia, Ireland, Naples and France. Whereas Prussia's interest in Pestalozzi may be described as an official state interest, in both Ireland and in Italy it was private individuals who were actively engaged with the Pestalozzi method and thus with the improvement of public schools and public education. France, for its part, demonstrated a combination of active individual and state involvement, since the committed individual in question was at the same time the sanctioned local government authority. It is also of note that the four examples to be examined are distributed across Europe. This demonstrates that two characteristics were of fundamental importance for the adoption of the Pestalozzi method: first, that it was a method that focused on human development, and second, that it introduced new educational materials and a new teaching method. The balance between these two "products" and how they were specifically implemented in a particular place turns out to be quite varied, as the method had to contend with quite different obstacles to its implementation in each location. For this reason, we must question to what extent it is truly possible to speak about "standardization" in the face of such variation in adoption. As sources for this study, I have made use of Pestalozzi's correspondence with his visitors, as well as writings about the educational work by the reformers in each of these nations.

Yet before I describe how Pestalozzi's methods were adopted, I would first like to explain the environment in which Pestalozzi conceived his method and the aspects of the method that were of such great interest to governments and individual educators alike.

1. Pestalozzi's educational institutes in Burgdorf and Yverdon and their dissemination across Europe

The French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire permanently changed the political structure of Switzerland. With the support of French troops, revolutionary forces prevailed in Switzerland in 1798. The Helvetic Republic, a new nation which broke with the old order and a number of its privileges, was founded upon the French Revolution's fundamental principles of freedom and equality, and established a centralized government according to the French model. Such centralization was a bitter loss of autonomous power for the cantons, given that up to this time, with the exception of foreign and military policy, they had functioned as essentially sovereign states. This loss of power was greeted with particular skepticism by those cantons that had opposed the new government.

For this reason, the Helvetic government began an "advertising campaign," as it were, aimed at winning the support of hostile cantons and their populations for the new order.¹ The government produced pamphlets and newspapers directed at persuading the inhabitants of the advantages and blessings of the new age and the new political order (see Horlacher, 2012b; Tosato-Rigo, 2012). Pestalozzi was charged by the new regime with the job of editing one of these newspapers, the *Helvetische Volksblatt*. Such efforts at political education proved of limited success, however, and the political ambitions of the new regime were ultimately enforced with military support from the French troops stationed in Switzerland. On September 9, 1798, French units seized Stans, the main site of resistance against the new government, in an attack that caused great devastation and numerous fatalities. The government saw itself forced to act if it was to preserve even a modicum of good will among the populace, and Pestalozzi was given responsibility for erecting an orphanage in the cloister. He described these experiences in a publication that appeared in 1807 entitled, *Pestalozzi in Stans*, a work that was to become a classic text in the German-speaking history of education during the 19th and 20th centuries (Tröhler, 2006). Yet despite the success of this publication, the cloister project was doomed to failure, as Pestalozzi was viewed as a representative and proponent of the distrusted regime, and, as such, hardly welcomed with open arms. Only seven months later, the facility was shut down because the government needed the space for a military hospital.

At around the same time, the Minister of Education, Philipp Albert Stapfer (1766-1840), found himself saddled with the mission of building a new school system despite the chaos of war and empty public coffers, a task for which he was provided with neither adequate manpower nor suitable instructional methods. The establishment of a new school system independent of ecclesiastical control was a key

¹ For the following sections, see Tröhler, 2014.

project for the new regime (Bütikofer, 2006), since this was the only way to educate new citizens of a new state. Accordingly, the government made plans, among other things, for the establishment of a teacher's training institution in the castle Burgdorf, but the man who was to become its director died shortly before it opened. Therefore, Pestalozzi offered to found a private institution in the castle where he could teach, educate poor children and train new teachers. The regime gave its permission and thus began Pestalozzi's meteoric rise to a much discussed and widely known institute director and author of works about educational theory. As we shall see, Pestalozzi was highly skilled at marketing the method he had developed (Tröhler, 2002) and establishing a place for himself as a pedagogical innovator in the marketplace of educational providers (Horlacher, 2006).

