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Ceived Williams

6th December, 1965
PESTALOZZI JOHN

A STUDY
OF
THE LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL WORK
OF
JOHN SYNGE

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO
THE INTRODUCTION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF
PESTALOZZIAN IDEAS IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND

--o--

SUBMITTED
FOR THE DEGREE
OF
Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
BY
P. CLIVE WILLIAMS

--o--

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
TRINITY COLLEGE
DECEMBER
1965
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

The Struggles of Pestalozzi,

TO

ESTABLISH HIS SYSTEM;

COMPiled AND TRANSLATED CHIEFLY FROM HIS OWN WORKS,

BY AN IRISH TRAVELLER.
While the name of Pestalozzi is known as a familiar household word on the Continent, and his memory ... is everywhere held in pious veneration, we in this island, from accidental circumstances, are hardly acquainted with its sound, and know not that to him the world stands more deeply indebted than to any other man for the beginning of the sound and benevolent system, ... the improvement of the poorer classes of the people.'

HENRY BROUGHAM, 1828.
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All photographs have been taken and processed by the writer. Plate 6 and Diogg's portrait of Pestalozzi have been reproduced from 'Pestalozzi and His Times, A Pictorial Record', Zurich, 1928. Plate 8 is a reproduction of an early photograph of Kilfee School.
PREFACE

It is not infrequently that educational ideas travel by devious means and along forgotten paths; in the early nineteenth century the ideas of Pestalozzi reached England by devious means and along an initial path which has been neglected if not entirely forgotten. Though this path led eventually to the English Pestalozzian movement, it led first to a remote Irish village where, in 1815, an Irish traveller named John Synge established the first Pestalozzian school in the British Isles.

The development of Pestalozzian ideas in England by J.P. Greaves and Charles Mayo is a topic which has concerned several educational historians; the earlier development of such ideas in Ireland by John Synge, together with his contribution to the English Pestalozzian movement, has concerned only Kate Silber and H.M. Pollard. Both of these writers give a brief account of John Synge's educational activities. Though his endeavours were conducted on a smaller scale than those of Greaves and Mayo, John Synge played a major part in initiating the interest of these pioneers in Pestalozzian ideas. He was the first (known) Britisher to study at first hand, practise and disseminate Pestalozzian methods; his were the first published Pestalozzian works in English. The remote location of Synge's activities, together with the rarity of his books and the fact that they were all written under a pseudonym, probably accounts for his not having previously been the subject of detailed research.

As Pollard points out, 'much credit must be ascribed to the handful of reformers who, during the first half of the nineteenth century, strove to draw public attention to the importance of Pestalozzi's methods'. The life and work of the first of these pioneers is the subject of this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I wish to acknowledge the kind help and guidance I have received from the late Professor E.A. Crawford, who died at Rhode Island shortly before this dissertation was completed. His was the help not only of a supervisor, but also of a colleague and friend.

I am indebted to Mrs. L.M. Stephens, widow of Edward M. Stephens, great-grandson of John Synge, for biographical information and access to Synge's manuscripts. Her assistance has been invaluable and her deep interest in the life of John Synge has proved a constant source of encouragement to me.

I am also indebted to several colleagues at Trinity College, Dublin, in particular Mrs. A.C. Little who translated the bulk of the letters referred to in the dissertation. I very much appreciate the willingness and competence with which she undertook the painstaking task of scrutinising the final draft. For additional help with translation I am grateful to Miss M.E. North and Dr. Y. Kunz. Expert comment on Synge's 'Hebrew Grammar' was kindly provided by Professor J. Weingreen; access to archives and former premises of the Kildare Place Society was willingly afforded me by Canon R.J. Ross. Mrs. R.F. Cantan provided the original drawing of Synge's schoolroom.

The Library staff of Trinity College have been most helpful and I am particularly grateful to Miss M. Pollard whose extensive knowledge of the history of printing in Ireland has been of great value. I am also grateful for the facilities which have been extended to me by Dr. E. Dejung of the Stadtbibliothek, Winterthur, the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, the National Library of Ireland and the British Museum.
I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Kate Silber (University of Edinburgh) for encouraging me to undertake this research and for her help in tracing Continental sources. Finally, I am indebted to the 'Irish Traveller', whose life, to me at least, has proved one of absorbing interest.

P.C.W.

6th December, 1965.
1. ROUNDWOOD AND GLANMORE

Glanmore Castle, the home of John Synge, stands grey and secluded beside a remote and precipitous glen in County Wicklow, Ireland. Nature adds splendour to the isolation of Glanmore, where thickly-forested inclines rise steeply to the brown and peaty moorlands of the Wicklow Hills, or give way to pastoral and sparsely-populated valleys. The castle today is a gaunt ruin, overgrown and almost inaccessible. Nearby stands a small single-storeyed schoolhouse, shuttered and neglected. The whole scene is redolent of Greenhead Ghyll in Wordsworth's 'Michael': 'It is in truth an utter solitude' and those 'Who journey thither find themselves alone, with a few sheep, with rocks and stones'. In the churchyard at Nunscross, a nearby village, is the neglected grave of John Synge of Glanmore. A simple headstone ventures no epitaph and records only the fact of his death on April 29th, 1845.

Little in the Glanmore scene suggests an area of interest to the educational historian. To link it with the early development of continental influences on education in Britain suggests little more than incongruity; yet the growth of the seeds of educational change is not infrequently encouraged in remote places by improbable people. County Wicklow was indeed remote in the early nineteenth century and John Synge an improbable person to adopt and disseminate the principles of the Swiss Nature School. However, the link between Glanmore and Yverdon is not as tenuous as it may initially appear; it was forged by one who wished to be known as no more than 'An Irish Traveller', but who came to be known as 'Pestalozzi John'.
John Synge was born on January 8th, 1788. His birthplace was in Grafton Street, Dublin, presumably in the town house of his father, Francis Synge. John Synge was born not only into wealth, but into a family whose social position was assured by honours reaped in affairs of Church and State over many generations. The family distinction deriving in Ireland from Edward Synge (1659-1741), Archbishop of Tuam, was consolidated by several baronetcies and military distinctions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In more recent times, these were eclipsed by the fame of the dramatist John Millington Synge, grandson of John Synge of Glanmore. The Synge family traces its lineage to the sixteenth century Millington family of Bridgnorth, Shropshire, where 'according to tradition they acquired the name of Sing or Synge from the sweetness of voice of one of the family'. The branch of the family which settled in Ireland retained strong English and Protestant affiliations; part of John Synge's inheritance was thus the prestige and privilege attached to the peculiar admixture of class, religion and racial affiliations which characterised the Protestant ascendancy.

No details of John Synge's early life appear to have been recorded and none can be gleaned from present-day members of the family. What slender evidence exists suggests that his childhood and youth were spent in County Wicklow, firstly at the village of Roundwood and then on the Glanmore estate.

1. Synge, L.M., The Family of Synge or Sing (pedigree tables), Southampton, private publication, 1938, p.23.
Upon their marriage his parents went to live at Roundwood Park, the property of his maternal grandfather, John Hatch.(1) His father later acquired the nearby Glanmore estate and present-day members of the family assume that most of John Synge's early days were spent there. However, this assumption conflicts with certain details which appear significant. In the preface to her pedigree tables of the Synge family, L.M. Synge records that Francis Synge acquired the Glanmore estate partly by purchase and partly under the will of his uncle, Sir Francis Hutchinson.(2) A plaque on the old schoolhouse at Glanmore indicates that Sir Francis Hutchinson was alive in 1807: 'Erected by Sir Francis Hutchinson, Bart.,1807'. It was subsequently found that the date of his death was 18th December, 1807.)(3) L.M. Synge also records that Francis Synge replaced the old house on the estate with the mansion known as Glanmore Castle but the date of its erection cannot be ascertained. Glanmore Castle is marked on the first ordnance survey map of the area but the survey is of a much later date, 1840.(4) While the evidence does not preclude the possibility of Francis Synge's having lived at Glanmore before 1808, it seems unlikely unless that part of the estate was acquired some time before the remainder. In 1808, John Synge was twenty years of age and a student at Magdalene College, Oxford.(5)

While it seems reasonable to assume that John Synge spent his childhood and youth at Roundwood Park, two remaining facts demand explanation. He was not born in Roundwood, but in Dublin, while his younger brother Edward was born at Chester ten

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2. Ibid.
4. Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Sheet 24 (Wicklow).
years later. (1) Little relevant significance can be attached to his having been born in Dublin where medical facilities for child-birth and post-natal care were far superior to those in County Wicklow. At this time Dublin was rapidly gaining a name in the medical world for progress in gynaecology and obstetrics, largely as a result of the work of Dr. Bartholomew Moss. The Rotunda Lying-in Hospital, erected by him in 1751-57 was the first of its kind in Europe. A Dublin residence, rather than a remote house in County Wicklow, thus seems an obvious choice for Elizabeth Synge's first confinement.

The fact that John Synge's younger brother, Edward, was born at Chester could indicate that the family had taken up residence in England as absentee landlords. The date of Edward's birth, 7th October, 1798, did not appear particularly significant until it was discovered that a ruined cottage at Roundwood Park had once been inhabited by Joseph Holt, leader of the abortive Irish rebellion of 1798. Roundwood was the scene of preparations for the uprising and many local landlords sought safety in Dublin; one exception was a friend of Francis Synge, Lord Powerscourt, who fortified his mansion and to whom Holt later surrendered. (2)

Before the outbreak the rebels encamped in the Devil's Glen, on the Glanmore estate. After their defeat the scattered insurgents hid in the same glen until driven out by fire, 'blackened stumps long bore witness to the extent of the conflagration'. (3)

Though abortive, the 1798 Rebellion indicated the intensity of Roman Catholic feeling against the Protestant ascendancy among whom the ferocious atrocities of the rebels caused considerable alarm. As a wealthy Protestant landowner resident at the very scene of revolutionary preparations, it was natural that Francis Synge should ensure the safety of his family by sending them to England. Residence at Chester thus appears to have been no more than a temporary expedient and it

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2. Black's Guide to Ireland, Edinburgh, 1875, p.76
3. Ibid., p.82.
is presumed that after the ruthless suppression of the rebels, the Synge family returned to Roundwood.

The evidence is admittedly circumstantial but, in the absence of any conflicting evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that John Synge's childhood and youth were spent in County Wicklow. Whether or not all these years were spent at Roundwood Park is not clear. Certain details concerning John Synge's education suggest that, at least, the later stages of his education during adolescence were conducted at Glanmore. The Alumni Dublinenses records that before entering Trinity College, Dublin as an undergraduate, he was 'privately educated'. (1) In 1814, when John Synge was in Switzerland at the Pestalozzian institute of Yverdon, he wrote to his father describing Pestalozzian Methods. (2) This description was conveyed to William Digges La Touche, a Dublin friend of John Synge's, who later wrote, 'I should like your old preceptor at Glanmore to be present at their arithmetical calculations'. (3) This suggests that John Synge was educated at Glanmore, either at the home of his uncle, Sir Francis Hutchinson, or at another large residence on the estate, Tighlyn. The latter is said to have been a residence of members of the Synge family but their exact identity cannot be ascertained.

The length of time spent by John Synge as a boy, either at Roundwood or Glanmore, may appear of little relevance but it

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2. This letter has never been traced but it is referred to in the La Touche letter of 1814.
3. Letter from Wm. Digges La Touche to John Synge at Yverdon, Dublin, 3rd December, 1814.
should be remembered that these were the formative years of one who was later to put into practice the principles of an educational system in which nature and rural life played a significant part. Roundwood and Glanmore would have been an ideal environment for the education of Rousseau's Emile and the two estates were not unlike those at Birr and Neuhof where Pestalozzi first applied educational ideas inspired by Rousseau. Both were rural areas with an indigent, uneducated, peasant population, large tracts of unprofitable land and agricultural systems which perpetuated inefficiency and meagre living standards. Such a background, as opposed to an urban environment, would have been conducive to sympathy with Pestalozzi in his early endeavours and to an understanding of his insistence on the importance of nature in the education of children. As a formative influence upon John Synge, his natural environment may be worthy of a brief description.

Roundwood is an isolated village of little distinction apart from its claim to be the highest village in Ireland. It is situated on an expansive tract of marginal table-land in the Wicklow Mountains, thirty miles south of Dublin. Glanmore is some four miles to the south-west and both are on the river Vartry. The area is part of what was designated in the thirteenth century as 'the Mac-Morres's country' and which until the seventeenth century was an uncultivated tract inhabited by a few 'roving septs of semi-barbarians'. Roundwood Park, with its castellated mansion, is a large demesne extending southwards from Roundwood into the small parish of Derrylossary. Although itself wooded and well-preserved, Roundwood Park is surrounded, as far as the eye can see, by rough marginal pasture-

1. Black, op.cit., p.82.
land and bleak, boggy moorland. The scenery at Glanmore, on the lower and more fertile slopes of the mountains is more varied and interesting. One nineteenth century guidebook describes the wooded Glanmore demesne as 'romantic and beautifully situate'(1) while a later biographical work refers to Glanmore Castle as 'one of the fairest gems of the County Wicklow'.(2) Far below the castle lies the predominant natural feature of Glanmore, the Devil's Glen: 'a deep, long and rocky gorge, with its precipitous sides lined with trees, between which the river Vartry, rushing from its upper moorlands, flings itself down through a huge cleft rock into a deep round pool, issuing from which, it traverses the glen in whirl and rapid on its way to the sea'.(3) Toward the end of John Synge's life, the glen appears to have been a remote but popular tourist attraction. Black's Guide of 1875 mentions the availability of horse-drawn cars for hire; as early as 1844 visitors to the glen could hire 'good post horses and cars' at the inn at Ashford, a few miles distant on the Dublin-Wicklow road.(4) To-day the Devil's Glen is overgrown and practically inaccessible.

Apart from farming, the main activity at Glanmore in John Synge's time was forestry, an activity in which both he and his father showed interest and enterprise. 'Your Father looks well,' wrote La Touche to John Synge at Yverdon, 'he has got the saw-mill in great perfection, some samples of its efficacy he has brought to Town and I think he might soon turn it to very great advantage'.(5) This enterprise was evidently later extended by John Synge as Irwin mentions the shipping of Glanmore timber from

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3. Ibid., p. 33.
5. La Touche letter, 1814, op. cit.
Wicklow harbour to England for the manufacture of crates. (1) It is interesting to note that a large part of the Glanmore estate is now the property of the Irish Forestry Commission; the remainder has been purchased by a German forestry expert with the intention of restoring the demesne and re-planting it with varieties of trees that cannot withstand the German winter.

The formative years of John Synge's life were set in a natural scene as rich and stimulating as any boy could desire. There is, unfortunately, no way of establishing his sensitivity to this environment or the degree of significance that can be attached to it as a formative influence. His letters show a deep attachment to Roundwood and Glanmore but neither these nor his writings indicate any feeling approaching the pantheism of, say, Wordsworth, or indeed of any particular stress on nature beyond that one would expect of a disciple of Pestalozzi. Though in many ways an idealist, his idealism was practical rather than poetic. As a deeply religious man, however, he may well have experienced in this 'wild secluded scene....thoughts of more deep seclusion' (2) but his religion was one pre-disposed to concern itself with the sinful nature of man rather than with the natural glories of creation. While he may have appreciated the power of nature to 'chasten and subdue' it seems less likely that he heard in nature the 'still, sad music of humanity'. (3)

Though little is known of John Synge's early years, there is no reason to suppose that they were other than the normal carefree days of childhood and youth. It is assumed that the general mode of his early life was that common to the sons of wealthy landed families of the time; he was educated by

1. Irwin, G.O., op.cit., p.38.
2. Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey.
3. Ibid.
by a tutor and brought up in the atmosphere of privileged security and material comfort associated with his class at the turn of the eighteenth century. However, the isolated nature of his environment, his interest in the management and improvement of the estate which he later inherited, together with the scientific and practical bent he exhibited as a young man— all these lead one to suspect that as a youth he had little interest in the acquirement of frivolous social graces or in the fashionable pleasures of city life. He appears to have been less inclined to the social round than to the common task; the maturity and serious-mindedness he showed as a man was no doubt also evident in his youth. While it may have been fashionable for young bloods in Dublin to accept the 'practical morality' advocated by Lord Chesterfield in the published letters to his son, such ideas would have conflicted sharply with the religious standards observed at Roundwood Park and Glanmore.

Little is known of John Synge's mother, who died when he was twenty-one, but he appears to have been deeply attached to her. His first book was dedicated to the memory of 'a much lamented Mother, to whose early instruction and example, however inadequately valued amidst the follies of youth, he feels indebted'. (1) The dedication goes on to say that as a result of his mother's instruction and example, 'his heart was rendered capable of appreciating the labours of Pestalozzi'. (2) It is interesting to note that this expresses firm acceptance of Pestalozzi's insistence on the vital educational role of the mother, and as such is a fitting dedication for a Pestalozzian work.

1. A Biographical Sketch of The Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System; compiled and translated chiefly from his own works by An Irish Traveller, Dublin, 1815,

2. Ibid.
Similarly, little of relevance is known of John Synge's father apart from the fact that he was a Christian parent of firm Protestant convictions. He supported Nunscross Church, which he built on the Glanmore estate in 1817 and though not as evangelical as his son, Francis Synge sought to inspire in him sound spiritual values. John Synge's letters and writings provide ample evidence of his success.

2. DUBLIN AND OXFORD

On April 30th 1805, at the age of seventeen, John Synge was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin.(1) The Alumni Dublïnenses records that he was a Fellow Commoner, an indication of wealthy parentage, but there is no record of his having achieved any academic distinction. He remained at Trinity College for two years and the Alumni Oxoniensis records that his studies were completed at Magdalene College, Oxford.(2) He matriculated on June 5th 1807 and remained at Magdalene until at least 1810 when he graduated.(3) His uncle, Edward Synge, had been at Magdalene some decades previously and among John Synge's contemporaries at Oxford were his cousins Edward and Francis, both of Dublin.(4)

John Synge appears to have been a diligent student and in the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch of the Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System' he speaks of being 'freed from the too painful labours of his own academic life' (the preface is written in the third person).(5) While he may not have found his college years particularly enjoyable, they were nevertheless reasonably fruitful. Few details can be

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1. Alumni Dublïnenses, op.cit., p.798.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
gleaned of his academic interests and abilities at this stage but he evidently left Oxford with a fair knowledge of modern languages. The diaries of his continental tour of 1812-1815 indicate a knowledge of Spanish, Italian and French. It was on this tour that he met Pestalozzi; all his subsequent letters to Pestalozzi were written in his own hand in French and he was evidently capable of reading the writings of Madame de Stael(1) and of translating Pestalozzian works written in French.

Although Synge's 'Biographical Sketch' was 'compiled and translated chiefly from his (Pestalozzi's) own works'(2) it seems unlikely that Synge was referring to the original German editions. When he visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon the first school-lesson he observed was in German, a language with which he was 'at that time quite unacquainted'.(3) This reference to his ignorance of German, written in 1815, seems to imply that at the time of writing Synge was better acquainted with the language. The following year, however, he wrote to Pestalozzi. 'It was only on the day before yesterday that I succeeded in finding a man able to translate your letter and therefore in learning the news contained in it'.(4)

The standard of John Synge's academic performance at the University is not known but he was later described by a Dublin contemporary as among men 'who had taken distinguished honours at their universities'.(5) This contemporary, R.S. Brooke, Rector of Kingstown, knew Synge during the 1830's and describes him as 'an eminently accomplished man, a traveller, an artist' and 'a skilled Hebraist'.(6) Synge's artistic
abilities are well-evidenced by the sketch books of his continental tour and his skill was obviously developed over many years of practice. Though executed with considerable skill and infinite care, Synge's sketches reveal the meticulous but unimaginative attention to detail of a draughtsman, rather than the sensitive interpretation of an artist. Even in art his approach was essentially practical; he was interested in optics and the photographic detail of his sketches suggests that he possibly used an optical aid which cast an image of the scene upon the artist's sketchbook. Such devices were not unknown at the time.