After the Helvetic Republic was dissolved in 1803 following an extremely turbulent political period with multiple coups and the installation of a new constitution known as the Act of Mediation, a large measure of the cantons' earlier power was restored to them. The Castle in Burgdorf was needed once again for use as an official residence, and Pestalozzi had to search for a new location for his school, which he found in Yverdon. The first five years in Yverdon up to 1810 may be seen as a continuation of the success story in Burgdorf. As the numbers of students grew, numerous visitors from many European nations made pilgrimages to Pestalozzi, and, in private letters and public articles, reported about their (mostly) positive experiences (e.g. Gruner, 1804; Ewald, 1805; Türk, 1806). Future and current teachers also flocked to Switzerland with the aim of improving their pedagogical methods. Pestalozzi's activities didn't go unnoticed by European governments. Over time, schools in the Pestalozzi model were established in a large number of places. Typically, these new schools were at least tolerated by the governments in the nations where they were set up, even if not actively supported by them (Horlacher, 2011). Prussia was particularly involved in this process, and the Prussian government sent a total of seventeen students to Yverdon with a government-funded mandate to be trained in Yverdon and subsequently help with the development of a public educational system in Prussia.

2. Prussia as the model for the state sponsored creation of a new educational system

Prussia modernized its political system following the last decade of the 18th century by means of "reform from above" (Hinz 1991, p. 126ff.).² Pestalozzi had been

² In 1798 Minister Julius Eberhard von Massow (1750-1816) was assigned the task of taking stock and proposing reforms for the public school system, which would take into account that schools were now "state institutions" (Hinz 1991, p. 128). In his *Preliminary Plan for Improving the Schools*, Massow indicated that first and foremost, the influence of the church had to be curtailed, because only in this way could teaching be set up to meet the needs of practical day-to-day life. Accordingly, he promoted a curriculum along with an organized system of teacher training that would focus upon the teacher not as a representative of a religious institution, but rather as a professional educator. A lack of funding and the onset of the military battles with Napoleon led to the failure of this plan, but all of Massow's materials were passed along to his successor, Wilhelm von Humboldt (ibid., p. 129).

known in Prussia at least since 1802 through his journalistic activities³ and the advantages and disadvantages of his methods had been a subject of intense debate, but this public debate had not made any impact upon the organization of teacher's education or the educational system.⁴ Only after the Prussian defeats at Jena and Auerstedt in 1806 and the large territorial losses associated with them, followed by the subsequent "reconstitution" of the Prussian state, did the idea of using Pestalozzi's method as a model for reorganizing the educational system win over a majority of supporters. By building a modern, effective educational system, they envisioned a chance to renew the state from within and to perfect the formation of a national state by educating the nation. On September 11, 1808, Minister Friedrich Leopold von Schrötter (1743-1815) informed Pestalozzi that he wished to introduce his method into the elementary schools and to "base a thorough-going reform of the school system ... upon it," and for this purpose, two students were to be sent to Yverdon. These students were intended to experience "the soul" of this "kind of education and instruction ... at its purest source" and thus "unfold their hearts to the full perfection of the teaching profession and be filled with the same animated feeling of sanctity for this profession and the same ardent passion for it that has inspired you to dedicate your whole life to it" (SBaP II, p. 540f.).

Thus, the training goal for these students was not primarily that they be introduced to the didactic fine points of teaching, issues about the organization of schools or questions of management. What was far more critical was that the "*Geist*" (spirit) of this method be thoroughly studied and internalized in order to ensure that one's heart was properly molded to the teaching profession. It was important that the teacher practice his profession with the proper attitude, namely as a calling. Whether they underwent a "scientific education" or became acquainted with "other local and foreign teaching and educational institutions" before or after their stay in Yverdon was secondary. For Schrötter, what was critical was the transmission of "firm principles" and "a secure pedagogical perspective" that give the students the capacity to properly practice their profession (ibid., p. 541). In his reply dated October 21, 1808, Pestalozzi

³ Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) published an essay in the newspaper *Irene* about Pestalozzi's book, *How Gertrude teaches her children* (1801), and also included his impressions there from a trip he had made to Burgdorf in 1799 (Herbart, 1802).

⁴ In 1803 the Minister of State Otto Karl Friedrich von Voss (1755-1823) sent the South Prussian seminary director Jeziorowski to Pestalozzi for the purposes of continuing education. After Jeziorowski's return, von Voss approved the introduction of the Pestalozzi method in the provinces under his administration. However, King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840) rejected the immediate broad introduction of Pestalozzi's methods, and limited them to the seminarians. This rejection may have been based upon the fact that the King first wanted to submit the Pestalozzi method to more thorough examination, but this was delayed in any case, since the person designated for this purpose, Friedrich Gedike (1754-1803), suddenly died. In 1804 Karl Heinrich Gottfried Witte (1767-1845) traveled to Burgdorf in his stead, and although he published a positive report, he also proposed that he travel once more to Switzerland with a trainee in order to study the method for a longer time and more thoroughly (Hinz 1991, p. 154). At the same time, Pestalozzi's opponents in Prussia also spoke up, and an intensive debate was subsequently conducted in various newspapers and journals regarding the usefulness and benefits of the Pestalozzi method.

confirmed these expectations.⁵ After the completion of their training, the students selected on the basis of this set of requirements⁶ went on to accomplish what was expected of them: they began working at teacher training facilities or took on other functions in the public educational system.⁷

In 1830 one of these students, Johann Wilhelm Mathias Henning (1783-1868), gave acknowledgment to Pestalozzi's importance to public education in Germany and especially in Prussia in an article he wrote about Pestalozzi. Henning confirmed the importance of a person's inner attitude and emphasized that what truly mattered was not "the mechanics of the method," but that instead, that one needed to be warmed "at the sacred fire ... that glows in the breast of a man who has strength and love" (Süvern, cited in: Dejung, 1944, p. 8). In this way, Pestalozzi's method is associated to the German ideal of *Bildung*, a concept that proved critical to Germany's cultural identity from the 19th century onward (Horlacher 2004; 2015).⁸

⁵ What is important in educating young people is "not just to educate their minds," but "that their heart also be fully molded for the teaching profession, that it be fully taken up with a living feeling for the sanctity of this calling. For this elevated view of that profession ... is too often neglected in our times, because one imagines that it only has to do with knowledge and with understanding, and thus misunderstands precisely that element of my method that gives it critical value, namely its impact upon the soul." The students should have "purity and simplicity of heart," and "a natural sensibility, *bon sens*, remain at arm's length from hardened attachments to systems and books, and in the final analysis, maintain a simplicity of perspective that feels more at home with the ordinary life of the citizenry than with people educated in academies and universities, ultimately having a disposition full of love and good will that is not too alienated by suffering or by arrogance from the cheerful love of children and contentment with their lot" (PSB VI, p. 98f.).

⁶ Johann Wilhelm Preuss (1790-1867), Peter Friedrich Theodor Kawerau (1789-1844) and Johann Wilhelm Mathias Henning (1783-1868) were selected as students by the Prussian government to be sent to Yverdon for three years, where they were to be "educated for my nation's school system," as stated by the Prussian King in a letter to State Minister Friedrich Ferdinand Alexander von Dohna (1771-1831), dated February 13, 1809 (SBaP II, p. 652). While Henning, who came from West Pomerania, had already been employed as a teacher of religion at a private institution in Basel for more than two years, and was asked by the Prussian government to be sent to Yverdon as a student, Preuss and Kawerau were sent to Yverdon directly from their studies.

⁷ It is striking that the correspondence between the Prussian students and Pestalozzi typically breaks off very soon after their return. Most of them write a few letters after they have arrived at their new place of work, sometimes complaining about the absence or infrequency of news from Yverdon, but quite soon, they discontinue contact. A few of them take the occasion of the subscription to the Cotta edition in 1817 as an opportunity to remind Pestalozzi of their existence with a more or less venerating letter, which typically provides only a few specific details about their working life. They far more often report about their families, complain about the slow progress of the subscription, which they usually attribute to the difficult economic conditions, and send greetings to former friends and acquaintances (see SBaP IV, p. 646-5).

⁸ "The sparks of the soul and the spirit that are still slumbering, and dart around you until they encounter innermost depths and you find and recognize yourself" must be awakened. "Once this pedagogical dedication comes over you, then just teaching for the sake of mere teaching will disappear for you: You will see teaching in its inner connections with its necessary parts, in the reciprocal relationship between the One and the others, and once again achieve the effect of each individual part upon the total force that is called the *person*, and a radiation of the primal force of the world - that is called divinity" (Süvern, cited in: Dejung, 1944, p. 9f.).

Thus, an image emerges of Pestalozzi and his method that places the greatest emphasis upon the education of human beings in the form of educating character and attitude. For Pestalozzi, a morally correct attitude toward the profession of teaching must be learned. Of course, methodical and didactic skills are thoroughly desirable, but they take a back seat to moral education. To state it in an over-simplified and abbreviated way, Prussia was interested in Pestalozzi for the sake of the morality of its teachers; acquiring knowledge was secondary.