It is not clear whether Synge gained his first knowledge of Hebrew as a boy, as a student or in later years. Between 1815 and 1820 he began work on the private publication of a Hebrew Bible and in 1831 he published a Hebrew Grammar.(1) Later writings and letters indicate an interest in mathematics, mechanics, engineering, printing and optics but it is not clear which, if any one of these interests was developed by Synge during his student days. There is little doubt, however, that even as a young graduate he displayed the versatility and initiative which were to become so characteristic of him in later life.

Almost two years after his graduation at Oxford, John Synge set off on that fashionable and educational peregrination, the Grand Tour. How and where he spent the intervening years is uncertain. Silber implies that he went to Europe on completion of his studies at Oxford(2) but it seems unlikely that he would have spent a further two years at Oxford after graduation without becoming an M.A. There is no suggestion of this in the Alumni Oxoniensis. This does not preclude the possibility of his having remained there but it seems more

1. Parens (J.Synge), An Early Introduction to the Hebrew Language on the principles of Pestalozzi, London, 1831.
likely that at least part of the time would have been spent at Dublin and Glanmore, particularly as his mother had died in 1809, just before he graduated. Synge had already been at Oxford for three years and it seems improbable that he would have envisaged a prolonged tour of several years without having spent some time at home.

This view is supported by John Synge's having incurred debts in Dublin before leaving for Europe, a fact borne out by a letter from La Touche who belonged to a well-known Dublin family of bankers and lawyers and who apparently acted for John Synge in a legal and financial capacity. (1) 'I have within these few days been applied to by some of your creditors' wrote La Touche to Synge at Yverdon in 1814. He mentioned, in particular, a Mr. Joseph and a 'Bill Kennan of Fishamble Street'. Synge had evidently borrowed money from the former, 'I recollect you were not over-pleased at what I said at the time you borrowed the money' wrote La Touche. (2) It is not clear whether the loan was in any way connected with Synge's proposed tour, and the possibility of investment is suggested by reference to a debtor, 'Mr. Hamilton of London' who had given up his 'soda-water manufactory' and hoped to liquidate his debt to Synge upon sale of a patent for telescopes. Of Bill Kennen, La Touche wrote, 'His bill amounts to £29, chiefly for zinc' (3)

The identity and occupation of Kennan are suggested by an item on Fishamble Street in the recent 'Shell Guide to Ireland': 'Kennan's Ironworks incorporates the entrance of the Charitable Musical Society's Music Hall, erected to the design of Richard Cassels in 1741'. (4) (The building is of note as it was here that Handel conducted the first performance of his 'Messiah'.) It seems improbable that John Synge would have had use for zinc as

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1. La Touche letter, 1814, op.cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
a building material; his interest in art and printing suggests
the use of zincograph plates for etching and reproduction.

There is no suggestion in the letter that John Synge
was in the habit of evading his debts. Although they were of
long-standing, payment had been applied for only recently by
Joseph, who had been 'obliged to quit his service through ill-
health', and by Kennan who 'has not gone on so well of late'.
La Touche expressed his willingness to help but, perhaps wisely,
explained that his means were 'not as extensive as they were'
and advised Synge to apply to his father 'who would probably
do something for you'. He concluded the matter by expressing
surprise that Synge had not remembered the debts and by saying,
'I deceive myself greatly if you would not do your utmost for
a speedy settlement of their demands'.(1)

Though circumstantial, what evidence there is
suggests that John Synge spent some time in Ireland between
his leaving for Oxford and his Grand Tour. There is nothing
to suggest that at this time he was aware of any strong sense
of vocation and he appears to have led the pleasant but somewhat
purposeless life of a gentleman's son of the time. His interests
appear recreational rather than vocational and his family
background was such that neither his academic nor his artistic
ability was necessary to ensure his livelihood. As heir to the
estate the management of Glanmore would eventually be his
responsibility and he probably envisaged no permanent vocation
beyond this.

1812 was an eventful year at Glanmore. Francis Synge
remarried, this time to Elizabeth Taylor, a Galway widow, and
John Synge set off on his Grand Tour. As he pointed out in
the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch', 'his time was entirely
at his own disposal'(2); armed with little more than his sketch

1 La Touche letter, 1874, op.cit.
2 Synge, J., A Biographical Sketch, op.cit., p.v.
book, he set off on a leisurely tour of the Continent. He left Dublin on 31st October, 1812 and a short while later arrived in Portugal.

3. LISBON: 'TO WATCH THE WAR'.

During the Napoleonic Wars of 1793-1815, the number of British visitors to the Continent declined sharply. Travel was not only difficult, but fraught with danger and the Grand Tour was no longer a feasible undertaking. Pollard quotes the Napoleonic Wars as the main reason for the absence of British visitors to Pestalozzi at Burgdorf and Yverdon, 'A turning point was reached in 1814, however, when, with the apparent end of the Napoleonic Wars, an Irish traveller named Synge from Glanmore Castle, County Wicklow, set out on a prolonged tour of Switzerland'.(1) Though correct in essence this statement is not altogether accurate; it was not until the autumn of 1814 that Synge reached Switzerland via Portugal, Spain, France and Italy where he had spent nearly two years. This is confirmed by his diary and sketch books. The occasion of his departure was determined not so much by the apparent end of the Napoleonic Wars as by their continuity, as in his diary he specifically states that the purpose of his tour was 'to watch the war'.(2) His arrival at Lisbon was thus hardly fortuitous.

During the Peninsular War of 1804-1814, Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington), realizing his dependence on sea-power, took Lisbon as a major base. Wellington's lines of defence, the famous 'lines of Torres Vedras' made his position virtually impregnable to a scattered French army with inadequate

supply lines. From such a strong defensive position, Wellington could strike deep into the French-dominated territory of Portugal and Spain, and at the time of John Synge's arrival in Portugal, he had already gained important victories at Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz and Salamanca. Portugal thus offered Synge not only a view of military operations but also a comparatively safe vantage point from which to view them.

Synge's timing, however, was not propitious and any expectations of military action he may have had were short-lived. Early in 1813, Napoleon drew on his army in Spain to reinforce an army disastrously depleted after the Moscow campaign. In May of that year, Wellington pursued the retreating French into Spain and the war moved rapidly northwards, across the Pyrenees and into France itself. John Synge's passport for entry into Spain is made out in the Duke of Wellington's name, 'Don Arturo Wellesley, Marquess de Wellington' and is dated 19th September, 1813. At this time Wellington and the war were some five hundred miles away in San Sebastian and probably Synge saw little of the war that he had apparently set out to witness. No great battles took place in Portugal when Synge was there and while war raged in the Pyrenees he was sketching peaceful haciendas in the Portuguese sierras. There is nothing in his sketchbooks suggestive of the subjects which interested Goya so intensely at the time. He seems concerned with places rather than with people and nothing is recorded of war, poverty or suffering.

After leaving Portugal, Synge spent over a year wandering in Spain, France and Italy. His diary is mostly a record of the names of the places he visited, together with lists of words and phrases he learned in different languages. His sketches, finely executed and most delicately drawn, are a

1 John Synge's Spanish Passport, 1813.
delightful record of his travels. Landscape, architecture and scenic beauty are his main subjects and all are painstakingly drawn with attention to minute detail.(1)

The autumn of 1814 found John Synge 'rambling in Switzerland' (2) and it seems largely by chance that he found himself at Yverdon in the Pays de Vaud. Yverdon had little to offer the tourist apart from a visit to the institution where for some years the educational innovations of Pestalozzi had excited considerable interest. Roger de Guimps, a pupil at Yverdon from 1808 to 1817, describes the institute as 'exciting the admiration of scholars and sovereigns...attracting crowds of pupils, disciples and visitors from every country'.(3) By 1814, the time of John Synge's visit to Yverdon, the institute was well past its zenith yet even in decline it continued to attract visitors. Inevitably, there were many who, like Synge, had little interest in either Pestalozzi or education, and some were merely indulging idle and ill-informed curiosity. Johannes Ramsauer, a gifted pupil and assistant of Pestalozzi, describes how 'as many hundred times in the course of a year as foreign visitors visited the Pestalozzian institute, so many hundred times did Pestalozzi allow himself in his enthusiasm to be deceived by them....hundreds and hundreds of times there came to the institute silly, curious, and often totally uneducated persons, who came because it was the fashion'.(4)

The 'fashion' was encouraged by the brothers Pictet who, in their 'Bibliotheque Britannique', designated the

1. Four Sketchbooks of John Synge's Continental tour, 1812-1814.
Pestalozzian institute at Yverdon as one of the sights of Switzerland; Synge was less extravagant and referred to it merely as 'among the objects of curiosity pointed out to travellers'.(1) His initial curiosity towards the Yverdon institute was negligible and when first invited to visit it, he refused, thinking it 'a sight not likely to interest him'.(2) 'Education had occupied but little (of his) attention', he added, particularly since he had been 'freed from the too painful labours of his own academic life'.(3) In addition to expressing little interest in education, he exhibited an active disinclination to visit the institute, 'feeling no small degree of prejudice against schemes of education, from the little he had seen of the mechanical systems practised at home'.(4)

When eventually he was persuaded to visit the institute, he apparently did so merely to placate his friends. Had it not been for this fortuitous decision, it is unlikely that he would have played any part in the history of English education. It is also unlikely that the names of James Pierrepont Greaves and Dr. Charles Mayo, principal figures in the English Pestalozzian movement, would have been remembered after their time.

2. Ibid. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid.
Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi was born in Zurich in 1746 and died in Brugg in 1827. For over a century his life has commanded the attention of writers throughout Europe and America, but for present purposes only a brief outline of his life's work is intended. His father, a Protestant physician of Italian origin, died when Pestalozzi was six and he was brought up by his mother and a maidservant, who devoted themselves completely to the care and education of the three children of the family. The genial atmosphere of love, self-sacrifice and solicitude which Pestalozzi knew as a child was the basis of his life-long vision of the good mother as the eternal educator, and the home as the fundamental reality of the child and place of education par excellence. The story of Pestalozzi's life is largely the story of his efforts to formulate, define and establish a system based on this vision: 'the home should be the foundation of any natural scheme of education' he wrote in one of his earliest works. (1)

The primary aim of Pestalozzi's endeavours was social rather than educational; education was the means by which he sought to ameliorate the lot of the poor: 'The welfare of the people is Pestalozzi's aim....He did not seek the wreath of merit in your mansions but in their hovels', wrote Herbart. Though a pedagogue of merit and originality, Pestalozzi was above all else a humanitarian. His humanitarianism resulted in educational ideas which played a significant part in the foundation of elementary school systems throughout Europe and America, and which had a marked influence on the thought of men such as Fichte, Froebel and Herbart.

1. Pestalozzi, Evening Hours of a Hermit, 1780; translation in J.A. Green's, Pestalozzi's Educational writings, London, 1912, p. 23
As a student at the Collegian Carolinum in Zurich, Pestalozzi was profoundly influenced by the writings of Rousseau. Rousseau's 'natural man' is reflected throughout Pestalozzi's own writings but in many ways the disciple was better than the master and in Pestalozzi the ideas of Rousseau found practical expression. Revolutionary teachers such as Bodmer and Breitinger, in addition to Rousseau's 'Social Contract', convinced Pestalozzi of the need for social reform: 'The principles of liberty revived by Rousseau and presented under an ideal form, fortified the desire in my heart to find a large field of action in which I should be able to be of use to the people'.

The direction of Pestalozzi's visionary tendencies towards education was also, to some extent, determined by Rousseau. The 'Emile' impressed Pestalozzi deeply: 'My own visionary tendencies were stimulated to a pitch of extraordinary enthusiasm when I read that dream book of his. I compare the education which I had received at home and at school with that which Rousseau demanded for Emile, and I felt how wretchedly inadequate it all had been'.

Pestalozzi abandoned, in turn, intentions of entering the Church and the legal profession, and influenced by Rousseau's naturalism he became a farmer on the Neuhof estate, which he purchased on marriage. Though an agricultural failure, the experiment led to Pestalozzi's decision to found an institute for destitute children at the Neuhof. The institute took the form of an industrial school and it was here that Pestalozzi 'lived for years like a beggar among beggars, in order to teach them to live like men'. Financial mismanagement and local suspicion led to the closure of the institute in 1779.

2. Ibid., quoted by W.Boyd, op.cit.,p.319.
Attempts to educate the orphans, and his own child, on naturalistic principles had not been a great success but they had given Pestalozzi some insight into educational problems; the failure of the Neuhof institute convinced him of the need to clarify his own ideas on education and social reform.

For the next twenty years Pestalozzi concerned himself primarily with the formulation and publication of his ideas. 'Evening Hours of a Hermit', published in 1780, showed his dependence on Rousseau, but his best-known work, 'Leonard and Gertrude', indicated considerable original and independent thought. Published over several years, and written in the form of a novel, 'Leonard and Gertrude' popularised the educational ideas to which Pestalozzi gave practical expression in later years. The book describes the patience and skill of a peasant woman in the education of her children, together with the reform of village life which resulted from her endeavours. The essence of the scheme of education envisaged was the moral and intellectual development of the child which would eventually reform society.

In 1782 Pestalozzi again emphasized the importance of home education and communal life in 'Christopher and Elizabeth' but this didactic work did not meet with equal success and subsequent years were spent on the writing of pamphlets and additional volumes of 'Leonard and Gertrude'. Pestalozzi's success as a writer brought him considerable fame; social and educational reformers, writers and philosophers from many European countries sought his advice. Perhaps foremost among these was the German philosopher Fichte, whose introduction of Pestalozzian ideas became the basis of the reformed system of education in Germany.
In 1798 Pestalozzi, then primarily a theorist, turned to teaching as a practical expression of his ideas. It is interesting to note that although Pestalozzi is invariably thought of as a teacher, he did not become one until he was over fifty years of age; surprisingly, in a technical sense, he was never a good teacher and was given to impulsive outbursts of anger and impatience. In 1798, Pestalozzi refused an official post in the educational service of a revolutionary Swiss government, but undertook the education and care of a large group of war-orphans at Stanz. For several months Pestalozzi strove to educate and take care of these ignorant, sick and wretched children; they lived as beggars in conditions of extreme discomfort, hunger and deprivation. Manual work alternated with elementary instruction, and above all Pestalozzi strove to create an environment of affection and mutual trust. The incessant demands and exhausting strain of the endeavour wrought havoc with Pestalozzi's health, but his compassionate and selfless nature remained constant. 'Before the spring sun had melted the snow on our mountains, my pupils were no longer recognizable, in their angels' eyes and their transparent glances, I saw the progress of their souls....', he wrote later. (1)

In June 1799 the Stanz orphanage was taken over as a hospital by the French army and Pestalozzi was forced to abandon his work there.

For a year or so Pestalozzi taught at elementary schools in Burgdorf and his success was such that in 1800 he was made head of a school in Burgdorf Castle, which the government intended to develop as a training college for teachers. With the help of able assistants such as Herman Krusi and Joseph Schmidt, Pestalozzi found practical expression for his educational ideas. From the Burgdorf school sprang Pestalozzi's institute of education, which combined the functions of elementary dayschool, boarding school and training college. In 1801 Pestalozzi published

1. Quoted by Compayre, G., Pestalozzi and Elementary Education, London, 19
'How Gertrude Teaches her Children', which remains the most systematic presentation of his methods and ideas. It is a practical and realistic work and together with numerous textbooks on Pestalozzian method written either by Pestalozzi or his assistants, it did much to establish the fame of Pestalozzi's endeavours at Burgdorf. The institute attracted pupils, assistants and visitors from all over Europe. 'There was hardly a day when the castle was not full of strangers "from every imaginable country", for Pestalozzi's method had been heard of "from Peterburg to Naples"'. (1) Visitors to the institute at Burgdorf, and at Yverdon to where it was later transferred, included Herbart, Froebel (who stayed for two years), Catherine the Great, Czar Alexander, Fichte and Madame de Stael. Perhaps even more impressive than the achievements of Pestalozzian methods was the Pestalozzian spirit which pervaded the institute, the evocation of joy in learning and the relaxed, permissive atmosphere which testified to a labour of love.

In 1805 the institute moved to Yverdon, where it remained until its closure in 1825. The early years at Yverdon were probably the most illustrious of his life and the institute continued to excite the imagination of educationists and reformers. Johannes Niederer, a prominent assistant of Pestalozzi, described Yverdon as 'the centre of Europe's educational culture' (2), a description substantiated by the number and distinction of its visitors. Among them was the American William Maclure who, failing to persuade Pestalozzi to emigrate to America, obtained the services of a former assistant, Joseph Neef. The Pestalozzian movement in America

2. Ibid., p.218.
can be traced largely to their endeavours. The observations, enthusiastic or sceptical, of visitors to Yverdon were widely read and discussed, and the fame of Pestalozzi spread accordingly.

Silber regards 1809 as the peak of the institute's prosperity(1), though de Guimps put it a year or so earlier.(2) Subsequent years saw the decline of the institute and what de Guimps describes as its 'death agony'. The initial decline of the institute was due largely to the deterioration of staff relationships, accentuated by the bitter antagonism and rivalry which existed between two of Pestalozzi's most illustrious assistants, Neiderer and Schmidt. In 1810 Schmidt, a brilliant mathematician and efficient but autocratic administrator, left the institute, together with several assistants including Froebel. Neiderer assumed administrative responsibility and although he was an able writer and philosopher, he made an inefficient administrator. Between 1810 and 1815 staff-relationships continued to decline and many of Pestalozzi's ablest assistants resigned. Time and time again the trust of the benign Pestalozzi was misplaced and betrayed; he became a weary, sick, disillusioned man who, at times, appears to have lost control of the institute altogether. Pestalozzi's opponents, including at one stage even Schmidt, published violent criticisms of the institute and Pestalozzi was accused of plotting revolution and anarchy. Neiderer, without permission, set up a press to combat criticism with a lengthy philosophical work, a disastrous venture which accelerated the financial ruin faced by the institute in 1814. Debts were overwhelming and self-appointed managers forced Pestalozzi's family to leave the institute.

1. Silber, K., op.cit., p.219
2. De Guimps, op.cit., p.275
This was the stage at which John Synge arrived in Yverdon. He could scarcely have chosen a worse time and it is a tribute to Pestalozzi that in spite of its difficulties Synge was impressed and inspired by what he saw at the institute. For a brief period in 1815 the return of Schmidt brought some harmony and renewed hope, but by then Synge had left. Schmidt soon returned to his tyrannical, autocratic ways which resulted in the resignation of Krusi and Niederer. Pestalozzi maintained an ingenuous and entirely misplaced loyalty towards Schmidt, which lost him his old friends and condoned the disastrous mismanagement of Schmidt which led to the ruin of the institute. Schmidt controlled not only the institute, but Pestalozzi himself, who, in despair and disillusionment, sought solace in his writings. Bankruptcy, violent criticism, animosity and quarrels with the Yverdon municipality led to the closure of the institute by the Vaudese Council of State in 1825. Schmidt had been expelled from the Canton, ostensibly on a charge of non-compliance with residence regulations but in fact as a result of charges of immorality. In March 1825, Pestalozzi left Yverdon, the scene of his most illustrious endeavours, in shame and bitter disillusionment. 'The institute of Yverdon had lasted for twenty years, and had enjoyed an unexampled prosperity; before it ceased to exist, it had fallen to the lowest degree of abasement'.