3. Local activities with government backing: Bergerac

The second example, the founding of a school in Bergerac by Maine de Biran (1766-1824), illustrates a combination of government and private interests, and, in addition, is directed at the creation of a specific school. Maine de Biran, who is classified among the *Idéologues*, a group of intellectuals who cultivated a tradition of philosophy methodologically oriented toward the natural sciences,⁹ was the sous-préfet of Bergerac for five years, and, in this capacity, he was responsible for the public school system (Düggelin, 1998, p. 10). In 1807, he published a *Plan d'Organisation du Collège de Bergerac* [Organizational Plan for the Bergerac Academy]. This plan, which contained 21 points, explained how the school would be built and financed, and described the extent to which the school would be based on the Pestalozzi method of teaching. The curriculum was broad-based, encompassing education in ancient languages, French, rhetoric, mathematics and logic. It was set forth as a requirement that at least one in five teachers complete their training with Pestalozzi. Religious training also constituted a part of the curriculum - indeed, for both Catholic and Protestant children (Maine de Biran, 1982). Maine de Biran promoted his school using the argument of efficiency: his experiences with Pestalozzi had shown that two years of training was sufficient “to complete primary education” (ibid., p. 222).

For Maine de Biran, however, the most important goal of a Pestalozzi education was not the transmission of knowledge but rather the development of children’s fundamental capacities, as Pestalozzi had explained in his *Book of the Mothers* (*Buch der Mütter*, 1803). This teaching was to be supplemented with classes in geometry, arithmetic and metrical drawing (Maine de Biran, 1982, p. 225). Maine de Biran assumed that after two years of school, the students would have established sufficient basic skills in these areas that they would find all subsequent learning very easy, and accordingly, this method was thought to be ideally suited for rural schools (ibid., p. 226). Great expectations were attached to this program of elementary education. The goal was “to maintain all previous progress in human reason and to assure the ongoing improvement of human intelligence” (SBaP II, p. 323).

⁹ The *Idéologues* proceeded from the assumption that all human knowledge is founded upon sensory perceptions and empirical observations, directed both at the self and the environment, and thus, ideas are also the products of sensory perception. Linked to the doctrines of Condillac and John Locke, they attempted, by means of “the analysis of the physiological and psychological organization of human beings and the analysis of the contents of their ideas, to infer practical rules for education, morality, law and politics” (Düggelin, 1998, p. 13).

Jean François Barraud (1777-1830), who had lived with Pestalozzi since 1801, was hired to work at the school in order to help assure its success. However, in his letter of recommendation to Maine de Biran (September 15, 1807), Pestalozzi expressed some reservations regarding this teacher, as Pestalozzi thought he was not yet fully familiar with the entire depth and breadth of the method. “Thus, I am unable to recommend him to you as having been completely imbued with my principles and practiced in their application, but certainly as being very capable of making a beginning at your institution” (PSB V, p. 283). Despite this recommendation, Barraud was able to successfully direct the school, and after 1819 it functioned as an autonomous institute. It continued to operate autonomously up to the time of its integration into the public school system in 1881; after Barraud’s death, under the direction of Barraud’s son, who likewise had been Pestalozzi’s student.¹⁰ However, after 1815, Maine de Biran no longer considered the school to be a Pestalozzi school, since Barraud had not met the standards for this appellation. “[He] had no opportunity to apply the method at higher levels of teaching nor to evaluate its impact upon the development of intellectual faculties, which constitutes the entire benefit of a method. Today, my little institute finds itself having descended a bit closer to the level of ordinary schools” (Maine de Biran, 1996b, p. 714).

In a detailed letter of September 20, 1808, Barraud reported about his experiences and the examinations that he organized in order to have his school publically certified and demonstrate the effectiveness of the method (SBaP II, Nr. 1002).¹¹ This letter makes it clear that Barraud was conducting elementary teaching with his students according to Pestalozzi’s *Book of the Mothers*. Classes in geography and biology that built upon this learning were postponed to the following year, not least because suitable teaching materials for them were still lacking.

Unlike in Prussia, interest in Bergerac focused on the method as a didactic principle, on curriculum, and on making an argument for its efficiency. For Maine de Biran, Pestalozzi’s method represented an opportunity to modernize what was seen as an outdated school system and to realize a comprehensive educational program. Pestalozzi’s concept was well suited for this purpose because it promised a practice-based reform of primary school education; this promise could not be fulfilled by the philosophical concepts of education promoted by French authors, nor by the Napoleonic regime, which was extremely distant from the practical issues of public education. The Pestalozzi method was viewed as empirically tried and tested, was accompanied by both teaching materials and teachers, and was already established in the French language. In contrast to the situation in Prussia, it was thus the specifics of the school curriculum and the transmission of knowledge that occupied center stage

¹⁰ After the death of his father in 1830, the younger Barraud continued running the school under the name *Pensionnat Barraud*.

¹¹ This examination was also cited by Maine de Biran in his letter to the editor published on April 25, 1808 in the *Publiciste* as a positive example of the effectiveness of the Pestalozzi method (Maine de Biran, 1996a, p. 563f.).

in Bergerac, and not the educator's moral approach to his profession.¹² However, this element remained of sufficient importance to Pestalozzi for him to express specific concerns about Barraud's abilities in this area at the time he sent the teacher to Bergerac.

4. Naples: "A Clash of cultures"

The "Pestalozzi School" in Naples incorporated elements from both the Prussian example and the example of Bergerac, a fact attributable to the composition of the Neapolitan populace. During the period in question, Naples, which was under the rule of Napoleon's designee, Joachim Murat (1767-1815), included a large proportion of German-speaking immigrants alongside its native population. Neapolitan officials and private individuals shared a fundamental interest in reforming the educational system and they supported pedagogical reform efforts (Grab, 2015). Georg Franz Hofmann (1765-1838), the founder of the school in Naples, had spent four years in Yverdon and actually arrived in Naples somewhat coincidentally, because he saw better opportunities for the artistic education of his three daughters in Italy. He decided to combine this move with the establishment of his own school. After a brief stay in Rome, which he saw as an unsuitable location for the method, because "the inhabitants ... know about nothing greater than the Pope and the Church" (SBaP III, p. 260), he arrived in Naples, where things seemed "altogether different" (ibid., p. 261). However, in reality, it was not the native inhabitants who were responsible for this different attitude toward Pestalozzi and his method, but rather the many foreigners who had settled in Naples as artisans, artists and tradesmen, who wanted to make sure that "the individual still mattered" and that a great deal would be done for "human development" (ibid.), a sentiment that was supported by the royal family.¹³

¹² It is possible to at least indirectly infer that Pestalozzi himself was no longer pleased with the evolution of the school in Bergerac only two years after its founding from a letter from Stapfer to Pestalozzi. "The French public does not at this time yet recognize the way things stand; even those who have been in Yverdon and cannot deny their amazement at its results have not penetrated this veil and only see the method as a new elementary school curriculum in arithmetic and measurement...I had the hope with Maine-Biran, who is not a man of ordinary intelligence and has proven himself as a thinking man through substantive philosophical writings, that he had understood the method better and could see to it that it was introduced in Bergerac. What you have told me about the situation, though, has completely shattered my hopes" (SBaP II, p. 720f.).

¹³ Not only did the Queen support the establishment of two daughter facilities, but the King also made official efforts in favor of a reorganization of the educational system with the goal of freeing the schools from the sovereignty of the Church and reorganizing them as state institutions. In addition, private individuals were also actively involved with the improvement of teaching and education. A physician living in Naples, Meier, who was originally from the Kingdom of Baden, turned to Hoffmann and asked him to support these royal efforts to create an institution. However, Pestalozzi and his method had also been disseminated in Naples through the efforts of Céleste Meuricoffre-Coltellini (1760-1828). Meuricoffre-Coltellini was the widow of a Neapolitan banker, who had sent their son, Georges (1795-1858) to Yverdon for three years. The contact between the Meuricoffre family and Pestalozzi had been made through a Swiss great cousin who practiced as a town physician in Payerne, a town in the neighborhood of Yverdon.