Pestalozzi, now nearly eighty years of age, together with his self-imposed master Schmidt, retired to Neuhof. Here he began plans for the founding of a poor school and wrote 'The Swansong' and 'Experiences of My Life'; in the latter he characteristically blames himself for all the misfortunes of his career and endeavours to exculpate Schmidt. In 1827 he died

at Brugg, near Neuhof, and was buried at Birr. The only monument he asked was 'a rough, unhewn stone, such as I myself have always been'.(1)

In 1846 the gableside of a new school, overlooking Pestalozzi's grave, took the form of a more worthy monument. Its simple inscription needs no elaboration:

'Here lies
Heinrich Pestalozzi,
born in Zurich on 12th January 1746,
died in Brugg on 17th February 1827.
Saviour of the Poor in the Neuhof,
Preacher of the People in 'Leonard and Gertrude',
In Stans Father to Orphans,
In Burgdorf and Munchenbuchsee
Founder of the new Elementary School,
In Yverdon Educator of Mankind.
Man, Christian, Citizen.
All for Others, Nothing for Himself.
Blessed be his Name.'

Ibid., p.366.
2. THE PESTALOZZIAN METHOD.

Pestalozzian method is inseparable from the theory on which it is based and it is only in the light of this theory that it can be fully understood. However, the philosophical ramifications of Pestalozzian theory are such that the clarity of any exposition of educational means is in danger of blurring by involved philosophical digressions into educational aims, which in Pestalozzi's case are not always clear or easily comprehended. Few, if any, satisfactory accounts of the Pestalozzian system have been written and as Pestalozzi himself admitted his failure to write such an account, this is perhaps understandable. Some have baulked at the philosophical complexities involved and have sought a pragmatic explanation of Pestalozzian method in terms of technique, which it never was, or in terms of esoteric obscurity which have resulted in confusion worse confounded. While many are familiar with the term 'Pestalozzian Method', few would care to define it.

The Pestalozzian Method was not a method in the sense implied by such terms as 'project method', 'direct method' or even 'Montessori Method'. Historical misinterpretation and misapplication of Pestalozzian principles have invariably been the result of regarding Pestalozzian method as a special technique of teaching, and not as Silber succinctly puts it, 'as mediating a new spirit in education which should guide the child to act rationally and independently'.(1) In a sense Pestalozzian method was an approach, or even an attitude, rather than a technique and by adopting the letter of Pestalozzianism rather than its spirit, many attempts to utilize the system were doomed to failure.

The fundamental theory on which Pestalozzian Method is based is that of 'Anschauung', a German term for which there is

no precise English equivalent. Mistranslations of the term, as Rusk points out, seriously prejudiced the acceptance of Pestalozzi's doctrines in Britain.\(^{(1)}\) Attempts to define or interpret Anschauung have included: 'the immediate experience of objects or situations'\(^{(2)}\); 'first impressions of objects, or intuition'\(^{(3)}\); 'the active power of the human mind'\(^{(4)}\); 'experience of facts of any kind... sense-impressions... intuition'\(^{(5)}\); and 'observation'\(^{(6)}\). 'Sense-impression' or 'intuition' appear to be the most popular interpretations, though neither is completely satisfactory. Boyd's definition of Anschauung in terms of application, though not profound, is clear and to the point: 'A lesson in which the child sees, handles or otherwise makes direct acquaintance with an object is an Anschauung lesson'.\(^{(7)}\)

Experience and sense-impressions were fundamental to Pestalozzian method, which sought to lead the child from initial confusion, through classification and description, to definite comprehension. 'Every word, every number,' wrote Pestalozzi, 'is a result of the understanding that is generated by ripened sense impression'.\(^{(8)}\) Pestalozzi saw environment as initially a 'sea of confused phenomena flowing one into another' (c/f William James's 'blooming, buzzing confusion') and his method involved the progression from 'definite sense impressions' to 'clear concepts'.\(^{(9)}\) The emphasis on sense-impressions

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2. Ibid.
3. Pollard, op.cit., p. 35.
9. Ibid.
as opposed to the traditional 'words and things' approach, made experience and observation of objects an integral part of Pestalozzzian method. The child was given his initial concept of number not by symbols, but with the aid of beans or pebbles; letterspelling and reading were replaced by phonetic and syllabic methods; drawing was taught through synthesis rather than by imitation; the child's experience and observation of his environment were exploited wherever possible.

One good example of this is Pestalozzi's method of teaching geography. De Guimps describes how 'the first elements of geography were taught us from the land itself'(1); he records how the class was taken to observe a narrow valley near Yverdon, returning to the castle with baskets of clay. After several days of further observation and experimentation, clay relief models of the valley were made by the children, 'Only when our relief was finished were we shown the map, which by this means we did not see till we were in a position to understand it'. (2) Modern geography teaching owes much to Pestalozzzian method, though it must be admitted that as a subject geography is particularly well-suited to observation and activity methods. Pestalozzzian methods of teaching geography were a great improvement on the purely informational 'capes and bays' approach, and on the mathematical approach based on the globe and its circles advocated by Locke. Rousseau proposed to teach geography through the medium of the immediate environment but Pestalozzi actually did this; he included project methods as a means of studying the lives and livelihood of people, an aspect now known as human geography. The origin of human geography can be traced to Karl Ritter, the founder of the modern study of geography, and in turn to Pestalozzzian Method. Ritter spent some time with Pestalozzi at Yverdon, 'I have learned to

2. Ibid.
understand this "method", which, based upon the nature of the child, develops so naturally and so freely. It is for me now to apply it in the domain of geography, where Nature has been too long neglected'. (1) Ritter changed geography from 'a mere collection of facts, into an organic science'; his inspiration, and 'the chief part of what was valuable in his work' he traces directly to Pestalozzi, to whom the first volume of his 'Geography' is dedicated. (2) 'Pestalozzi,' wrote Ritter, 'knew less geography than a child in one of our primary schools; yet it was from him that I gained my chief knowledge of this science, for it was in listening to him that I first conceived the idea of the Natural Method'. (3)

In the use of objects and the environment, lay the strength of Pestalozzian Method in the hands of those who understood it, but an inherent weakness in the hands of those who did not. In Britain, for example, 'Anschauungsunterricht' or 'object-teaching' was an aspect of Pestalozzian Method which was often regarded as the Method itself; the core of the Method was mistaken for the whole and the emphasis was transferred from the child's experience and sense-impression of the object to the object itself. The simple and more obvious aspects of the object lesson were easy to understand and only too easy to demonstrate; the object lesson was exploited with neither skill nor moderation and elementary schools became depositories for vast collections of heterogeneous, and often useless, objects. Encouraged by Elizabeth Mayo's 'Lessons on Objects' and 'Lessons on Shells' (4) and by lay-visitors for whom the object lesson became a tangible demonstration of 'Pestalozzian Method', elementary schoolteachers turned an imaginative approach into a monotonous exercise in arid verbalism, e.g., 'The teacher,

1. Vulliemin, Charles Ritter, the Geographer; Biographical Fragments (Evangelical Christian, 1869, p.21 ff.); quoted by de Guimps, p.263.
2. Ibid., p.264.
3. Ibid.
4. Mayo, E., Lessons on Objects as given to Children between the ages of six and eight in a Pestalozzian School at Cheam, Surrey, London 1831; Lessons on Shells, 1832.
with a specimen nutmeg before him, solicits the following information from the class. Qualities: it is sapid, hard oval, dingy, brown, dull opaque and dry. Its surface is uneven. It is vegetable, natural, inanimate, foreign, pungent, conservative, pulverable, agreeable to the taste, aromatic, odorous'.

In the light of the above, Dickens' satirical example of 'Pestalozzian Method' is not as unlikely as it might appear: "Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth.....". "Now girl number twenty," said Mr. Gradgrind. "You know what a horse is."'

This parody was actually used by 'an educationist of the time to illustrate his objections to the Home and Colonial School Society's system of 'object lessons', a system derived from Pestalozzi'.

In many elementary schools object lessons were centred not on objects, but merely on pictures of objects; in extreme cases the 'object lesson' dispensed with the object altogether. Collins cites one delightful example of this from a teacher's manual, 'Produce, draw, or imagine a cat'.

For school inspectors, demonstrations of such abortive travesties of Pestalozzian Method became a weary and monotonous chore. 'There are certain so-called "object lessons" that come upon me like repetitions of a hideous dream.' wrote one English school inspector, 'I know what the questions will be, I know what the children will answer, and I know what is coming next. And then I see the fatal apparatus got ready, the black-board and the chalk, and the picture-card, or the object - the 'camel' or the 'lump of coal' - and the victims are also ready on their gallery with an air of resignation.

1. Mayo, E., Lessons on Objects, op.cit., p.70.
2. Dickens, C., Hard Times.
(for they know it all too), and the pupil-teacher with her best manner surveys her class and then - 'Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba' - and I am told (or rather the children are told) that the object before them is 'opaque,' or 'tangible,' or 'transparent,' or what not; or else that the animal is 'gregarious,' or 'carnivorous,' or a 'marsupial'; and all this is carefully written on the blackboard and the words repeated by the children, and so on till the fatal twenty minutes have expired.'(1)

The object lesson, skilfully used as a means and not as an end in itself, was an essential feature of Pestalozzian Method. Pestalozzi did not intend it merely as a means of eliciting knowledge of objects, or as a vocabulary lesson. Nor was it meant merely as an exercise to develop the powers of observation; observation was only the beginning of a process leading from sense impressions to clear ideas, and should be used as a basis for the entire mental development of the child. The object lesson, as developed in British elementary schools was a travesty, rather than an example, of Pestalozzian Method.

Pestalozzi believed that the subjects of instruction are indicated by the child's need of guiding ideas, and that the method of instruction is indicated by the need for Anschauung or intuition. 'I find I have fixed the highest, supreme principle of instruction in the recognition of sense-impression as the absolute foundation of all knowledge', wrote Pestalozzi.(2) The Pestalozzian Method aimed at organising heterogeneous sense impressions and thereby leading the child to the eventual comprehension of definite ideas. In seeking the actual means of doing this Pestalozzi first sought to discover 'the nature of teaching itself; and the prototype, by which Nature herself has determined the

2. Pestalozzi, Hov Gertrude, op.cit., p.139
instruction of our race'. (1) In its simplest form the prototype sought by Pestalozzi was the natural method of organising and classifying sense impressions. He eventually arrived at a solution when he considered how 'a cultivated man behaves, and must behave, when he wishes to distinguish any object which appears misty and confused to his eyes and gradually make it clear to himself'. (2) Pestalozzi noted that in this process three things would be observed: the form or outline of the objects, their number and their names. He concluded that this presupposed the following intuitive capacities, or what he called 'ready-formed powers':

1. The power of recognising unlike objects, according to the outline, and of representing to oneself what is contained within it.

2. That of stating the number of these objects, and representing them to himself as one or many.

3. That of representing objects, their number and form, by speech, and making them unforgettable.' (3)

From here Pestalozzi arrived at the idea of number, form and language as the elementary means of instruction. 'It must then be an immutable law of the Art (of education) to start from and work within this threefold principle.

1. To teach children to look upon every object that is brought before them as a unit, that is, as separated from those with which it seems connected.

2. To teach them the form of every object, that is, its size and proportions.

3. As soon as possible to make them acquainted with all the words and names descriptive of objects known to them.' (4)

In each of these branches the child would be intuitively led 'from vague to precise sense-impressions, from

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.87.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
precise sense-impressions to clear images, and from clear images to distinct ideas'. (1) This approach within the framework of number, form and language, was the essence of Pestalozzi's method, a method he regarded as in complete harmony with nature on which it was based, the truly 'natural' method. He regarded it as applicable to all subjects of instruction and at all stages. It must be admitted, however, that the method can be applied to some subjects much more easily than to others, and that while it was a comparatively sound approach at elementary stages of learning, it was much less so at advanced stages.

In the teaching of number Pestalozzi sought to give the child a concept of number and the relations of numbers. Using pebbles or beans, and the immediate environment, children were led to the intuitive discovery of the concept of number and of mathematical rules. Written symbols were not introduced until the reality of number had been appreciated. For later stages Pestalozzi devised a series of ingenious charts on which strokes replaced objects, and on which whole figures were progressively sub-divided. These charts facilitated an intuitive understanding of the four rules of arithmetic and of fractions. The main charts were Pestalozzi's Table of Units, Table of Fractions and Table of Compound Fractions. (2) Within a few decades 'Pestalozzian Tables' were a common feature in British elementary schools. The elementary course in number led on naturally and through carefully graded stages to higher branches of arithmetic, calculation and algebra.

Measuring, drawing and writing were the bases of what Pestalozzi called his 'ABC of Form'. He devised a series of exercises based on the square, divisions thereof and angles contained within them. 'By this means, every child in the

1. Ibid., p. 89.
2. For illustration see How Gertrude, p. 239.
simplest way is enabled to judge rightly and express himself clearly about every object in nature, according to its external proportions and its relations to others'. (1) From straight lines the child proceeded to curves and circles, which like lines and angles, he learned to draw by hand and measure with the eye. 'Train the hand, train the mind' was Pestalozzi's dictum concerning drawing, which led on to elementary geometry and the development of artistic ability, not merely as the result of imitation but through the appreciation of form and dimension. It also led to writing, a form of linear drawing, of interest and attraction for the child.

Language teaching involved first sounds and then words. From the articulation of elementary sounds and their combinations the child progressed to the speaking and reading of syllables, words and eventually sentences. Vocabulary and familiarity with words was extended by the learning of names, particularly of things within the child's experience. Such lists of names were later used in the introduction of subjects such as history, geography and nature study. The learning of such lists may appear unimaginative but Pestalozzi regarded it as 'the chaotic collection of materials for a house that will be built later'. (2) Language gave the child exercise in expression and description; from a knowledge of the names and properties of objects came the eventual ability to use language effectively in their description. More details of the elementary course as the basis of Pestalozzian Method are discussed in a later chapter; Pestalozzi's own systematic account of the teaching of number, language and form may be found in chapters seven and eight of 'How Gertrude Teaches her Children'.

1. Ibid., p.123
2. Ibid., p.96.
'I am trying to psychologize the instruction of mankind', wrote Pestalozzi in 'The Method'. But one instance of this is the emphasis placed on carefully graded exercises which made learning an essentially continuous, rather than continual, process. Pestalozzi noted how nature 'tends and perfects every single part (of a tree) as it is formed, and joins on every new part to the permanent growth of the old'.\(^1\) He observed that natural growth was sure but almost imperceptible, and from this he arrived at his principle of uninterrupted continuity of progress in scarcely perceptible steps, which is an integral part of Pestalozzian Method. It is interesting to note the contemporary significance of this principle, especially in relation to programmed learning and the use of teaching machines. Unfortunately disciples of Pestalozzi often extended this principle to a point of absurdity which resulted in a spate of text-books based on 'Pestalozzian Method' which contained little more than a monotonous prolixity of repetitive exercises and examples.

No factual account of Pestalozzian Method can re-capture the spirit in which it was applied, a spirit which was as much a part of the Method as its more tangible features. It involved a profound respect for the child as an individual and a sound understanding of developmental psychology, such as that epitomised in one of Pestalozzi's greatest disciples, Froebel. The master sought not so much to teach as to provide and explain environmental stimuli which would facilitate and encourage intuitive learning by the pupil, Herbart, himself strongly influenced by Pestalozzian ideas, wrote of the method. 'Its peculiar merit consists in having laid hold more boldly and more zealously than any former method of the duty of building up the child's mind, of constructing in it a definite experience in the

\(^1\) Ibid., p.77.
light of clear sense-perception, not acting as if the child had already an experience but taking care that he gets one'.

Pestalozzian Method did not involve any great intellectual ability on the part of the teacher, whose knowledge often proceeded along with that of the pupil. It did, however, involve strong personal qualities of patience, sympathy and often sacrifice. Pestalozzi regarded schools only as expediencies necessitated by the general failure of mothers and homes to epitomise the ideals he envisaged. The school was intended to reflect the ideal qualities of the home and to provide an atmosphere of mutual trust and security of affection in which coercive and laborious methods of learning had no place. The function of the teacher was not merely academic; he embodied the highest ideals of motherhood and the moral, ethical and religious standards of the child were as much his concern as ability in school subjects. Wordsworth's reference to 'nature and the language of the sense' could well be applied to Pestalozzi's ideal of the mother and to the spirit of the Pestalozzian Method:

'The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being.'

Many attempts to adopt Pestalozzian Method failed because this deeper aspect of it was neglected; many reduced their understanding of the method to mechanical formulae and in seeking to apply them, the very essence of Pestalozzian Method was lost. Pestalozzian Method can be understood only in terms of the theories on which it is based; it is a means which can be effectively used only if Pestalozzi's aim is understood. The ultimate aim of Pestalozzian Method was not the development of

2. Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey.
academic ability, awareness or even intuition. Pestalozzi maintained that the ultimate end of education was not perfection in the accomplishments of the school but fitness for life. (1) 'We have spelling schools, writing schools, catechism schools, and we want - men's schools'. (2) Pestalozzi's thought here echoes Rousseau's dictum concerning Emile, 'Life is the trade I would teach him'. This was the aim of Pestalozzian Method, an aim which still needed emphasis a century later, when the Hadow Report pointed out that schools whose purpose was once to teach children to read, should teach children how to live. (3)

In conclusion, Morf, the German disciple and biographer of Pestalozzi, has summarized Pestalozzian Method as follows:-

1. Observation, or sense impression (intention is the basis of instruction.
2. Language should always be linked with observation (intention) i.e., with an object or content.
3. The time for learning is not the time for judgement and criticism.
4. In any branch teaching should begin with the simplest elements and proceed gradually according to the development of the child, that is, in psychologically connected order.
5. Sufficient time should be devoted to each point of the teaching in order to secure the complete mastery of it by the pupil.
6. Teaching should aim at development, and not at dogmatic opposition.
7. The teacher should respect the individuality of the pupil.
8. The chief end of elementary teaching is not to impart knowledge and talent to the learner, but to develop and increase the powers of his intelligence.
9. Power must be linked to knowledge, and skill to learning.

10. The relation between the teacher and the pupil, especially as to discipline, should be based upon and ruled by love.

11. Instruction should be subordinate to the higher aim of education.' (1)

Though useful, Morf's summary fails to define Pestalozzian method in concise and completely satisfactory form, perhaps because the method is a fusion of so much that, as a whole, it defies definition. Pestalozzi himself was not able to define the method concisely and was, surprisingly, 'unable to apply his own method in any of the simplest subjects of instruction' though he put his views 'with such force and clearness that he had no difficulty in getting them carried out'.(2) The Pestalozzian method remains something of an enigma and in this context the words of an ex-pupil are particularly appropriate, 'The Pestalozzian Method, as it was somewhat ostentatiously called, was, it is true, an enigma, not only to us but to our teachers, who, like the disciples of Socrates, each interpreted the master's doctrine in his own way. But we were still far from the time when these divergencies resulted in discord, and when the chief masters, after each claiming to be the only one who had understood Pestalozzi, ended by declaring that Pestalozzi had not understood himself'.(3)

3. A TRAVELLER'S IMPRESSIONS

John Synge's introduction to Yverdon has the elements of a dramatic and lasting conversion. His scepticism, like that of many other visitors, was short-lived and the active enthusiasm which replaced it became strong and durable. His initial
prejudice was not as strong as that of the English pedagogue, Dr. Andrew Bell, who visited Yverdon in 1816 and dismissed Pestalozzi's system as of little value; nor was he as unsympathetic as Napoleon, who dismissed all Pestalozzians as Jesuits. Nevertheless, on his own admission, Synge's attitude was one of indifference and his decision to visit the institute was one based on social expediency rather than personal interest.

The first lesson Synge observed was in German and although he did not understand the language, he was 'forcibly attracted....by the intelligent countenances of the children, and the energetic interest which they appeared to take in their studies'.(1) His interest aroused, he remained to observe an arithmetic lesson in French which enabled him 'to estimate, more justly, the admirable principles on which instruction is given'.(2) The sight which he had professed as likely to be of little interest to him proved otherwise. Synge's original intention had been to remain at the institute no more than a few hours;(3) he stayed for three months.(4)

It is interesting, yet in some ways disturbing, to note the impression made upon Synge by the arithmetical ability of the children. New and effective methods of teaching mathematics at Yverdon had resulted from the mathematical genius of Joseph Schmidt, to whom Silber attributes prime responsibility for the educational success of the institute.(5) It was with the teaching of mathematics, arithmetic in particular, that visitors were invariably most impressed. Their impressions are typified in the words of a distinguished Nuremberg merchant whose prejudice against the system had been overcome by his amazement on seeing children 'treating the most complicated calculations of fractions as the simplest thing in the world. Problems which I myself could not

2. Ibid.
solve without careful work on paper, they did easily in their heads, giving the correct answer in a few moments'. (1) In a letter to the Englishman Greaves, who had spent some years at the institute, Pestalozzi wrote, 'of the numerous travellers of your nation who did me the honour to visit my establishment, there was none... who did not express his astonishment of the perfect ease, and the quickness, with which the arithmetical problems... were solved'. (2)

Certain modern historians have noted that arithmetical skill evoked more wonder and admiration than any other aspects of the institution's work, and have suggested that this was 'because arithmetical skill was a newer and more impressive accomplishment than fluent, vigorous speech'. (3) This may well have been so, but the experience of the historian, Vulliemin, a pupil at Yverdon from 1808 to 1810, introduces a disturbing note. He describes how arithmetic was done aloud, without paper, and then remarks, 'Some of us became wonderfully quick at this, and as charlatanism penetrates everywhere, these only were brought before the numerous strangers that the name of Pestalozzi daily attracted to Yverdon'. (4) The implication of charlatanism may be minimised, as Pestalozzi sought not to deceive but to demonstrate the highest achievements of the system; however, it is unfortunate that arithmetical ability was so often used to demonstrate the efficacy of Pestalozzian Method. Although the children were remarkably accurate in their calculations and could explain the arithmetical processes involved, the subject lends itself to the development of a facile mental dexterity which, in the uninitiated, evokes more wonder than it really warrants.

4. Professor Vulliemin, quoted by de Guimps, op.cit., p. 255.
A parallel situation appears to have existed in the English monitorial schools of Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, who also realized the demonstrable merits of arithmetic and who were less scrupulous than Pestalozzi in exploiting them. The arithmetical ability of their pupils evoked similar amazement and if an unsound educational system could do this, doubt is thrown upon the validity of arithmetical skill as a criterion of a system which was comparatively sound.

Support for this contention was gained when certain arithmetical problems, originally given to children of the Central School of the British and Foreign School Society in 1831(1), were set to a present-day class of postgraduate students(2). The original observer had, in 1831, recorded the times in which the questions had been answered by children in a monitorial school; none of the postgraduate class, which included mathematics graduates, was able to answer any of the questions in a time even comparable with that recorded at Borough Road. The latter must either have been well-versed in the questions beforehand, or have employed methods involving slick rapidity rather than genuine mathematical understanding. For example, $\frac{12}{6\frac{1}{2}}$ was expressed as a decimal of a pound, to six places of decimals, in twelve seconds without the use of paper.(3) The observer admits that 'the short spaces of time in which the preceding answers were given may appear almost incredible'.(4) (They appeared less incredible, however, when the answers quoted were checked; many of them were incorrect!)

It is not intended by this brief digression to suggest

3. Ibid.,
4. Ibid.,
that the arithmetical methods employed by Pestalozzi were facile and deceptive, but rather to question the validity of an esoteric subject as a criterion of an educational method. However, valid criterion or not, John Synge was so impressed by his introduction to Pestalozzian arithmetic that he remained at the institute to consolidate his impressions and to study the Pestalozzian system in detail. Unfortunately, his sketchbooks and diary record no details after his arrival at Yverdon, presumably because he was too busy assimilating Pestalozzian Method. His later writings indicate that detailed observations must have been recorded but they are presumed lost or destroyed.

At this point it may be worthwhile to consider the implications of John Synge's decision to remain at Yverdon. No great significance can be attached to the fact that he was allowed to stay as Pestalozzi's credulity towards visitors was unbounded. De Guimps describes the way in which 'all sorts of unfit persons.....sometimes even deliberately dishonest people' were allowed to stay at the institute, some of whom left debts which Pestalozzi himself settled.(1) Young men could stay and learn the method gratuitously, on the understanding that they would afterwards practise it.(2) That John Synge's initial observations aroused his interest and curiosity is clear, but the question arises whether he stayed merely to indulge interest and satisfy curiosity, or whether he attached a deeper significance to his decision as one which would facilitate educational endeavours on his own part and in his own country. What evidence there is suggests not only the latter, but also that such endeavours were envisaged almost immediately after his arrival at the institute.

In the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch' Synge states this categorically, 'having his time at his own disposal, he

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2. Ibid., p.302.
determined to pass part of it there, in order to bring home as much as possible of what appeared so intrinsically valuable'. (1) The preface is, admittedly, written with hindsight and the juxtaposition of events may not be chronologically accurate. Nevertheless, on the prima facie evidence of Synge's account, we see at one moment indifference towards education and schools, and the next a determination not only to study Pestalozzi's system intensively but also to disseminate principles of the system at home. Though foresight of Synge's later educational endeavours is admitted, it is felt that this rapid change underlines the sudden and dramatic nature of Synge's conversion, rather than questions its authenticity.

Synge's subsequent enthusiasm for the Pestalozzian system, together with his grasp of the principles involved, suggests that his three months at Yverdon were a period not of dilettante curiosity but of intensive investigation. The suddenness of his conversion may suggest superficiality and it may be argued that his subsequent investigation was conducted with predilection rather than impartiality. It may also be contended that even if Synge's investigation were impartial, it was a poorly-informed impartiality. Furthermore, conversion is often rationalised only by subsequent confirmation of its logic and in seeking such confirmation the convert is predisposed to be uncritical.

While it may be thought that Synge was neither qualified nor suited to make an objective assessment of Pestalozzi's system, or to practise and popularise it, the fact remains that he made a sincere and disinterested attempt to do so. His conversion had 'important repercussions not only in Britain but likewise in Switzerland' (2), and not least of its results was that Yverdon was consequently visited by British educationists who were qualified and suited to make objective and valid assessments.

2. Pollard, H., op. cit., p.175
John Synge was undoubtedly inspired by his sojourn at Yverdon and in the light of his subsequent endeavours it may well be useful to determine whether his inspiration was general or specific. Though not as detailed or comprehensive as one might wish, Synge's account of the institute at Yverdon, given in the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch', does concentrate on its more important aspects. His inspiration seems based not to much on a detailed understanding of the whole system as on a few significant but very specific impressions. Not least among these is that of Pestalozzi himself. Synge may well have been impressed more by the character and personality of 'Father Pestalozzi' than by the merits of his system. To laymen, the exponent was perhaps a more tangible source of inspiration than the educational methods he employed.

The qualities of Pestalozzi which inspired were often depth factors rather than surface-traits and his appearance was ill-designed either to attract or to inspire. Vulliemin knew him as '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...... a shuffling gait, eyes either large and flashing, or half-closed, as though turned within'. (1) Nor was Synge likely to have been inspired by the scholarship of Pestalozzi, whose learning was incommensurate with his wisdom. Vulliemin describes the institute as a place where 'there was not much learning' and once heard Pestalozzi say that he had not read a book for forty years. (2)

The qualities of Pestalozzi which inspired Synge were those which endeared him to almost all who knew him: his sincerity, love and humility. In Synge he evoked a deep and lasting affection, together with a reverence approaching that of de Guimps. De Guimps claimed that, in other circumstances,

2. Ibid., p.255.
Pestalozzi would have been a saint, 'The Catholic Church has few greater or purer'.(1) 'We all loved him,' wrote Vulliemin, 'for he loved us all'.(2) Synge was particularly impressed with 'the disinterested liberality and personal friendship' of Pestalozzi (3) and the whole tone of 'A Biographical Sketch' is one of sympathy and admiration. His regard for Pestalozzi is more tangibly expressed in his letters, particularly in one written on the death of Frau Pestalozzi: 'My dear, dear Pestalozzi,' he begins, and goes on to indulge not in platitudes but seeks rather to cheer the bereaved Pestalozzi with news of the success of Pestalozzian methods which he had introduced into Ireland, 'Everyone is astonished to see the results already achieved. What will they be at the end of three years?'.(4) Speaking of Pestalozzi's bereavement Synge says, 'believe me, dear friend, I have suffered for you since learning the news.... I ask Him, therefore, I beg Him not to take away your sorrow but that He may make it of profit to you'.(5) This sentiment was remarkably similar to that of Pestalozzi himself, who spoke of an acceptance of sorrow 'which turns even the days of greatest suffering into sacred days of inner ennoblement'.(6) At the time of Synge's visit to Pestalozzi, the petty economies of self-appointed managers had resulted in the removal from the institute of Frau Pestalozzi and her children, because they ate too much bread! Synge mentions that he had never met Pestalozzi's wife and this makes the obvious sincerity of his commiserations even more impressive.

The warmth of Synge's affection is evident in all his letters to Pestalozzi. A quotation from his last (known) letter

1. Ibid., preface, p.vi.
2. Ibid., p.254.
5. Ibid.
to Pestalozzi typifies the pleasure which Pestalozzi's letters gave him: 'You cannot conceive, my dear Pestalozzi, how delighted I was to receive your letter and how much more pleased I was to learn that things are going more happily for you'. (1)

C.E.H. Orpen, a colleague of Synge who had also met Pestalozzi, writing to Pestalozzi in 1818 says, 'Synge has asked me to tell you that he loves ('aime') you more and more. We love you as a father, as a friend in Christ'. (2) John Synge, himself a deeply religious man, was impressed with Pestalozzi not only as a teacher and humanitarian, but also as a Christian. In this he was not in agreement with many who saw a negation of Christian principles in Pestalozzi's lack of emphasis upon religious instruction in his educational system.

Second only to the impact of Pestalozzi upon Synge was the impression made upon him by the children at Yverdon and by the system itself. The children's happiness and interest in their studies were first to attract Synge's attention at the institute; they were probably the main determinants of his decision to study and bring home the system which produced such desirable results. The apparent intelligence of the children was perhaps due less to their mental ability than to the fact that their education was 'natural' and they were not given tasks beyond their mental capacity. Contentment and lack of repression were reflected in their bright faces, together with the friendly confidence which existed between teachers and pupils. 'This is not an institute,' a peasant once said, 'it is a household'. Synge was forcibly impressed with this relaxed family atmosphere and with the evocation of joy and willingness in learning. He cites 'the great point in which Pestalozzi appears to have surpassed all his predecessors in

1. Letter from Synge to Pestalozzi (written in French), Dublin, Dec. 10th, 1818; MS. Pestalozzi 365/3, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.
2. Letter from Orpen to Pestalozzi (written in French), Dublin, July 4th, 1818; MS. Pestalozzi, 272/2, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.
the paths of instruction' is 'the removal of all that misery and compulsion which, till now, has clouded the acquirements of our juvenile years'.(1) Though he had little personal knowledge of the repressive drudgery of British schools at the time, Synge must have been aware of the contrast between them and Yverdon, where 'one hundred boys lived together like one family, without a punishment being known among them'.(2)

At Yverdon Synge came to appreciate the child's need of activity not so much as an extra-curricular factor but as an experience woven into the very fabric of education itself, a tenet of Pestalozzian thought that still needed emphasis over a century later: 'The curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored'.(3) Synge noted that activity methods were so skilfully used at Yverdon that the children did not know the difference 'between the hours of business and those of recreation' and that as a result of active employment 'vice was literally unknown'.(4) In the children's faces he saw not only the educational success of Pestalozzi's system but also what was perhaps Pestalozzi's greatest achievement: 'the happiness they enjoyed was portrayed in each little countenance, even at the moments of their most intense application'.(5)

Though no pedagogue, Synge appears to have quickly grasped the essential features of the Pestalozzian system and to have appreciated the range of its application: 'Not to the science of numbers only, but to every branch of knowledge which can be acquired by the human mind'.(6)

2. Ibid., p.xvi.
5. Ibid., p.109.
6. Ibid., p.vi.
He was impressed with the Pestalozzian system as one well-calculated 'to reform errors in our present systems of education, too self-evident to be denied'. (1) In a sense he regarded the negative virtues of the Pestalozzian system as of prime importance, i.e. the way in which the errors prevalent in British systems were avoided. He summarizes these errors as:

'First, that the views of instructors are generally too mercenary to allow their hearts to take part in their labours; consequently, they totally forget the duties they are bound to perform, when they undertake to personate, in all ties of affection, the parents of their pupils.

Secondly, that amidst the pains taken to cultivate the head, the regulation and direction of the heart are totally neglected.

And thirdly, that although all agree that words are only the signs, by which to express ideas in our minds, we expect to instil clear and perfect knowledge, by forcing unfortunate children to learn words and rules, to which they are totally incapable of annexing any clear idea whatsoever'. (2)

Synge clearly recognised in the Pestalozzian system an attempt to provide a natural extension to the education first received by the child from its mother, to whom Providence has entrusted the task of improving the dawning of the child's mental powers. (3) When the intellect has been called into action the child should be rendered capable of receiving knowledge with advantage; this is done by means of Pestalozzi's elementary course of Language, Number and Form, based primarily on intuition. In the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch', Synge briefly describes the teaching of language, number and form and shows how Pestalozzi had extended the basic principles of his method to the teaching of 'Geography, History, Music, Drawing, Perspective, Algebra, Mathematics, and every branch of Natural

1. Ibid.  
2. Ibid., p.vi.  
3. Ibid., p.ix.
History, as well as to the most satisfactory means of teaching the dead languages'. (1) He regarded the elementary course as suitable 'for all ranks of society, and capable of advancing their future pursuits in life, be they what they may'. (2) Synge was particularly impressed with the way in which the system encouraged the spirit of enquiry in the child, 'for no child, whose faculties had been thus called into action, would be afterwards content with the superficial knowledge too generally passing current in the present age'; the child might not 'be able to converse with technical erudition on so many topics' but he would be 'master of those on which he did venture to speak'. (3)

To Synge's admiration for Pestalozzi and his system should be added his approbation of Pestalozzi's assistants, 'some few who still remain firm to their aged perceptor, unswayed by motives of interest'. (4) The most illustrious of Pestalozzi's assistants were Neiderer and Schmidt. The impulsive and short-tempered Schmidt left the institute after a quarrel in 1810 and as he did not return until Easter 1815, (5) by which time Synge would probably have left the institute, the possibility of their having met seems unlikely. The Pestalozzian books on the intuitive relations of numbers, later published by Synge, are based largely on the published works of Schmidt, while among the few remaining possessions of John Synge was found a lengthy hand-written manuscript which purports to be an English translation of an unpublished work by Schmidt on Algebra. Schmidt is mentioned in none of Synge's letters to Pestalozzi and apart from the above, there seems little link between the two.

Neiderer would have been at the institute at the

1. Ibid., p.x.
2. Ibid., p.xiv.
3. Ibid., p.xv.
5. De Guimps, op.cit., p.312
time of Synge's visit; after Schmidt's departure he assumed responsibility for organising the institute but by 1815 he was preoccupied with his own propagation of educational ideas and his irresponsibility towards the affairs of the institute was a source of grave concern to Pestalozzi. Synge was either not aware of this situation or has deliberately chosen to ignore it. It seems highly probable that Synge knew Neiderer but he records no impressions of the man described by Pestalozzi as 'the first of my sons.....the guiding star of my house'.

In Synge's 'A Biographical Sketch' the impressions made by Pestalozzi on three of his earliest assistants, Krusi, Tobler and Buss, are recorded at length. It is not clear whether Synge met any of them at Yverdon as the descriptions are not personal accounts but translations from 'one of Pestalozzi's earliest publications'. (2) (Synge mentions his indebtedness to 'Mr. De Chavanne, a native of Laussane' (3) and he presumably used Daniel Chavanne's 'Exposé de la Méthode Elementaire de M. Pestalozzi' which was published in 1805.)

Krusi was at Yverdon until the spring of 1816 when, with fifteen other assistants, he revolted against Schmidt's authoritarian regime. Tobler joined Pestalozzi in 1805 after rebelling against the autocracy of Fellenberg at the Munchenbuchsee Institute; he left Yverdon before 1810 as by that date he had founded an industrial school at Mulhouse. (4) Buss joined Pestalozzi in 1804 but it is not known for how long. Synge probably knew Krusi and possibly knew Buss.

In recording his impressions of the institute Synge mentions none of the assistants by name, though he does speak of the qualities Pestalozzi sought to inspire in them. At Yverdon, Synge came to appreciate the position of the teacher in loco parentis, and stresses the need for every teacher to be

1. Pestalozzi's New Year Address, 1811; quoted by de Guimps, op. cit. p. 295.
3. Ibid., Advertisement.
aware of the responsibility of his situation as a representative of the pupil's parent: 'as a parent he must watch over his morals, as well as his literary acquirements'.(1) He notes how teachers at Yverdon strove to awaken reflection before expecting application, and to suit tasks to the age of the child who would find enjoyment therein if the labours were shared: 'in short, the heart of the master must be warm in the cause he has espoused or success cannot be hoped for'.(2)

Though Synge was impressed with the humble disinterestedness of Pestalozzi and with the apparent merits of his system, it seems unlikely that he had no doubts concerning his own ability to assess their educational significance. His writings are in no way the dogmatic assertions of an expert, but rather an aid to readers 'in forming an opinion whether this system be not worthy their serious investigation'.(3) During Synge's stay at Yverdon one event at least must have allayed any doubts he had concerning the motives of Pestalozzi and the merits of his system. While Pestalozzi was 'deeply engaged in explaining (to Synge) some part of his views in private', two letters arrived from Vienna. The first was from Czar Alexander of Russia, who found Pestalozzi's system 'in every way calculated to extend true knowledge, and to produce enlightened instructors'.(4) The letter created Pestalozzi 'a Chevalier of the Order of St. Vladimir of the fourth class' and the appropriate decoration was enclosed. (Compayre implies that this was little compensation for the Czar's refusal to comply with Pestalozzi's request that he should emancipate the serfs and reform the schools of Russia.)(5)

2. Ibid., p.xvi.
3. Ibid., advertisement.
The second letter was from the Count of Capo D'Istria, a minister of Alexander, congratulating Pestalozzi and the institute as 'an enterprise....distinguished by the purest philanthropy and true greatness'.(1) Synge remarks on the composure with which Pestalozzi communicated the contents of the letters to him before continuing his discourse, an illustration of the small extent to which Pestalozzi regarded 'worldly honours' as the 'objects of his pursuit'.(2)

During his stay at Yverdon Synge gained considerable insight into the more important aspects of the system, by observation and by discussion with Pestalozzi himself. He left with a deep regard for the institute in spite of the unpropitious timing of his visit. The institute was then in decline and the deterioration of staff relationships, which was to culminate in the closure of the institute, was by then far advanced. In addition to this, Pestalozzi was at that time a sick, worried and disillusioned man of nearly seventy years. In such circumstances it is indeed to the credit of Pestalozzi that Synge was impressed and inspired by what he saw.

After three months at Yverdon John Synge returned to Ireland. For a man who had come to the Continent merely 'to watch the war', the results of his tour must have formed a striking contrast to anything he had envisaged. He returned with Pestalozzi's 'unreserved permission to translate and use all his works' and with 'the only remaining copies in his possession'.(3) He returned also with a determination not only to apply and disseminate Pestalozzian ideas in Britain, but also to raise money whereby Pestalozzi could achieve 'the object of all his desires...to found a Poor School in his

1. Letter from Count of Capo D'Istria to Pestalozzi 1814; quoted in full in A Biog. Sketch p.2FF.
3. Ibid.,
native canton, and end his valuable career in instructing the children of the poor'.