Hofmann opened his institute in Naples on May 1, 1811, and, very soon, he was cultivating close contacts with the city's political and economic elites (SBaP III, p. 435). According to the Yverdon model, alongside instruction using the method, it was important to provide a genuine boarding school experience, because this was considered central to the method, which was understood as a form of moral education. However, Hofmann's curriculum only partially reflected the expectations of Neapolitan parents. They certainly were interested in having their children taught by Hofmann, but they also valued a broad curriculum. Beyond education in reading, writing and arithmetic, the parents wanted their children to learn foreign languages, natural history, geography, botany, gymnastics, drawing and music. For them, the "method" was a guarantor of a modern form of education adapted to modern political and economic requirements. By Hofmann's reckoning, the curriculum still lacked "truly religious education" (ibid., p. 441), a deficiency that proved problematic only a few years later for two reasons: Hofmann was accused of neglecting the Catholic religion or of not even being Catholic; in fact, he himself regretted the marginalization of moral education at his institute, something he attributed to the lack of a boarding school component in the overall experience.

The institute's initial success was not only jeopardized by parents with diverging expectations, but also by the lack of a sufficient number of adequately trained teachers. The teacher expressly brought along from Yverdon, Joseph Alphons Pfyffer (1791-1812), soon became ill, and he needed to be replaced by teachers from the local area, who performed their duties based upon other ideological perspectives. The Catholic Church criticized the institute's religious orientation, while at the same time, the political climate changed to Hoffman's disadvantage and to the detriment of the original plans for reforming the educational system. In May 1815 the King was sentenced to death and the Bourbons returned to power, whereupon many parents took their children out of the school. The new regime went so far as to decree the closure of the facility in February 1816, but the intervention of the Austrian envoy forestalled this fate. However, in September of the same year, Hofmann shut down the institute at his own initiative and departed for Austria-Hungary (Tobler, 1905, p. 163ff.).

Hofmann's institute in Naples thus found itself in a very heterogeneous cultural and political context characterized by the fact that besides the native Neapolitan population, a large number of German immigrants lived in the city. These two population groups had very different interests in Pestalozzi and his method. The great majority of parents as well as the political authorities were more interested in improving the pedagogic resources and the organization of the school, whereas for Hofmann and a smaller number of parents, the central focus was on moral education.

This assessment is corroborated by the letters of Johannes Schneider (1792-1858), a teacher that Pestalozzi had sent to Naples to provide support. Shortly after he arrived, he spoke with enthusiasm about the students' great progress and the general good will on the part of the Neapolitan public toward the new institute, while at the same time expressing regret that he was unable to communicate with the

children in their native language. “Then we would be better able to speak with the children heart to heart, which is the first tool of the educator, in order to awaken their pure feelings, develop them and maintain them” (Schneider to his siblings, February 1813, cited in: Tobler, 1905, p. 168f.). Very soon, however, Schneider’s tone changed and his initial enthusiasm turned into disillusionment and resignation, since it appeared that the Neapolitans were only concerned with their enjoyment of life. “The Neapolitans exist on a low cultural plane; the most prominent persons are also just about the most ignorant: eating, drinking, sleeping, going for walks, attending the theater, preening themselves and generally leading a dissolute life are the only things that matter to them” (Schneider to Ms. Widler, November 1, 1814, cited in: *ibid.*, p. 172).

At Hofmann’s request, Schneider also brought along books and teaching materials from Yverdon so that if he wished, a Neapolitan teacher could also provide “an introduction to learning and teaching German philosophy, Schelling, Bruno and a few books with similar content” (Hofmann to Schneider, March 5, 1812, cited in: *ibid.* p. 211). For the sender, there was clearly great interest in the method as a form of liberal education of the mind and the spirit; however, the recipient did not necessarily share this interest. Actually, agreement was limited to the fundamental importance of education, but there were significant contradictions in their formulation of the specific ways these should be configured.

5. Ireland: a school without a state

The final example, Ireland, differs from the other examples in that the country had not experienced Napoleonic rule and had a different historical tradition of schooling. Upon conclusion of the *Act of Union* in 1800, Ireland officially became a part of the United Kingdom, which was not without consequence for the school system, since the English government and the Protestant Church of Ireland made efforts to sever the Irish school system from its traditional domination by Catholic priests. Thus, in Ireland there was no possibility to ask how the state might rebuild or reform the educational system, for until well into the 19th century, the English government vehemently held to its position, steeped in liberal tradition, that education was primarily the task of parents. In this regard, the government had the support of local authorities, such as preachers and the gentry. The primary aim was to disengage the Irish educational system from the influence of the Catholic Church, and this gave private individuals an opportunity to establish their own schools, which of course had to be consistent with the goals of the Protestant Church. In the following, I will discuss the example of John Synge (1788-1845), the son of a well-to-do landowner in Roundwood (Wicklow) who had sojourned at Pestalozzi’s school during his travels across Europe after graduating from *Trinity College*, and address the motives and interests that led Synge to attempt to establish Pestalozzi and his method in Ireland. Synge stands for a kind of reform of the educational system that is entirely independent of governmental efforts or support, and relies exclusively upon private and/or church actors.