"Would that the liberality of the British Nation might be induced to contribute to such an object, and acknowledge, in some distinguished manner, benefits so great as are likely to result from his indefatigable labours for the improvement of mankind". The Irish Traveller was no longer a man with no vocation, little interest in education and time entirely at his own disposal; he was, to use Pestalozzi's description of Hermann Krusi, 'a man of the system'.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
Early in 1815, John Synge returned to Ireland, to an educational scene as impoverished and inadequate as any in Britain. 'If the problem of public education was difficult in England and Wales at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in Ireland it seemed almost hopeless'.(1) The hopelessness of the situation was rooted in a paucity of funds and a surfeit of denominational zeal; as one English traveller commented, 'Proselytism has ever been the bane of peace and social happiness in Ireland. It has been the end and aim of every school establishment'.(2) The general impoverishment of British elementary education in the early nineteenth century was exacerbated in Ireland not only by religious strife but also by economic and political conditions of such an unsatisfactory nature that educational reform was regarded neither as a primary nor as an immediate issue. In order to appreciate the radical nature of Synge's endeavours it first seems necessary to summarize briefly the educational scene against which they were set.

Irish elementary education on anything approaching a national scale dates only to the government grant of 1831. Much public money had been spent on educational schemes by the Protestant ascendancy but proselytism was so obvious that their efforts had invariably aroused the dislike and suspicion of the Catholic majority. By 1815 the tragic failure of the Irish charity school movement was undeniable, but newly-formed Protestant school societies had failed to rectify the situation.

2. Reid, Travels in Ireland, 1822, p.365; quoted by P.J.Dowling, The Hedge Schools of Ireland, Dublin, p.42.
The charity school movement was largely with the work of the Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, founded by charter in 1733 'to convert the poor deluded natives to be good Christians and faithful subjects, by instruction in the English tongue and the Fundamental Principles of True Religion'.

The Charter Schools, as they were called, succeeded neither in educating the children of the poor or in converting them to Protestantism. Ample and well-documented evidence of this may be found in M.G. Jones's 'The Charity School Movement in the 18th Century'. The education commission of 1809-12 claimed that reforms had been made in the Charter Schools but their claim was not substantiated by the findings of the 1825 commission. The Irish Parliament had ignored the alarming reports of John Howard and Jeremiah Fitzpatrick, who had inspected the Charter Schools at the end of the eighteenth century, and the movement remained 'a conspicuous and monstrous failure'.

In addition to the Charter Schools there were a small number of S.P.G.K. schools and parish schools supported by Protestant gentry and clergy. The latter were not 'calculated at anytime to answer fully the purposes for which they were instituted'. Parish schools were maintained in less than half the benefices of Ireland. By 1815 several Protestant school societies had been formed in an attempt to

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3. First Report of the Commissioners in Ireland, 1825. Appendices 55-74. While the early record of the Incorporated Society is hardly commendable, it should be noted that in subsequent years it has had a most useful and honourable career in the education of Protestant children.
4. Ibid., p.6.
improve matters, but the value of their work was not evident until later decades. John Synge was later associated with the largest of these, the Society for Promoting Education of the Poor in Ireland (the Kildare Place Society).

By the repeal of the penal laws in 1782 the Catholic 'Hedge Schools' were legalised. They were mostly incorporated in the Catholic pay schools and by 1815 had become the common schools of the Irish people. Much has been written of the colourful and clandestine origins of the Irish Hedge Schools and their teachers and it is not intended to elaborate upon this aspect of their history.(1)

'Still crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge,  
Or stretch'd on mountain fern,  
The teacher and his pupils met  
Feloniously to learn.'

Though the classical education given at the Hedge Schools has been dismissed by some as merely a smattering of Greek and Latin tags, in comparison with the Charter Schools, many of the hedge schools appear to have had a more enlightened curriculum and more enlivened methods of instruction. There are numerous examples of the scholarly competence of hedge-schoolmasters, but it seems unlikely that the standards of a vaunted minority of scholar-poets were approached by those of the more conventional hedge and pay schools of the early nineteenth century.

The true state of Irish elementary education in John Synge's time is more accurately revealed in statistics included in the second report of the 1825 commission.(2) In 1824 there were 11,283 elementary schools in Ireland, attended by 560,549 pupils, who were taught by 12,530 teachers. The estimated number of children of school age at this time was 1,418,000. These figures give a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:46.

1. See Dowling, P.J., op. cit.
and indicate that more than half of the children received no organised elementary education. The instruction of the minority who did may have amounted to anything or nothing.

Little is known of the methods employed or the standards attained in these schools. They probably differed little from those in the rest of Britain, though in the case of the Hedge Schools, there is some claim to a wider curriculum and a more imaginative approach. Discipline in the hedge schools was not, as a rule, severe and there appears to have been some appreciation of the child's need for a sympathetic atmosphere. Children were not grouped in classes and to some extent were given individual tuition. In 1810 one observer recorded his opinion that writing and arithmetic were the hedge-schoolmaster's best subjects, but that 'the mode of instruction is altogether ludicrous. All the boys gabble the lesson together as loud and as fast as they can speak, which is called rehearsing'.(1) Another writer reported wide use of the monitorial system. 'That Bell and Lancaster deserve much credit for applying and extending the principle I do not hesitate to grant; but....the principle was reduced to practice in Irish hedge schools long before either of these gentlemen were in existence'.(2)

In the Protestant schools, pupils were grouped according to attainment, methods were more rigid and discipline more severe. Prescribed lessons were examined individually and monitors widely used. Much memory work and repetition was involved, particularly in religious instruction. A teacher at one of the Hibernian Society's schools in the early nineteenth century described how his school day began with a hymn or psalm.

followed by individual repetition of grammar or spelling. Then came a class lesson in which half the pupils wrote on slates and half on sand, followed by a scripture lesson and the learning of scriptural verses; several monitors were used in the class. 'The labour of the day is concluded by reading a psalm, and making a few remarks of a religious nature....to which they listen with great attention'.(1)

With a few exceptions, the methods used in both Protestant and Catholic schools were largely dull and repetitive. 'The mechanical and laborious methods by which the memory is exercised' was complained of by at least one member of the 1825 commission, who added that 'understanding and moral powers' seem to have no claim on the teacher's attention'.(2)

The 1825 commission established the complete inadequacy, together with the financial and pedagogical impoverishment of elementary education in Ireland. The scene of meagre educational achievement which it revealed was the background of John Synge's early endeavours and while it cannot be claimed that his was a major role in the reform and extension of Irish elementary education, his contribution was not without significance. He made a sincere and disinterested attempt to apply and popularise new and more effective methods of teaching, in a manner which was remarkably free of the vested and denominational interests which typified educational efforts of the time. The scale of his work was not large, but it was in such pockets of enlightenment that the possibilities of reform could be tangibly demonstrated.

On his return to Ireland in 1815, John Synge began what might be called 'The Roundwood Experiment'; he established a

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Pestalozzian school for poor children and a private press on which to print Pestalozzian text-books and school charts. His efforts during the years which followed were prodigious and he gave himself wholeheartedly to a formidable task. 'I am working night and day for the cause', he wrote to Pestalozzi in 1816.(1) At this time no English translation of any of Pestalozzi's writings existed; in Britain little was known of Pestalozzi and as far as can be ascertained, no other Pestalozzian school had been established.

Between 1815 and his marriage in 1818, Synge lived at Glenmore Castle. One school already existed on the estate, Kilfee School, built by Synge's uncle in 1807; though not mentioned in any records of the Protestant school societies it appears to have been a charity school which was largely dependent on the patronage of the Synge family. The following item is included in one of Synge's account books: 'Schoolmaster (Kilfee), paid £20. a year with a house, one acre of land and grass for one cow'.(2) Synge's first attempts to apply Pestalozzian methods may have been at Kilfee school but he soon acquired a building specifically for that purpose.

'I have established at my father's place a school for twenty poor pupils', wrote Synge in his first (known) letter to Pestalozzi.(3) The school was evidently established in or about November as he refers to its having been in existence four months. 'I have been more successful than I should have thought possible, they know the whole of the first table of units, the first half of Forms, they can spell by their sound the words of the English language and we are

1. Letter Synge/Pest., Feb. 1816.
2. John Synge's Account Book for 1833.
beginning a course of reasoned (descriptive?) grammar'.

Religious instruction was given but it is not clear whether it was denominational, 'The greater part of them are Roman Catholics', wrote Synge, '(they have formerly)....recognised the name of God only to use it in profane swearing, (but) they worship Him now every morning'.

Three and a half hours a day were devoted to instruction, the rest of the school day being spent on the land or making shoes, stockings and straw hats, 'By this means they have got new clothes entirely from their own work'.

It is gratifying to note that the children themselves benefitted from their products, as many school-patrons of the time were not above apportioning a large part of such products to themselves; 'The gentry, faithfully portrayed by Miss Edgeworth at the end of the century, were alive to the advantage of a curriculum which would appease their charitable impulses and provide them with household linen at a small expense'.

Synge evidently regarded his initial experiment with the Pestalozzian system as the beginning of a more permanent and extensive venture. 'My father has given me a new school-house which will be ready in a few days' time', he told Pestalozzi in 1816. He envisaged continuing the experiment for several years, 'Everyone is astonished to see the results already achieved. What will they be at the end of three years?'

In addition to this he looked forward to a school of 'thirty boys

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
and thirty girls'. This was not achieved for in a letter of 1818 Synge referred to 'my little school of twelve pupils'.(1) Though perhaps disappointed at the decline in the number of pupils, Synge's satisfaction with their progress was sustained, 'Their progress in Language, Number and Form, and their good self-expression have greatly interested those who have inspected them without prejudice'.(2) Among those who inspected the school was C.E.H. Orpen, the Dublin physician who was closely associated with Synge in his Pestalozzian endeavours. 'The school for the Poor on Mr. Synge's estate has had a perfect success', wrote Orpen to Pestalozzi in 1820.(3)

An interesting example of Synge's success was an incident of 1816, described to Pestalozzi two years later.(4) Synge's school was visited by an 'English gentleman' who on returning to England persuaded the village schoolmaster to try out the Pestalozzian system. The schoolmaster, 'a person of intelligence', wrote to Synge for guidance and his subsequent endeavours were so successful that the school-governors warned him that it had been due not to 'any human power but only through God's Holy Spirit'. They strongly objected to his success because 'it was not necessary to educate in this way the children of the poor'. One governor was especially perturbed as 'these children will one day be the servants of my son and we shall not allow servants to know more than their masters'. Synge describes how the master was 'so convinced of the excellence of the system' that rather than renounce it he resigned his post. The unfortunate outcome of the venture indicated the inherent dangers of success, and the antagonism that was to be encountered from unenlightened opposition. In

1. Ibid.
2. Letter J.S./Pest., 1818
4. Letter J.S./Pest., 1818.
5. Ibid.
view of this Synge felt it unwise to 'hope too fervently that
the world will accept in silence a system which can begin only
by convincing them of their ignorance'.(1)

A more detailed knowledge of Synge's school can be
built up from a study of his curriculum and methods, and of the
sources by which he was guided. Pestalozzi was aware of
imperfections in his system and never felt capable of giving a
completely logical account of it. His followers were thus com-
pelled to interpret his principles as they saw fit; there was
never any rigid Pestalozzianism as there was rigid Froebelism
or Herbartism, 'It was open to everybody to place upon
Pestalozzi his own interpretation'.(2) Many defects in the
application of Pestalozzian principles resulted not only from
poor interpretation, but also from failure to adapt the system
to different cultural environments. In the American Pestalozzian
movement, for example, Joseph Neef's influence was not marked
because 'he failed to comprehend the necessity of Americanising
the Pestalozzian system instead of merely transplanting it'.(3)
Credit is therefore due to Synge not only for successful inter-
pretation but also for effective adaptation of Pestalozzian
methods to the needs and abilities of Irish children.

In drawing up his curriculum Synge appears to have
relied largely on Pestalozzi's recommendations in 'How
Gertrude Teaches Her Children'. Although Pestalozzi later
regarded this book as 'partly refuted by time' it probably
had more influence on elementary education than any of his
other works. Silber claims that the fame enjoyed by

1. Ibid.
Pestalozzi in his lifetime was founded on this book.(1) No English translation of the work existed before 1894 and Synge presumably used the original German version of 1801. The infinite pains he took to translate, or have translated, this, and many other Pestalozzian works, is characteristic of his tireless zeal.

Synge made no reference to 'How Gertrude Teaches Her Children' by name, but in a letter to Pestalozzi he refers to 'your letters to Gessner'.(2) (The book took the form of fourteen letters from Pestalozzi to his publisher, Heinrich Gessner.)

Synge also appears to have used several books of a Pestalozzian nature written by assistants at Yverdon, in particular Schmidt's 'The Elements of Form and Number' (1809) and Krusi's 'The Mother's Book' (1803). He possibly possessed copies of Pestalozzian manuscripts which were never published; a handwritten copy of Schmidt's 'Elements of Algebra', for example, was found among Synge's possessions. Ritter, the German geographer, referred in 1809 to Schmidt's intention to publish this book(3) but as far as can be ascertained this was never done. Schmidt's and Krusi's books are not available in Dublin or London but from references to their contents in contemporary works it seems clear that Synge made use of them.

Synge made no record of his curriculum or of the methods he used, but some idea of them can be obtained from his text-books and school charts. It should be noted that the available copies of these were produced over a period of some twenty years and there is no guarantee that they were all used at any one time. Most of the books were published between 1815 and 1820 and of the school charts which have been traced,

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1. Silber, op.cit.p.133.
2. Letter J.S./Pest.1818.
3. De Guimpe, op.cit.,p.262
the majority were printed during the 1830's. A reasonably clear picture of Synge's basic course in language form and number can be built up, but certain aspects may have been developed during the latter stages of his educational endeavours.

Synge wrote no books on the teaching of language and evidence of his method is confined to the school charts. Aspects of language teaching which are not revealed in the charts appear to have been those recommended by Pestalozzi in 'How Gertrude Teaches her Children'. Several dozen of the charts are available; some were designed for class display and others for distribution among the pupils. Most of the charts measure 20" x 12". Much thought has gone into their preparation and they are an interesting example of Synge's ingenuity in adapting Pestalozzian methods to the needs of his pupils.

In the teaching of language Pestalozzi designated the 'special means of instruction' as:

1. SOUND TEACHING, or training the organs of speech.
2. WORD TEACHING, or teaching about single objects.
3. LANGUAGE TEACHING, or the means whereby we are led to express ourselves accurately about well-known objects, and about all we know of them. (1)

The first section included learning spoken sounds, through repetition and recognising them in printed form. For this purpose Pestalozzi published his 'Spelling Book'(1801), the general pattern of which was followed by Synge in his spelling and letter charts. Referring to his spelling book Pestalozzi wrote, 'I have added large printed letters to the book, so that the children can better observe the difference between them'.(2) For this purpose Synge used charts rather than books and the 'Alphabet Lessons' include 'Small and large Alphabets in order' and 'Italic small letters and capitals'.(3) Large capitals are

2. Ibid.,p.93.
scattered at random on the largest chart, presumably for recognition exercises in which the juxtaposition of letters would be of no help. The final chart in the Alphabet series appears to have been an introduction to spelling as it consists of three, four and five-letter words, e.g. 'bun, most, quill'. Available 'Spelling Lesson' charts number thirty or so; the early lessons (bad, bat, etc.) lead on naturally from the Alphabet series but the later lessons seem less effectively graded and include a tremendous number of diphthong examples and exceptions thereto, e.g. 'Words of one syllable, in which the Diphthong ou occurs' (59 examples; 36 exceptions).(1) The last spelling lesson contains 'words of one syllable in which one or more silent letters occur'(172 examples)(2).

Some alphabet and spelling lessons were prepared by Synge in booklet form. Twelve printed pages of material similar to that on the charts can be traced; they are handsewn and inscribed, 'Jane Synge, a Present from dear Papa'. The lessons are more detailed than those on the charts and it is not clear whether they were prepared by Synge for use in the school or for his own children (John Synge had seven children by his first wife and seven by his second; Jane was born in 1825). In teaching spelling Pestalozzi advocated the use of movable letters(3) but it is not known whether Synge followed this advice. A cut-out figure was found in the above-mentioned booklet but its purpose could not be ascertained.

Pestalozzi gave little advice on the teaching of reading which presumably he regarded as a natural development from spelling. He stressed talking rather than reading. 'I found, in teaching to read, the necessity of its subordination to the power of talking'.(4) Synge's charts indicate that reading followed spelling and just as the last alphabet lessons are really spelling

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1. Spelling Lesson series, chart xxlx.
2. Ibid., chart xxx.
4. Ibid., p.84.
lessons, so the first reading lessons are also spelling lessons, e.g.:

READING LESSONS

a e i o u
b ba bad be bed bi bid bo box bu bud
c etc.

Charts of the first ten Reading Lessons proper show careful grading and begin with 'Words of two letters, the vowel being first'.(1) Short sentences are included in the third lesson and the last concludes with a simple prose reading, 'I met a man, did you? Yes and he had a boy by him....'(2) The sentences of the reading lessons are of little interest, though occasionally they are rather incongruous, e.g. 'The Soph is a quiz, so wry is his fiz; chew that chap, eat an egg a day'.(3)

A third series, 'Reading Lessons of One Syllable' would be of much greater interest and appeal to children. The eighteen charts of this series all carry the general title 'Tales for Puss' and they include stories with such titles as 'The Boy and the Dog', 'The Cake and the Plum', 'The Blind Girl' and 'The Sick Girl'.(4) These tales have a strong moral and religious content redolent of children's stories by Mrs.Barbauld, which in 1802 were the subject of Charles Lamb's indignant comment to Coleridge. 'Mrs.Barbauld's stuff has banished all the old classics of the nursery'. Unlike Mrs. Barbauld's work, the 'Tales for Puss' have no literary value and the tale is invariably sacrificed for the moral. They can in no way be compared to the interesting and well-written children's stories of Mrs.Trimmer, Maria Edgeworth, Hannah More and Thomas Day.

2. Ibid, X.
3. Ibid., VII, XI and X.
4. Schoolcharts, Tales for Puss, IV, IX, XII and XVI.
Examples of a religious nature were also used in exercises on sentence construction. The similarity between these and those advocated by Pestalozzi is marked:

PESTALOZZI'S EXAMPLE

I shall
I shall preserve
I shall preserve my health in no other way (1)

SYNGE'S EXAMPLE

In
In the
In the be-
(10 stages omitted)

In the beginning God created the heaven, and the earth (2)

The above example (and indeed all Synge's Lessons on language) illustrate the 'gradual imperceptible advance' which Pestalozzi regarded as fundamental to his method.

In the second stage of language teaching (word teaching) Pestalozzi advocated an approach through real objects and experiences rather than through 'word and thing' methods. 'We teach by objects and experience and not by dry rules', wrote Synge to Pestalozzi in 1816 (3). Nothing is known of Synge's object lessons apart from a series he appears to have combined with reading lessons. The charts for this series consist of seventeen lessons under the general title, 'Reading Lessons from the instructor: The Three Kingdoms of Nature'. Synge's choice of subject matter was obviously determined by Pestalozzi's seventh letter to Gessner, in which he writes, 'This name-teaching consists of lists of names of the most important objects in all divisions of the Kingdom of Nature, history, geography, human callings and relations' (4).

2. Schoolchart, Reading Lessons (1st series), l.
II.

The three Kingdoms of Nature. The three Kingdoms of Nature have been arranged by naturalists in three divisions, the Animal Kingdom, the Plant Kingdom, and the Mineral Kingdom.

The Animal Kingdom is named from the animals which it includes possessing animal life, that is, able to move and feel. This kingdom contains all the animals which we are accustomed to meet upon land or in the sea, in the air, or in the water. Some are so small that they do not excite our wonder by their magnitude and strength, while others delight us by the beauty of their colors or the elegance of their forms and size. The Animal Kingdom includes all those natural objects which have no life, such as rocks, gravel, grimes, and masonry.

The Plant Kingdom includes those objects which are classified as plant life, that is, such objects as are able to grow and to bear some form of vegetable life. This kingdom is divided into two parts, the vegetable and the mineral. The vegetable kingdom contains about two hundred and seventy thousand species, including trees, plants, and flowers. The mineral kingdom contains about two hundred and seventy thousand species, including rocks, minerals, and metals.

The Mineral Kingdom includes all those natural objects which have not life, such as rocks, gravel, grimes, and masonry.

The three Kingdoms of Nature are all arranged in the great divisions of the universe, the Animal, the Plant, and the Mineral. These are the three great divisions of the universe, and they form the basis of all natural history. The three Kingdoms of Nature are all arranged in the great divisions of the universe, including the Animal, the Plant, and the Mineral. These are the three great divisions of the universe, and they form the basis of all natural history.
Like the 'Tales for Puss' the 'Kingdoms of Nature' lessons contain a strong religious element, e.g. 'Natural objects in General: The earth, the air, and the waters are filled either with living or inanimate objects. The more we examine these...the more do we learn of the wisdom, the power, and the providential care of our Maker and Preserver'.(1) The lessons are really an elementary course in natural history and deal with animals, insects, fishes, birds, reptiles and zoophytes. Synge probably used objects to illustrate these lessons wherever possible. The layout of the lessons bears no resemblance to those shown in Elizabeth Mayo's 'Lessons on Objects'; there is little preoccupation with pedantic detail and the lessons contain much information of interest to children, e.g. 'Horses have been known, when attacked by a wolf, to range themselves in a circle with their heads close together, and to defend themselves by kicking out with their hind legs'.(2) Synge presumably elaborated upon the charts where necessary; woodpeckers and snakes (neither of which are found in Ireland) are mentioned without further comment.

Another series of 'reading lessons' dealt specifically with animals but only four of the relevant charts have been found. Each has an illustration of the animals concerned, a horse, a cow, a pig and a sheep. Lessons on these were based on the elliptical principle; each chart was accompanied by a truncated chart on which pupils filled in details learned from the first chart. It is interesting to note that while, at this stage, Pestalozzi advocated learning only the names of objects in the kingdoms of nature, Synge sought to provide the children with more than mere definition. Much of the information he provided was useful, and most of it was interesting.

1. Schoolcharts, Kingdoms of Nature, I.
2. Ibid., III.
In the teaching of geography Pestalozzi does not appear to have been the source of inspiration to Synge that he was to Karl Ritter; it must be remembered, however, that Ritter studied geography at Yverdon much later than the publication of 'How Gertrude Teaches her Children'. Also, in fairness to Synge, it should be noted that Pestalozzi originally recommended the teaching of geography not as a subject in itself, but as a word exercise in the second stage of language teaching. Even in later years Pestalozzi did not consider geography, as a subject in itself, suitable for elementary stages of instruction. He recognised neither geography nor history as 'proper subjects in an elementary curriculum' and said that if the child had to learn geography, 'then the method provides a simple course of exercises in the names of mountains, rivers and towns'.

Synge compiled at least thirty-two charts entitled 'Lessons in Geography'; geography was defined as a subject which 'describes the surface of the Earth and marks the relative position and distances of places upon it'. The lessons are elliptical, each lesson consisting of two charts, e.g. (first chart) 'The land consists of Continents, Countries, Islands, Peninsulas, Isthmuses, Capes or Promontories, Mountains, and Coasts or Shores'; (second chart) 'The land consists of 1..., 2..., 3..., 4..., 5..., 6..., 7..., and 8... or ...'. The remaining lessons merely list the physical features (e.g. names of rivers, etc.), countries, provinces and towns of the five continents. The names of all these are included in laborious and often obscure detail, e.g. under the general heading 'Cabul', the following information is given:

2. Schoolcharts, Lessons in Geography, 1.
3. Ibid. II
ON WHAT SEA | SUBDENOMINATIONS | CHIEF TOWNS | ON WHAT RIVER
---|---|---|---
Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf | Cabul Proper | Herat and Balk | -
Candahar | Candahar | Indus
Cashmire | Cashmire | Indus
Sinde | Hyderabad | -
Moulta n | Moulta n | Indus
Beloochistan | Kelat | -

Although he was not very favourably disposed towards geography, it seems highly unlikely that Pestalozzi himself would have allowed it to degenerate into such arid verbalism; one cannot imagine children at Yverdon, for example, being required to recite the provinces of China or designate Noabeva, Onevahoa and Ohittahoo as lesser islands of the Marquesas.(2) Synge may well have used additional, more imaginative methods, but the charts alone are a painful reflection of the 'capes and bays' approach which was to stultify the teaching of geography throughout the nineteenth century.

Nothing is known of Synge's teaching of the final section of language, 'language teaching proper', but presumably he followed the advice in 'How Gertrude Teaches her Children' and concentrated on oral expression, observation and description, grammar and the meaning of words.(3) Synge commented on 'the good self-expression' of his pupils in a letter to Pestalozzi of 1818.(4)

The second elementary means of instruction at Synge's school was the teaching of form, which included measurement,
drawing and writing. In addition to Pestalozzi's 'How Gertrude Teaches her Children', Synge appears to have relied here on Schmidt's 'The Elements of Form and Number' (1809) and possibly Buss's 'The ABC of Observation, or Lessons in the Observation of Form'. Synge's own book on forms is a good indication of the methods he employed. He described the method as 'An artificial mode of exercising the eye of a child to observe the forms and determine the dimensions of the various objects that meet his observation; and, also of teaching his hand to represent them.'

The pupils were first taught to recognise, and then draw, lines that were straight, upright, horizontal, parallel, slanting and curved. Drawing was preceded by 'certain Gymnastic exercises' in which the child was taught to use the different parts of his arm and hand independently. After being taught 'angles' the children proceeded to the division of straight lines into a number of equal parts, and from here into squares, rectangles and circles. The method involved the use of large charts and blackboard drawings which were copied on slates. No instruments were used; all division and drawing was done by eye — 'The compass, as said Michael Angelo, should be carried in the eye.'

The exercises in form followed Pestalozzi's principle of the 'barely perceptible advance', but so immoderately that extreme prolixity and repetition were involved. Synge includes several hundred exercises in his book, many of which involve drawing to dictated instructions, e.g.

1. Synge, J., The Relations and Description of Forms according to the principles of Pestalozzi, Roundwood, 1817.
2. Ibid., preface, p.1.
3. Ibid., preface, p.2.
'Near the left side of your slate draw a short horizontal line
Below this line draw another equal to it
To the right extremity of the second add a horizontal line equal to the first, etc.' (1)

Over half the exercises concern squares or the divisions thereof; 'These divisions of the square by straight lines produce certain forms for defining and measuring all angles, as well as the circle and all arcs. I call the whole the ABC of Anschauung', wrote Pestalozzi. It is not intended to describe the exercises in form in more detail as they are very repetitive and the prolixity of examples makes extremely tedious reading.

In the appendix of Synge's book on forms is the suggestion that he realized this and he added a series of exercises involving the drawing of objects from dictated instructions. Although mechanical the exercises were nevertheless creative and drawings of pleasing proportions could be easily produced by children. The exercises include the drawing of letters, a church, a house, flowers, fruit and a bird. (3) Synge evidently realized the dangers of slavish adherence to the principles involved and added a word of caution, 'It never was intended to push the mode of dictation through all the details of an elaborate drawing, but merely to carry it so far as it may be necessary to habituate the pupil... to compare the proportions of whatsoever object he is describing; beyond that it must naturally appear frivolous and absurd'. (4)

A handwritten sheet (in Synge's handwriting), attached to one copy of Synge's book on forms appears to have been his syllabus for the course in forms and in addition to the

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4. Ibid., preface, p.3.
material in the book he included 'flourishes and embellishments of writing, the lines of beauty and vases, leaves, flowers, birds, fishes, insects, beasts and the human figure'. (1) Writing was taught at Synge's school after the early exercises in drawing, 'Nature herself has subordinated this art (writing) to that of drawing'. (2)

The remaining section of the elementary course was the teaching of number, and here Synge appears to have relied on Pestalozzi's 'How Gertrude Teaches her Children' and Schmidt's 'The Elements of Form and Number'. The method involved inculcating a concept of number to be followed by progression to simple arithmetic. Instruction was centred on the Pestalozzian tables of units, fractions and compound fractions. (3) Synge explained the use of the tables in his first text-book (4), where he set out innumerable examples based upon them. The method enabled children to 'rise gradually from units and simple quantities even to the most complicated relations of compound numbers'. (5) Though repetitive the method was not altogether mechanical. 'It is not Rules, not understood, though blindly followed, which serve for the foundation of these operations; it is intuition'. (6) Number was first associated with objects, and the use of 'fingers, nails, joints, comfits, nuts and beans' was advocated. (7) 'The child, being thus prepared, he may begin to learn the intuitive instruction of the relations of numbers' by means of the three tables. (8)

1. Ms. Synge's syllabus for course in forms; to be found attached to T.C.D. copy of Synge's 'The Relations and Description of Forms'.
3. See appendix for illustration.
5. Ibid., p.1.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p.4.
8. Ibid.
Using the first table of units the children were taught 'to observe unity.... and to compare each sum of units with another sum'. (1) The following example demonstrates the method of interpreting the table. 'How many times 5 are 37 times 1? He will answer without hesitation, 37 times 1 are 7 times 5, and twice the fifth part of 5; for he sees upon the 5th rank that 35 times 1 are 7 times 5, and that to arrive at 37 he must add further twice the fifth part of 5 in the following compartment'. (2)

The children learned fractions on the second table, which consisted of squares and vertical divisions thereof. In the third table horizontal divisions are added, thus facilitating the teaching of compound fractions. Synge claimed that children taught by this method could answer, in their heads, problems such as the following: 'A man paid 2/9ths of his debts, and at another period ¼ of the remainder; some time afterwards he paid 2/7ths of this second remainder. He found, after all, he owed £40. What was his original debt? Answer, £96'. (3)

The aim of the method was to encourage children to reason and, as Synge pointed out, it was a 'very erroneous idea of the views of Pestalozzi, to suppose that, when he arranged his tables for teaching the intuitive relations of numbers, he ever considered them sufficient in themselves to produce able arithmeticians'. (4)

More detailed exercises in Pestalozzi's tables were included in a four-volume work by Synge which he hoped would be 'of service to the majority of Country Schoolmasters'. (5)

1. Ibid., p.5.
2. Ibid., p.9.
3. Ibid., p.50.
4. Ibid., p.45.
These volumes, published at Roundwood between 1817 and 1819, consist of literally thousands of abstract exercises in number, e.g. 'In six times two fourths and the half of two fourths, how many whole numbers?'(1) These books are a travesty of educational method and in fairness to Pestalozzi it should be pointed out that they were based on Schmidt's 'Exercises in Number and Form' in which he, characteristically, did not adhere to Pestalozzi's instructions. De Guimps refers to 'the monotony and extreme prolixity which rendered these books useless for schools, in spite of the excellence of the principle of which they were such a clumsy application'.(2)

Synge's use of objects in the teaching of number is a pleasant contrast to the abstract absurdities of the above exercises. In his book 'The Use of the Bean Table' he showed his appreciation of 'the principle of Pestalozzi, that a distinct idea should be excited in the mind of a child before his attention shall be directed to the symbol'.(3) In the introduction to this book Synge gave detailed instructions for the construction of bean-tables such as those used in his school (strips of wood with holes for beans).(4) A later work by Synge indicates his use of a 'Bead Table or Arithmometer'(5) and it is assumed that the two terms are synonymous. Only the cover of this work remains and no details of its contents can be established.

Synge's experimental endeavours at Roundwood were not confined to the application of the Pestalozzian system to elementary education alone. Like Pestalozzi he had a high regard

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1. Ibid., Part 3, p.57.
3. Synge, J., The Use of the Bean Table, or an introduction to addition, subtraction and numeration with visible objects on the principles of Pestalozzi, Roundwood, 1820, p.1.
4. Ibid., p.5.
5. Synge, J. The Infant School Teacher's Assistant on Pestalozzian Principles, No.1, Lessons on the Bead Table or Arithmometer, Taunton, 1828.
for the educational capacity of mothers and he evidently attempted to popularise the Pestalozzian education of infants. 'But what will please you even more than the school's success', he wrote to Pestalozzi in 1818, 'is that several good mothers have begun to follow the steps, care and patience of your Gertrude'.(1) He adds that 'the expression of their gratitude for the harmonious relations thus produced between them and their children could not be expressed in a letter'. Synge also quoted the amusing example of an eighteen-month old child who was 'beginning already to stammer the name of Pestalozzi'.(2) Nothing is known of Synge's teaching of infants, but at Roundwood there is a local, almost forgotten rhyme which records these endeavours:

'I often hear the churchbells ring  
To gather the swaddlings round John Synge' (3)

Such, as far as is known, was John Synge's 'Roundwood experiment'. The immense amount of labour and enthusiasm he put into his writings suggests that the same was true of his teaching. Unfortunately, printed exercises and antiquated textbooks cannot convey the atmosphere in which they were applied. Nor can they convey whether Synge evoked in his pupils a true joy in learning, and whether there existed in his schoolroom

1. Letter J.S./Pest.,1818.  
2. Ibid.  
3. It is said that a tombstone in the churchyard at Derrylossary, a parish adjoining Roundwood, bears the inscription:  

'He often heard the churchbells ring  
To gather the swaddlings round John Synge'.

This cannot be confirmed as the church is in a very exposed position and many of the tombstones have been eroded. No such inscription appears on any tombstone in Nunscross Churchyard; there is no Protestant church in Roundwood itself.
the happy and contented atmosphere which typified Yverdon during its most illustrious years.

It will never be known whether John Synge evoked in his pupils the profound affection that was so characteristic of pupils of Pestalozzi himself, or whether the humble spirit of his endeavours endeared him to all he met. It is known that these endeavours earned John Synge the name of 'Pestalozzi John', an appellation which indicates, one hopes, ingenuous affection rather than derisive wit.
PESTALOZZI IN STANZ
Artist Unknown.

GROB, 1879
The schoolroom has never been a popular subject among artists, perhaps because of its childhood associations. The essentially functional nature of the classroom has precluded the exploitation of aesthetic possibilities and learning has a traditional association with drab and sombre environments which offered neither distraction or stimulus. However, though a neglected subject, illustrations of classroom scenes do exist; scenes of education in classical times, for example, can be seen on early Greek vases (1), or among the mural decorations at Pompeii. (2) Few schoolboys are unfamiliar with wood-cuts of the mediaeval schoolroom (3), while most students of educational history have seen the allegorical representation of the mediaeval curriculum as a temple of wisdom. (4) Schoolrooms of the Reformation provided a subject for many engravers (5), and classroom scenes were more frequently depicted in the nineteenth century when cheap publication and the illustrated novel brought engraving to its zenith. Illustrations such as those of the English monitorial schoolroom (6) and Harrow Schoolroom (7) are well-known. Depictions of Pestalozzian schoolrooms, however, are extremely rare; only one is included in the elaborate volume of illustrations produced at the Pestalozzian centenary in 1928. (8)

2. Ibid., p.199.
3. Ibid., p.260.
4. Ibid., p.345.
5. Ibid., p.407.
6. Ibid., p.725.
This picture, an oil painting by Grob (1879) depicts Pestalozzi in his schoolroom at Stanz.\(^{(1)}\) The picture captures something of the wretchedness of the children and the benevolence of Pestalozzi; although painted half a century after Pestalozzi’s death it seems a reasonably authentic representation. The picture is of human, rather than educational interest; a blackboard is shown in the schoolroom and one child is studying a volume entitled ‘ABC’.

An engraving depicting Pestalozzi in his schoolroom at Stanz (artist unknown) is included in Monroe’s ‘History of Education’.\(^{(2)}\); the authenticity of this picture seems very doubtful. An elegant and meticulously dressed Pestalozzi, in a somewhat artificial pose, is the central figure. His fashionable hat and cloak are casually draped on a luxurious couch, as if he had come merely for the afternoon. The children, though some are without shoes, appear neither ragged or undernourished: in fact an air of well-being and material comfort pervades the picture. Schooldesks and wall-charts are shown in the background; a delicate time-piece is shown on the wall and an elegant well-padded footstool upon the floor. Few details in the picture are in accord with Pestalozzi’s account of the miserable discomfort, deprivation and material wretchedness which was experienced at Stanz. It is highly unlikely that such a sketch would have been made at the time and it appears to be largely the result of imaginative licence and a desire to eulogise.

The last picture traced is a tinted ink-drawing of John Synge’s schoolroom at Roundwood.\(^{(3)}\) The Roundwood picture appears to be a much more authentic representation and its wealth of detail, e.g. the figures on the Pestalozzian charts, indicates an entirely factual basis. It must be admitted, however, that the faces of the children show a

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\(^{(1)}\) Monroe, P., op.cit., p.622.
\(^{(2)}\) Pestalozzi in Stanz, oil painting by K.Grob, 1879; original in Public Art Gallery, Basle.
\(^{(3)}\) Original now in possession of Mrs. R.F. Cantan of Dublin.
remarkable similarity. Until recent times the Roundwood picture hung at Glanmore Castle, but it is now in the possession of a descendant of John Synge. The picture is signed 'Maria Taylor, 1825' but no further details of the artist can be established. She was possibly a governess at Glanmore or Roundwood and her name suggests the possibility of her having been related to John Synge's step-mother. The picture is delicately drawn with an almost photographic attention to minute detail. (1)

The picture of the Roundwood school illustrates the methods discussed in the last chapter and several aspects of the Pestalozzian system are vividly portrayed. Above the slate blackboards are several charts used by Synge for the teaching of form; they are identical with those included on engraved plates in Synge's 'Relation and Description of Forms'. Two boys can be seen reproducing the figures on the blackboards, while slates, for similar reproductions, can be seen on the windowsills. Several Pestalozzian tables are in use; one group (centre-background) are using the first table of units and another (right-foreground) the first table of forms. The table in use in the centre-foreground cannot be identified but it appears to be of mathematical significance. Several children can be seen writing or drawing with quills; a boy near the window (left) is studying a flower.

Pestalozzi had a high regard for the place of manual activities in education and the school at Bonnal, described in 'Leonard and Gertrude', was an industrial school: 'Every day the schoolmaster realized more fully how (manual) work cultivates the intelligence, gives force to the feelings of the heart, and

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1. Unfortunately the original is not photogenic and the photograph of it does justice neither to its detail or to its tinted shading. Some of the points discussed, though quite clear on the original, may appear less so on the photograph.
keeps alive the sense of duty', Pestalozzi wrote in a later work.(1) The manual activities of Synge's school are indicated by a boy entering with a spade and by another (left-foreground) repairing a boot.

Several details of the picture are quite fascinating in themselves, e.g., a child completely lost in thought (right-foreground) and another showing curiosity characteristic of his age by ignoring his own lesson in favour of another's (right-foreground). Twenty-five boys are shown in the picture and their ages appear to range from seven to twelve. They seem happy, well-nourished and adequately dressed. The blackboards, clock and the teacher's desk (left centre) show that the building was in permanent use as a school. While an artist's interpretation should perhaps be accepted with caution, the impression of a congenial and diligent atmosphere does not seem unauthentic.

On closer examination of the picture five distinct groups emerge, in each of which an older boy is teaching a younger boy or group of boys. This is perhaps more evident on a sociogram:

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The main question raised by the structure of the sociogram is whether the picture portrays an isolated instance of mutual instruction (possibly as a means of showing several activities at the same time), or whether Synge sought a permanent compromise between Pestalozzian Method and the monitorial system so strongly advocated by Bell and Lancaster. In seeking to establish the extent to which Synge might have effected such a compromise, it would first seem necessary to determine the extent to which a
fusion of monitorial and Pestalozzian Methods was feasible.