Upon his return to Ireland, Synge founded a school for the children of villagers and published several books, in which he intended to make Pestalozzi's concepts and teaching materials known to the English-speaking public (Synge, 1815a, b; Williams, 1965, pp. 55ff.). The school itself stayed in operation for 30 years, and the dissemination of Pestalozzi's method was further advanced in a substantial way by the *Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland* (later: *Kildare Place Society*) (O'Connor, 2010, p. 52f.). Thus, the Irish example shows similarities to both Prussia and Bergerac with respect to the drivers of school reform: In Ireland, reforms were carried forward by private individuals or private associations, in accordance with the English educational tradition, whereas in Prussia, the same goal was pursued through state initiative, and in Bergerac, private efforts were intended to serve as a model for transforming the state educational system.

Shortly after it opened, the school already had sixty students, thirty boys and thirty girls (SBaP IV, p. 324-5). Synge reported great successes in teaching, and visitors were astonished at his students' rapid progress in learning. It is interesting to consider the story that Synge tells to document his success. As his guarantor he selects an English nobleman who had visited his school two years earlier and subsequently persuaded the village schoolteacher back in his hometown to likewise employ the Pestalozzi method, a project for which Synge had supported him with instructional materials. However, his love for this school experiment apparently was unrequited on the part of the higher authorities. Since the children of the poor were destined to become butlers and maids one day, the authorities considered it undesirable that the servants should know more than their masters. Yet the schoolteacher was so persuaded of the merits of the new method that he chose to give up his job rather than abandon the teaching method. "Little time had passed before the school Governors had warned him that this was not the way to teach the children of the poor, 'because, they said, these children will one day become the servants of our sons, and we cannot tolerate the servants knowing more than their masters.' The schoolmaster was so persuaded of the excellence of the system that he chose to quite his post rather than to renounce it" (SBaP V, p. 646).

Synge recognized that this reaction on the part of the authorities revealed the problem of the method, or rather the problem in implementing the method. If the method were to be applied consistently, it would change the pre-existing social order, which would hardly be accepted without resistance by the classes who had been in charge up to that time. "It is for this reason, my dear friend, that we are continuously warned not to have too high hopes that the world will accept such a system in silence, one which can only begin by revealing their own ignorance to them" (ibid.). Thus, the method was only suitable for children of the nobility if one did not wish to associate it with a threat to the social order. Therefore, it was also not used, as in Prussia or Bergerac, for the purposes of providing elementary education for the rural population, but rather as a learning method for the privileged classes, and as a result, it no longer matched the perspective formulated by Synge or his own experimental practice.

Yet even Synge himself expressed specific uncertainties regarding the method, which reflect the specific religious context into which the method was imported in Ireland, by contrast to continental Europe. Synge's uncertainties revolved around the question of original sin, and thus the question of mankind's fundamental corruption, a state that had to be overcome through education. Pestalozzi was suspected of denying original sin, and this would imply that people would not have to rely upon the intercession of the Holy Spirit. Resolving this question was extremely important for Synge, as it would determine whether Pestalozzi's method would continue to be supported by influential persons in Ireland. Therefore, Synge asked Pestalozzi if he could provide him with his written opinions regarding this question, and this ultimately constituted a request to provide him with a written assurance about the nature of his Christian religious beliefs (*ibid.*, p. 647).

In a letter that has only been preserved in fragments, Pestalozzi briefly confirmed these principles (PSB XI, p. 189-90), but he also broke off their correspondence at this point. This may well be related to the fact that Synge had brought Pestalozzi to the attention of two Englishmen, James Pierpont Greaves (1777-1842) and Charles Mayo (1792-1846), who went on to lead the "English colony" in Yverdon for several years. The former worked as a translator of Pestalozzi's writings, and the latter as a founder of a Pestalozzi school in the south of England. Pestalozzi's interest and reception had thereby shifted from Ireland to England.

Overall, Ireland provides the example of a philanthropically inclined individual in the tradition of the English nobility who actively sees to the physical and psychological well being of his tenants in order to improve the daily lives of the disadvantaged. Governmental agencies are neither necessary for such activities nor do they meddle in these affairs, but the issue of religious orientation is central, since the Church does not wish to be replaced by the state. Whereas in Naples, one's religious orientation remained important, here it is the theologically "correct" interpretation of original sin that proves to be the decisive determinant for whether the Pestalozzi method for the education of children would be viewed favorably. In addition, the concern about a risk of societal change introduces an entirely new point that was not at issue in Prussia, Bergerac or Naples.

6. Four examples, a single pattern?

What these examples clearly demonstrate are the different patterns of reception and varied areas of special interest shown toward Pestalozzi and his method. Pestalozzi's method was certainly no instrument for standardization in the narrow sense of it being a singular model for education reform that could be implemented universally, albeit with small local modifications. The inadequacy of describing the model as a vehicle for standardization is demonstrated not only by the widely differing areas of special interests placed in his ideas, but also by the absence of clarity regarding the exact nature of his "method." The method consisted at once of the structured development of basic knowledge and skills and of a moral and ethical attitude that defined education as a fundamentally important element in human society.

Nevertheless, we can certainly recognize parallels between the method's implementation in various places. The Pestalozzi method represented a way of reforming an existing educational system and of bringing it into the custody of the state or a different religious organization. In this way, Pestalozzi's method also fulfilled the expectations of a society that believed that specific problems and societal challenges could be solved by "educationalization" them - that is by defining them in terms of education. As a diffuse concept, the method was well suited to this aim, since the gaps could be filled in by all possible expectations. In this sense, the method may be seen as an element of standardization, yet of a standardization that consisted primarily of a process of educationalization. This standardization thus operated primarily at a rhetorical level. The very fact that the school as an organization came into the focal point of interest - and that this took place in different geographical, cultural and political contexts - may be read as the result of a certain standardization of discourse. It became widely believed that education and teaching, which were divided between the government, the Church and parents, were critical for the progress and development of both the individual and the society. This was clearly the case, as illustrated by the example of Ireland, even when the state did not consider itself to be responsible for schools or education. However, the specific ideas attached to this belief were historically and culturally determined, and the attempt to implement a particular concept in these widely differing contexts met with only limited success at the level of practice.

Another unifying feature was the great significance accorded to a founder or reference figure in this context. All of the four examples presented here argued for school reforms using the term "Pestalozzi" as a mark of quality, even though they were filled with quite different specific quality characteristics. Therefore, we might speak here about an instance of "*loose coupling*." Organizations develop strategies for ways to inspire an appearance of standardization without having to reject local traditions or particularities. To summarize in a somewhat exaggerated formulation: the form of standardization that can be deduced from these historical examples is only important at a rhetorical level; it would seem to leave actual practice relatively undisturbed.

From a present-day perspective it is also interesting to see how Pestalozzi has come to serve as a "label" for this standardization process. His name and his person were synonymous with a guarantee of modern educational practices, a perception that lives on to this day. Even if Pestalozzi did not invent the modern public school, he is still praised for having done so in today's textbooks, and historical researchers have had a hard time successfully deconstructing these established (and thus also cherished) convictions in the field of teacher training (see Osterwalder, 1996).

And yet, this also points out a rather typical pattern in pedagogical rhetoric. Reforms and transformations must be provided with names or catchphrases in order to be accepted at the level of educational policy (Horlacher, 2016b). This applies both to contemporary debates about standardization (or lack thereof) in the educational system, as well as to research findings about the history of education. There is a tendency to oversimplify the facts by means of certain attributions, which does,

indeed, increase the teachability and learnability of the phenomenon, but impoverishes historical truth due to the associated reduction in complexity. Therefore, researchers of the history of education would be well advised to study concepts and catchphrases in historical detail and thereby draw their own independent conclusions about educational terminology and the associated theoretical systems. Only in this way is it possible to generate empirically rigorous interpretive frameworks that permit us to perceive history not merely as an assemblage of information that has, at best, been brought into a chronological and causal sequence, but instead, as a fund of empirical data that can continuously and productively be explored with new questions. Only in this way can historical research become something more than the mere reconstruction of histories, something greater than a collection of citations that support personal or ideological beliefs.

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