An attempt to reconcile the Pestalozzian and the monitorial system was made in England by Ackermann, an assistant of Pestalozzi who taught for a short time in Lancasterian and National schools, where the monitorial method was predominant. The attempt was unsuccessful and Ackermann remarked on the great contrast between 'this mechanism, this merely passive memory work and the Pestalozzian active developing of the young mind from the first sensory perception to the highest intellectual conception'.(1) In America, Maclure and Neef introduced the Pestalozzian and Lancasterian systems concurrently but their initial success was short-lived. In Switzerland itself the progress of the monitorial system in England led to suggestions regarding fusion with the Pestalozzian system. Stapfer and Laharpe, friends of Pestalozzi and important officials of state, favoured the amalgamation of Pestalozzi's 'psychological' method with the 'military-hierarchic exercises' of Lancaster and Bell, 'The latter as a vehicle for your system of education, thought out so much more deeply and aimed at complete development of the human powers, would be an excellent means of spreading and popularizing your method'.(2)

The vehicle, however, was never set in motion and the meeting of Pestalozzi and the imperious Bell in 1816 reflected the contrast between their methods, 'The two pedagogues came into touch, but their minds did not unite. Bell left without

being touched by the Pestalozzian grace'.

Bell's remark on the merits of Pestalozzi's system is well-known, 'In another twelve years mutual instruction will be adopted by the whole world, and Pestalozzi's method will be forgotten'. Less well-known is Pestalozzi's reply to a visitor who attributed to him (Pestalozzi), the system of mutual instruction, 'God forbid!' (2)

It was difficult to dissociate the two systems from their respective exponents and any reconciliation of the systems involved a negation of the conflict of educational thought which existed between Pestalozzi on the one hand and Lancaster and Bell on the other. Further difficulties of reconciliation resulted from denominational associations of the systems; Bell and the national schools were favoured by Anglicans, Lancaster and the 'British' schools were favoured by Non-conformists, Pestalozzi was favoured by neither and many associated his system with atheism.

Though factiousness and dogmatism were more prevalent among advocates of the monitorial system, these factors were not unknown among supporters of Pestalozzi. This led to a situation in which support for one system often involved antagonism towards the other, as evidenced by the address of an American educationist who in 1825 exhorted New York teachers to 'recede from the false (Lancasterian) system'. (3) Commenting on the Lancasterian monitorial system and the Pestalozzian system he added, 'While each system has found its advocates, no two systems are more diametrically opposed'. (4) In support of this argument he claimed that Pestalozzi had 'reverted his eye upon the brightest pages of Grecian and Roman history....(he) gathered all the assistance which antiquity could supply' (5), whereas

4. Ibid., p.18.
5. Ibid., p.19.
Lancaster 'was desirous of hazarding a mere experiment, without the least authority from the practice of any age or nation'.(1) The degree of antithesis attributed to the systems was reflected in the speaker's conclusion, 'The one system imparts IDEAS and the other WORDS, between which there is less analogy than between the notes of the musical octave and the colours of the solar bow'.(2)

The above is a very biased view and while an effective reconciliation of the Pestalozzian system with the highly organised and mechanical monitorial system does not appear to have been very feasible, some degree of reconciliation may have been possible if 'mutual instruction' and the 'monitorial system' were not regarded as synonymous terms. Mutual instruction could thus have taken place outside the framework of the monitorial system. In this context mutual instruction was used by Pestalozzi himself at Stanz, 'Children taught children, to this I was led chiefly by necessity. Since I had no fellow helpers, I put a capable child between two less capable ones'.(3) Another source describes Pestalozzi's use of mutual instruction at Stanz in greater detail, 'My children were delighted when they knew something that they could teach others.... they learned twice as well by making the younger ones repeat their words.... these child Helpers...were more useful to me than any regular schoolmasters could have been'.(4)

The picture of Synge's school contains some evidence of mutual instruction but it seems improbable that it reflects the mechanical and highly organised structure of the monitorial system as practised by Lancaster and Bell. In the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch' Synge mentions his prejudice against such mechanical systems; writing to Synge from Dublin in 1814 a friend says, 'I was in company not long since with the famous

Dr. Bell. He has come over to civilize our natives'. (1) The writer expressed strong doubts regarding the monitorial system and it seems unlikely that the reception of his opinion by Synge was other than sympathetic. It thus seems highly improbable that the scene portrayed by the picture of Synge's schoolroom involves the negation of Pestalozzian principles of instruction.

Delightful though it is, the picture contains an enigma which continues to baffle - its exact geographical location. Synge's school was probably the first Pestalozzian school in the British Isles and as such it surely merits a serious attempt to determine its location, particularly as the building may still exist. The picture of Synge's school was kept at Glammore Castle for some hundred and twenty years and it has been assumed by the family that in all probability it was an interior view of Kilfee School, which was built on the Glanmore estate by Synge's uncle in 1807. To a copy of Synge's 'Relation and Description of Forms', presented to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin in 1935, is attached a photograph (circa 1910?) of the picture. A pencilled note on the reverse side of the photograph reads: 'Copy of Mrs. Taylor's picture of Kilfee School, 1815'. The date given is incorrect; with the aid of a powerful magnifying glass it is possible to discern (on the picture as photographed) 'Maria Taylor, 1825'. (2) Further, a detailed comparison of the schoolroom shown in the picture and Kilfee School (the structure is still in existence) casts overwhelming doubts on the contention that the picture is of the schoolroom in Kilfee School.

Careful scrutiny and measurement of the structure of Kilfee School revealed that apart from the very recent replacement of two of the original windowframes, no structural alterations had been made since it was built. A valid comparison may thus be made

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1. Letter, W.D.La Touche/J.S., op.cit.
2. The original has recently been framed and the border on which these words appear is not in view. The 1910(?) photograph is of the whole sheet on which the picture was drawn and it is felt that further confirmation of the date is not necessary.
POSSIBLE EXTERIOR OF SYNGE'S SCHOOL

KILFEE SCHOOL, 1910(?)
between the present structure of Kilfee School and that of the schoolroom shown in Maria Taylor's picture. Several features in the picture cannot be identified with Kilfee School, unless one makes allowance for an inordinate degree of artist's licence. The most significant features may be summarized as follows:

**SCHOOLROOM SHOWN IN MARIA TAYLOR'S PICTURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Kilfee School/Schoolroom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROOF:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharply pitched, 60°</td>
<td>Not sharply pitched, 45°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatch</td>
<td>Slate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand-cut beams, widely spaced</td>
<td>Smaller, machine-cut beams, not widely spaced, + slate-laths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WINDOWS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectangular, vertical, uni-sectional</td>
<td>Rectangular, horizontal, trisectional.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One arched window</td>
<td>No arched windows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOOR:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arched</td>
<td>No arched doors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPROXIMATE DIMENSIONS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17' x 14'</td>
<td>15'6&quot; x 14'6&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen from the photograph of Kilfee School that a schoolroom such as that shown by Maria Taylor could have been located only in the central single-storeyed section of the building. In the centre of this section is a wall which divides Kilfee School into two symmetrical sections, the School House (on the left) and the School (on the right). The dividing wall is the same shape as the end-wall in the picture, and is the only complete wall of that shape in the building. If Synge's schoolroom were in this building, it must therefore have been the room to the immediate right of this dividing wall, but the number and position of the doors and windows do not correspond. Several minor features, such as the angle of the sun in relation to the time shown on the
schoolroom clock, cannot be identified with Kilfee School, but these are of little significance.

It thus seems reasonable to conclude that the schoolroom shown in Maria Taylor's picture could not possibly have been located in Kilfee School. This conclusion does not allow for more than a moderate degree of licence on the part of the artist but it seems unlikely that an artist who paid such attention to detail would have made such major structural changes in the picture. The elimination of Kilfee School as the scene of the picture poses problems of a less simple nature and the enigma deepens.

Over a period of several years an exhaustive search was made of the area, in the hope of finding Synge's school or the ruins thereof. The criteria of probability used were the structural details and dimensions of Maria Taylor's picture and a reconstructed sketch of the probable exterior appearance of the school. All the buildings and ruins on the Roundwood and Glanmore estates were scrutinized and a general search made within a radius of five miles of both. Aged inhabitants were questioned and records studied included the 1840 (6 inches to the mile) ordnance survey of Ireland.

Two early leads were promising but the evidence they afforded proved to be inconclusive. Synge's 'Relations and Description of Forms' contains an appendix plate showing objects drawn by the children to dictated instructions. The drawing of the church(l), except for the addition of a steeple, is remarkably similar to Nuns Cross Church on the Glanmore estate; a tablet, immediately above the main door is on both. (2) Bearing in mind Pestalozzi's insistence on real experience as a basis

1. Synge, J., Relations and Description of Forms, op. cit., appendix plate, Fig. 11.
2. The tablet on Nuns Cross Church reads, 'Nuns Cross Church, built for the Parish of Killiskey by Francis Synge, Esq., A.D. 1817.'
KILLISKEY SCHOOL

NUNSCROSS CHURCH
of instruction, the possibility arose that another building shown on the appendix plate (1) may have been the school. Some two miles from Glanmore Castle a ruined school was found, the front of which is very similar to the drawing on the plate. Other structural details, however, do not conform with Maria Taylor's picture; also, the ruined school was on the estate of the Tottenham family (in Synge's time mutual antagonism existed between the Synge and the Tottenham families). It is claimed by one aged inhabitant that the history of this school is contained in a bottle sealed into the school wall when the school was built (!). This seems as likely a story as any which may be contained within the bottle and it is not thought that the school had any connection with Synge. It also appears to have been built later than 1825.

A slightly more promising lead was the 1840 ordnance survey which showed a school halfway between Roundwood and Glanmore, immediately opposite Tighlyn, a house on the Glanmore estate where Synge may have lived between 1818 and 1827. The ruins of this school could be remembered by one local inhabitant, but no trace of them remains and the whole area is now intensely afforested by the Irish Forestry Commission.

The situation is further confused by the fact that upon his marriage in 1818 Synge went to live at Roundwood, possibly at Roundwood Park or Tighlyn. It is probable that the school referred to by Synge in letters to Pestalozzi as early as 1816 was on the Glanmore estate and that the school was later transferred to a building in Roundwood. Writing to Pestalozzi in 1816 Synge says that he has established a school 'at my father's place' (2); he later adds, 'My father has given me a new schoolhouse which will be ready in a few days' time'. (3) Whether this

1. Synge, J., Ibid., Fig. 10.
3. Ibid.
schoolhouse was the one later used by Synge at Roundwood is not clear, though it is certain that in 1821 Synge's school was located in the Roundwood area. The 1821 census returns for Roundwood include the item: 'John Synge, aged 34 years, Gentleman and Farmer, and J.P. for the county... holds 144 acres of land. A charity school is in this Townland: it is supported by Mr. Synge; it contains nine boys; their names are stated in the Proper Columns. Kildare Dobbs, aged 19 years, was then usher in the school'.(1) Also, writing to Pestalozzi in 1818 a colleague of Synge referred to the school for the poor which Synge had set up on 'his' (Synge's) estate.(2)

The ideal source for establishing the location(s) of Synge's school would be the Census Returns of the Public Record Office in Dublin. Unfortunately, the nineteenth and early twentieth century returns suffered a tragic and irreparable loss in 1821 during Civil War. The records were housed in the Custom House, which was set on fire by insurgents who, by destroying the records, reduced the British civil administration to virtual impotence.

Some information concerning the school is contained in a note written by Synge's great-grandson to the National Library of Ireland when he presented them with several of Synge's school charts. Referring to the school he wrote, 'The building has disappeared but there is a field near Roundwood known as the School-house Field, which was probably where the school stood'. Though helpful, this evidence is not conclusive; an S.P.C.K. school also existed at Roundwood, though in all probability it stood on the field at Roundwood which was known as the 'Charter Field'.

1. 1821 Census Returns (since destroyed); quoted by Seamus O Casaide in article on Roundwood Printing, the Irish Booklover, vol.24, April, 1936, p.41; see also Vol.4., Oct.1912.No.3,p.53.
Such, slender as it is, is the only available evidence of the location of Synge's Pestalozzian School or schools. From this evidence, and from what little relevant detail can be gleaned from letters to Pestalozzi, the following conclusions may be drawn with reasonable validity:

1. Synge established a Pestalozzian school for poor children on his father's estate(1), in or about November 1815.(2) For this purpose he used either Kilfee School or some other building at Glanmore.

2. In February 1816 his father provided him with a new schoolhouse(3). It is not clear whether this was the schoolhouse referred to after Synge's marriage in 1818, and also whether it was situated at Glanmore or Roundwood.

3. The school referred to by Orpen in 1818(4) was the same as that included in the 1821 Census Returns; it was situated in the 'Townland' of Roundwood on land owned by the Synge family (5). It was possibly in Roundwood itself, or at Tighlyn on the Roundwood end of the Glanmore estate.

4. Maria Taylor's picture was not of Kilfee School, but of Synge's Pestalozzian school in the Roundwood 'Townland'.

5. It is unlikely that any trace of this schoolhouse remains.

1. Letter J.S./Pest.1816.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. 1821 Census Returns.
John Synges influence as a pioneer of Pestalozzian methods stems not so much from his school as from his press. Little, if anything, was known outside Ireland of his deeds but his words extended his influence to the whole of the British Isles. Not content merely with writing books on Pestalozzian principles, he set out to print and publish them himself. Synge's activities in this context illustrate not only his versatility but also the diligence and enthusiasm which characterised his endeavours to establish and popularise Pestalozzian education in Britain.

Printing seems an incongruous skill for an Irish landed gentleman and apart from any connection it may have had with his artistic interests, it is not clear where his skill was developed. Synge's first two books were printed at an established press in Dublin(1) but most of his subsequent volumes were printed at a private press he established at Roundwood in 1817. He later set up the press at Teignmouth and at Glanmore; the same machine and type-founts appear to have been used at all these locations.

Synge's interest in printing may have originated in the supervision of the press while it was at Roundwood and although, at different times, he engaged several printers, his activities in this direction were not limited to supervision. He was described by a contemporary as 'possessing a press and a fount of Hebrew types, and working off the sheets himself'.(2) Attempts were made to locate this press and the founts but they could be traced only to an auction at Glanmore in the 1930's. One small printing-block was traced, a wood-cut of a cow; the block is labelled: 'I was given this block when a child. I believe it was

2. Brooke, R.S., op.cit., p.35.
While Pestalozzi did not have Rousseau's contempt for books ('They only teach us to talk about things we know nothing about'), he did not have the reverence for books of, say, Wordsworth who regarded their educative power as second only to that of nature. (2) Books played a minor part in the Pestalozzian system though in reference to school-books he wrote, 'How great is the need for such books....their absence means the absence of the spirit in education which flows direct from nature herself'. (3) Synge appreciated this need and on his return from Yverdon he immediately set about printing and publishing his books on the Pestalozzian system. Though text-books, they are designed primarily for use by teachers. Synge's were the first Pestalozzian textbooks ever published in English and the task of translation, adaptation, printing and distribution must have been a tremendous one. It was a worthwhile if laborious task and Pollard describes the three books by Synge which he mentions as 'publications of considerable importance when estimating Britain's debt to continental educational thought and practice during the first half of the nineteenth century'. (4)

Synge's first book, 'A Biographical Sketch' was designed to create an interest in Pestalozzi and his educational principles. His subsequent books are a specific and detailed demonstration of the application of these principles to elementary education. Most

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1. Edward Stephens; his suspicion was confirmed when block was compared with Synge's schoolcharts on animals.
of these were printed at Synge's private press in Roundwood, where the printer George P. Bull was employed. The Roundwood Press, an interesting and unusual venture in itself, has for long been an enigma to all interested in the history of printing in Ireland; the mystery surrounding the whole matter of the Roundwood Press is reflected in contributions to 'The Irish Booklover' between 1909 and 1936. (1)

This enigma resulted largely from the rarity and unusual nature of the books published at the Roundwood Press, together with the difficulties in establishing the association between the press and John Synge. Synge's name appears on none of his books and those printed at Roundwood do not even bear the pseudonym 'An Irish Traveller'. That the Roundwood Press should provide such a puzzle to authorities on the history of printing in Ireland is an indication of the obscurity which has surrounded John Synge's endeavours.

The matter was first raised in 'The Irish Booklover' by R.S. Moffat, an authority on Irish printing, in 1909. He possessed four of the Roundwood books but records his failure to find any reference to the existence of a press at Roundwood, 'though not a usual find in a small Irish village either a century ago or at present'. (2) He noted that one of his Roundwood books, 'The Relations and Description of Forms', was included in the catalogue of the British Museum Library with '(By Synge?)' appended to the title. (3) As this book referred to Pestalozzian Method, Moffat wondered whether the author of another Pestalozzian work, 'An Irish Traveller', wrote the Roundwood books.

1. The Irish Booklover, a monthly review of Irish literature and Bibliography, London.
3. This remains unchanged.
Three of the volumes in Moffat's possession have already been referred to, but no copy of, or reference to, the fourth ('Reports of the School of Industry at Hofwyl') can be traced. From Moffat's description the reports appear to have been a description of Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl, near Yverdon, and were evidently a translation of articles by M. Rengger in the 'Bibliothèque Britannique'. Fellenberg's system, though more highly organised, was in many ways similar to that of Pestalozzi, with whom Fellenberg had been closely associated at Burgdorf. Moffat mentioned that the title page of the Hofwyl reports included 'a small woodcut representing a hive of bees'.(1) The only other book in which this woodcut was found was Synge's 'Lessons on the Bead Table or Arithmometer', which was printed at Teignmouth in 1828. This not only establishes the likelihood of common authorship, but also indicates that at least some of the fount used by Bull at Roundwood was in Synge's possession when he lived in England a decade or so later. This may seem a trifling irrelevance but it needs to be established that the Pestalozzian works here attributed to Synge were, in fact, written by him. While there is overwhelming circumstantial evidence of this, concrete conclusions can be drawn only from a comparison of type-faults, type and printer's devices used in the books and schoolcharts.

In a later article, Moffat added to the Roundwood publications, 'Annual Addresses of the Minister of Iver to his Parishioners, 1810-1817' and 'substance of a speech delivered at the Uxbridge Bible Society by the Rev. Edward Ward, Minister of Iver, Bucks.'(2) Watermarks on the Iver texts showed that they were printed at Roundwood later than 1817. A reference to Iver was contained in a letter, only part of which was traced among

1. The Irish Booklover, ibid.
2. Ibid., Vol.3, July 1912, No. 12, p.199.
Synge's papers; it is presumed that the Iver texts were commissioned by a friend and have no connection with Synge's Pestalozzian efforts.

The list of Roundwood publications was further extended by another contributor who added 'Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers' (Parts 1 and 3), 'Letters to a Friend by the late Mrs. E.M. Maturin' (1818) and 'The Communicant's Companion' (1818). This contributor confused the issue in a later article by suggesting that the 'Roundwood Press' was really the Rosanna Press, owned by Mary Tighe, a Wicklow poetess. He ended the article, 'Why Bull should have had a printing press at all at Roundwood is a strange thing, particularly as its output was so meagre'.

Several contributors sought to solve the problem by establishing the identity of George Bull as all the Roundwood books bear the inscription 'George P. Bull, Printer, Roundwood, Wicklow', or a variant thereof. Printers of that surname were traced to various parts of Ireland but no conclusions were reached. 'What relationship, if any, between these and the George P. Bull of Roundwood,' wrote Moffat, 'it would be of some interest to know, as well as the reason of his setting up his press at this somewhat out of the way village'. A few years later it was discovered that a 'G.P. Bull, Printer' resided at 3, Redmond's Hill, Dublin in 1823 and that from 1829 to 1831 a 'George P. Bull' was a 'Printer, Bookseller and Stationer' at 40, South Great George's Street, Dublin.

At this stage, in 1912, interest in the Roundwood Press appears to have lapsed; issues of 'The Irish Booklover' for the years 1913 to 1935 inclusive contain only one brief reference to

1. Ibid., Vol.1, Dec.1909, No.5, p.61.
2. Ibid., Vol.3, April 1912, No.9, p.142.
3. Ibid., Vol.1, Nov.1909, No.4, p.38.
5. Ibid., Vol.3, July 1912, No.12, p.199.
it. (1) In 1936, however, the compiler of a typographical gazetteer, suggested in a letter to 'The Irish Booklover' that 'one of the Synges of Glanmore Castle maintained George Bull the printer from 1817 or earlier to about 1820'. (2) Though accurate, this statement appears to have raised no subsequent comment; in twenty years the Roundwood enigma had probably been completely forgotten.

Although contributions to 'The Irish Booklover' concerning the Roundwood Press are confused, some valid conclusions can be gleaned from them; they also help to complete the list of (known) publications. These conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. G.P. Bull had a **printing office** in Roundwood as early as 1810. (3)
2. No evidence exists of a **printing press** at Roundwood until 1817. (4)
3. The press was in operation from 1817 to 1820. (5)
4. The press had no connection with the Rosanna Press which was sold by Daniel Tighe of Rosanna, Wicklow in the early 1840's. (6)
5. All (known) publications of the press were associated with John Synge, and with the exception of the Iver texts and 'Letters to a friend' all were written or compiled by him.
6. There is no reason to believe that anyone other than John Synge established the press.
7. The printer, G.P. Bull was resident at Derrylossary.

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1. Ibid., Vol.14, June 1924, No.6, p.110.
2. Ibid., Vol.24, April 1936, p.41.
4. Date of first (known) books published there.
5. O'Casade's Typographical Gazettee of Ireland, quoted in Irish Booklover, Vol.24, April, 1936, P.41.
near Roundwood Park, in 1818(1) but his name is not included in the 1821 Census Returns for the district; in 1823 he was resident in Dublin.(2)

8. The (known) publications of the Roundwood Press are:

1817: Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Parts 1 and 2.
   The Relations and Description of Forms.
   Reports of the School of Industry at Hofwyl.
1818: Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, part 3.
   Letters to a Friend by the late Mrs. E. M. Maturin
   The Communicant's Companion.
1819: Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 4.
   The Use of the Bean Table.

DATE Unknown: The Iver texts; some of the earlier Pestalozzian schoolcharts; Hebrew Bible (only the proofs have been traced).

Other Pestalozzian works may have been printed by Synge at Roundwood but none can be traced. 'A Biographical Sketch' is described in a sub-title as 'First tract on Pestalozzi's Elementary System of Education' and others possibly followed. Orpen, writing to Pestalozzi in 1818, said, 'I saw (Synge) today... he is going to publish at once your Address to the English Nation. We shall send a copy to all the bookshops'.(3) It is not clear whether this was done but it is interesting to note that the Address was printed at Yverdon, for English distribution, two months after the date of this letter.(4)

2. Pigot's Directory for 1824; quoted in Irish Booklover, ref. as for (3) above.
In 1825 a second ('carefully revised') edition of part one of Synge's 'Intuitive Relations of Numbers' was produced by a Dublin publisher and printed by M. Goodwin in Dublin. Apart from this there is no evidence of any printing or publishing activities between 1820 and 1827, when Synge left Ireland.

Synge spent the years 1827-1832 at Teignmouth, an early centre of the Plymouth Brethren movement with which he became closely associated. He appears to have taken the press to Teignmouth; his activities as a writer and printer at Teignmouth are discussed in a later chapter. Synge inherited the Glanmore estate in 1831 and the following year he took up residence in Glanmore Castle. The press was housed for many years in the 'Grandmother's Tea House', a summer-house adjacent to the Castle.(1) The re-established press was known as the Nunscross Press and it appears to have been a less ambitious venture than the original one at Roundwood. A large amount of Pestalozzian material, in the form of school charts, was printed here but no books appear to have been produced. Most of the (available) schoolcharts were printed at Glanmore and it is important to establish that they were produced later than 1832, firstly as an indication that Synge's interest in Pestalozzian education was maintained after the Teignmouth period, and secondly as an example of the way in which Synge's Pestalozzian thought was modified by religious influences at Teignmouth.

The only clue to the date of the school charts is an item appearing at the bottom of each. 'Printed by Thomas Collins, Glanmore, County of Wicklow'. The word 'Glanmore' is not in itself sufficient evidence of the date of printing as the press could well have been at Glanmore between 1820 and 1827. The method used to establish the date of the schoolcharts, though perhaps devious, seems reasonably conclusive. The key to the

1. No trace of the Grandmother's Tea House remains.
problem is the identity of the printer, Thomas Collins.

Synge's colleague, C.E.H. Orpen, visited Yverdon in 1818 and on his return to Dublin founded a school where deaf and dumb children were educated in accordance with Pestalozzian ideas. His most illustrious pupil, a deaf-mute named Thomas Collins, was apprenticed to Goodwin, the Dublin printer who later printed the second edition of Synge's 'Intuitive Relations of Numbers' (Part 1). Goodwin's publisher was R.M. Tims, also of Dublin, and both were associated with Synge and Orpen in the publication and distribution of Pestalozzian works. In the case of Tims there is a double association as he is no doubt the 'Mr. Tims, Bookseller, Grafton Street', mentioned in one history of the Plymouth Brethren movement. In the light of these associations it seems extremely unlikely that the Thomas Collins educated by Orpen and trained as a printer by Goodwin, was other than the Thomas Collins later engaged as a printer by Synge. Further, Synge can be readily identified with the person referred to in an article on Thomas Collins which appeared in Chamber's Edinburgh Journal in 1850, 'Collins subsequently fell into good hands, for a gentleman of large property, and engaged in the most benevolent pursuits, took him to his home to superintend a printing press; and here we lose further trace of the first pupil of the first Irish institution for the education of the deaf and dumb'.

That Goodwin's apprentice was later Synge's printer is also supported by the time factors involved in the matter. Thomas Collins was apprenticed to Goodwin in 1821 and the approximate length of his apprenticeship can be calculated from an item which

1. For reference sources concerning Orpen and Collins, see later Chapter.
appeared in a book written by Orpen: 'Thomas Collins....has already served nearly two-thirds of his apprenticeship to a respectable printer in Dublin, in whose office, by his master's permission, he now prints this book'.(1) This book was published in 1828 so Collins could not have become a journeyman printer before the early 1830's.

From the above it may be concluded that Thomas Collins could not have been employed by Synge before he (Synge) left Teignmouth in 1827, or until his return to Glanmore in 1832. The schoolcharts which bear Collins' name must thus have been printed later than 1832 and are thus prima facie evidence of Synge's sustained interest in education and Pestalozzianism. The printing of these charts at this time does not preclude the probability that similar and in some cases identical material was used by Synge at a much earlier date.

One other item from the Nunscross Press was traced, a small hymn-book consisting of three sections, 'Hymns for Cottage Worship', 'Hymns for Children' and 'Advent Hymns'. The volume is handsewn, has a brown-paper cover, and bears the words, 'Printed at the Nunscross Press, Co.Wicklow'. It was obviously intended not for publication but for local use at Nunscross Church on the Glanmore estate, or for family services at Glanmore. As the father of fourteen children Synge could muster a fair congregation within the castle itself.

It is hoped that the above discussion of Synge's activities as a printer and publisher will help to establish the authenticity of the Pestalozzian works which have been attributed to him. The books and charts have not been authenticated by an expert typographer but comparison of water-marks and type-faults will confirm, at least to the layman, their common origin. There also seems little doubt about their common authorship or of the identification of 'An Irish Traveller' as John Synge.

Finally, in this context, attention is drawn to an error which appears in a footnote to Holland and Turner's translation of 'How Gertrude Teaches Her Children'. The editor, Ebenezer Cooke, writes: 'Ah. Irish gentleman, Mr. Mills.... visited Yverdon for two hours and stayed for three months in 1815. He wrote "A Biographical Sketch of the struggles of Pestalozzi to establish his System" by an Irish traveller, Dublin, 1815; and "A Sketch of Pestalozzi's Intuitive System of Calculation," Dublin, 1815. He introduced the "Tables of the Relations of Numbers" into Model Schools, Dublin, and so influenced the teaching in Irish schools.' (1) The attribution of these works to 'Mr. Mills' may have resulted from mistranslation of the original source of this information, unless Synge travelled under that pseudonym, which seems very unlikely. The fact that the Irish Traveller intended staying at Yverdon only two hours appears to have been originally recorded in a German work on Pestalozzi published in 1896. (2) Silber quotes this reference for her categorical statement that Synge 'meant to spend two hours there and, instead, he stayed for three months'. (3)

Cooke's reference to 'Model Schools, Dublin' may explain the origin of the error. In 1820 a 'Mr. Lewis Mills' was appointed as the first permanent inspector of the Kildare Place Society, which had model schools in Dublin. (4) Mills would have been concerned with the introduction of Pestalozzian methods into Dublin Model schools and he may be the person to whom Cooke attributes Synge's endeavours.

IV. JOHN SYNGE AND PESTALOZZIAN IDEAS IN IRELAND

1. DE VESCI AND ORPEN

Though significant as an original and enterprising venture, Synge's application of the Pestalozzian system was in the nature of a small and limited experiment; his school was virtually unknown and its isolation did little to encourage visitors. The extent of Synge's influence was determined not so much by his example as by his writing and by the efforts of his associates to apply the system he advocated; Synge's major contribution was in the dissemination, rather than the practice, of Pestalozzian methods. Foremost among those in Ireland who followed his lead were two friends and associates, Lord de Vesci and C.E.H. Orpen.

John, second Viscount de Vesci of Abbeyleix (1771-1855) lived at Abbeyleix, a small country town in Queen's County (now County Leix). A prominent member of the Protestant ascendancy, a wealthy landowner and Lord Lieutenant of his county, he appears to have been a man of humanitarian principles with a genuine concern for the betterment of social conditions. During the second decade of the nineteenth century, he established a society for the 'suppression of mendicity' in Ireland, a project on which he was advised by the English humanitarian, William Allen. (1) His educational endeavours were originally inspired by his friend John Synge at Roundwood, some fifty miles away.

A year or so after his return from Yverdon Synge persuaded de Vesci to establish a Pestalozzian school at Abbeyleix. Unlike the Roundwood school, the Abbeyleix school

was not originally intended as a school for poor children; as Synge pointed out in the preface to 'A Biographical Sketch', 'the elementary course (was) intended by Pestalozzi for all ranks of society'.(1) Lord de Vesci appears to have been advised on the establishment and operation of the school by Synge and later by Orpen. It seems probable that initial arrangements were supervised by Synge, who may have taught for a while at the school.

The success of the Abbeyleix school was described by Synge in a letter to Pestalozzi in 1818, 'Our school at Abbeyleix for the sons of gentlemen, supported by the zeal of Lord de Vesci, is successful beyond our liveliest hopes'.(2) De Vesci appears to have sent his own children to the school as Orpen refers to the school which de Vesci had established 'for his own children and other well-off pupils'.(3) Pestalozzian schools for the children of the middle and upper classes were, in later decades, not as uncommon as might be imagined; Mayo's school at Cheam, for example, was not a school for poor children. As Pestalozzi is primarily associated with the education of poor children, the fact that the bulk of his educational endeavours concerned middle-class children is often overlooked.

There is a suggestion that Lord de Vesci himself visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon as he appears to have known Schmidt. While Orpen was at Yverdon in 1818, de Vesci wrote to Schmidt, 'I impatiently await the arrival of Dr. Orpen to know what is happening with you because everything that appertains to you is very close to my heart'.(4) If de Vesci had been at Yverdon he must have been there later than Synge as Schmidt did not return until Easter, 1815.

2. Letter J.S./Pest., 1818.
4. Letter from Lord de Vesci to Schmidt (written in French), Abbeyleix, 19th Feb., 1818; MS. Pestalozzi, 912/87, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.
Orpen, writing to Pestalozzi in 1818, referred to 'public curiosity' about the Abbeyleix school, where 'we try to follow your methods as far as we can and know how'.(1) The school began with fifteen pupils(2), but a large undertaking evidently developed. In several letters the Abbeyleix 'institute' and 'Lord de Vesci's schools' are referred to. A Mr. Lager appears to have been in charge of the institute, 'a man of spirit and of learning'.(3) Schmidt was asked by de Vesci to recommend a teacher of French; he evidently recommended ex-pupil of Pestalozzi, M. du Puget, as writing to Pestalozzi five months after the request Orpen said, 'M. du Puget has arrived and is working with Lager in Lord de Vesci's schools'.(4) M. du Puget later published a Pestalozzian text-book in Ireland, in which he described himself as 'late a student and teacher at his (Pestalozzi's) institute at Yverdon in Switzerland and at present a master in the establishment at Abbeyleix in Ireland'. The book, 'Intuitive Mental Arithmetic, Theoretical and Practical, on the principles of Pestalozzi', was dedicated to 'Lord Viscount de Vesci'. The work was published in Dublin but no more than a copy of the title-leaf is available and its contents and date of publication are unknown.

The curriculum at Abbeyleix appears to have been of a much more advanced nature than that at Roundwood, and several specialist teachers were engaged. A second handwritten copy of Schmidt's unpublished work on algebra has been traced; several of the chapters are missing but an appended note indicates that they were 'Sent to Abbeyleix'.(5)

2. Letter, de Vesci/Schmidt, 1818.
3. ibid.,
5. Synge, MS., T.C.D. Archives.
The work is of an advanced nature and includes exercises on logarithms. The methods of teaching arithmetic at Abbeyleix appear to have aroused much favourable comment and in 1821 the Pestalozzian method of teaching arithmetic 'which has for some time been practised in the Abbeyleix village school, under the supervision of Lord de Vesci' was recommended for adoption by the Kildare Place Society for its model school in Dublin.\(^1\)

The 'Village School' referred to was a national school and not de Vesci's more exclusive institute.

In 1820 Orpen wrote that 'The Institute at Abbeyleix ....is attracting daily more and more public attention'\(^2\) and in 1823, 'The Abbeyleix Institute goes well'.\(^3\) Beyond this no further details of the Pestalozzian school(s) at Abbeyleix can be established. The educational endeavours of the second viscount have been forgotten by the de Vesci family and no records concerning them appear to exist. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century a school existed, in a gate lodge of the Abbeyleix estate, for infant children of employees. The 'Blue Gate School', as it was known, is remembered by one resident of the area who suggests that its 'happy atmosphere of "handling things" and "doing things" may be due to Pestalozzian influence'.\(^4\)

Lord de Vesci took a keen interest in the publication of Pestalozzian works in English and urged Pestalozzi, in vain, to publish an address on the religious aspects of his system, which would refute many allegations against him.\(^5\) The school at Abbeyleix was often referred to in letters to Pestalozzi from Charles Mayo of Cheam, as well as those of Synge and Orpen; he is also known to have given large subscriptions to Pestalozzi's poor school in Switzerland.\(^6\)

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While Lord de Vesci supervised the application of Pestalozzian principles largely to the education of a privileged class, Orpen applied them in the education of the under-privileged and physically handicapped. His mission was directed towards children of the poor, and in particular towards those whose social wretchedness was exacerbated by deafness and dumbness.

Charles Edward Herbert Orpen (1791-1856) was the youngest son of a Protestant clergyman. Like John Synge, he was a man of strong religious convictions and his work for education reflects a humanitarianism firmly grounded in the Christian faith. Though in later life a clergyman, his first vocation was medicine.

A native of Cork, he was apprenticed at sixteen to a doctor in that city. The medical profession was one 'for which his benevolence, intelligence and gentleness particularly fitted him, and to which he probably gave preference next to that of children'. (1) The doctor to whom Orpen was apprenticed was not a member of the Dublin College of Surgeons, a fact which was not discovered until five years later when Orpen found that his apprenticeship did not conform with the necessary regulations. In order to qualify he left Cork in 1812 and eventually obtained his M.D. at Edinburgh; his medical studies were completed in London and Dublin.

While convalescing from an attack of typhus fever in Dublin, Orpen gave lessons to a deaf and dumb child. At the time he had no special interest in such a task but the experience led to his establishing in 1816 an institute in Dublin for the care and education of similarly handicapped children. (2)

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(2) See later chapter, The Claremont Institute.
Realizing his limitations as a layman in a highly specialized field, he set off in 1817 on an extensive tour of continental schools for the education of deaf and dumb children.(1) Much of the time was spent at the Paris Institute for Education of Deaf and Dumb, where the Abbe Sicard taught his celebrated pupil Massieu, but he also visited the Abbe Goudelia at the Bordeaux Institute and the Abbate Carlo de Bonis's deaf and dumb school at Milan. In 1818 he visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon, where he spent three months studying the system.

It is not clear whether Orpen visited Pestalozzi on the recommendation of his friend John Synge, though this appears very likely. Writing to Pestalozzi in 1816 Synge said, 'I hope to go there (Yverdon) in June with a friend who has a very interesting mind. He has grasped your system entirely and assists me greatly in my work'.(2) The proposed journey was never undertaken, though the person referred to may have been Orpen who went to Yverdon the following year. Alternatively, the phrase 'helps me greatly in my work' suggests a Mr. Scott ('a true friend of Education....he will be able to tell you what we are doing here') for whom Synge wrote a letter of introduction to Pestalozzi.(3) In a letter of 1818, however, Synge mentions Orpen by name, 'I am delighted that you had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Orpen because I am sure you will find in him someone capable of appreciating your feelings about your great object'.(4) Orpen's letters to Pestalozzi show that he was closely associated with Synge in the dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas and it seems highly probable that his interest in the system was initiated by Synge.

1. See Mrs. Le Fanu, op.cit.
2. Letter J.S./Pest.1816.
3. Letter J.S./Pest.,1817.
4. Letter J.S./Pest.,1818.
Like Synge, Orpen was deeply impressed by Pestalozzi, with whom he established a life-long friendship. 'I need not assure you further', he wrote to Pestalozzi on his return from Yverdon, 'that I love you with all my heart and am interested in all that concerns you.... I shall never forget what I have learned from you and the great pleasure that I have enjoyed in your society'.(1) Some years later Orpen wrote of the pleasure and privilege of 'having lived with Pestalozzi in intimate society and unreserved intercourse' and of having enjoyed the friendship of one like him, 'one more truly great and humble, good and noble as a man and a Christian, never fell under my immediate observation'.(2)

Of particular interest to Orpen was Conrad Naef's deaf and dumb school which was associated with the institute at Yverdon. Little is known of this school and de Guimps records only that it was founded in 1811 by Naef, whose son continued his work; it was 'an establishment which always enjoyed a thoroughly deserved reputation'.(3) Orpen evidently met Naef, to whom he sent regards in one of his letters to Pestalozzi.(4) but the extent to which Naef advised Orpen on the adoption of Pestalozzian methods to the education of deaf and dumb children cannot be established.

At the time of Orpen's visit, control of the institute was largely in the hands of Schmidt. Although the autocratic ways of this impulsive and irascible man had made him a very unpopular figure, Orpen held him in high regard, 'Tell Schmidt again of my love for him and that I shall never forget his friendship', he wrote to Pestalozzi, 'Tell him also that the eyes of all those who have loved your cause will always be on the man whom you will choose to continue your good works'.(4)

2. Cited by Mrs. Le Fanu, op.cit.,p.46.
Orpen was very favourably disposed towards the system itself and he noted how it was suited to the experience and observation of the children. He was particularly impressed by the way in which control was exercised without coercion through the medium of the affections, "The affectionate brotherhood in which the pupils lived, prevented the wish, so much akin to envy, that they should surpass each other". (1) His approbation of the way in which 'all desired that all should excell' was reflected in the spirit Orpen strove to instil in his own school. He recognised, in the congenial and co-operative atmosphere of Yverdon, an ethos even more essential in the education of handicapped children, while the system itself was 'in many respects similar to the method adopted in the instruction of the deaf and dumb'. (2)

On leaving Yverdon Orpen's intentions were twofold, firstly to adapt the Pestalozzian system to the needs and instruction of deaf and dumb children, and secondly to gain British support for Pestalozzi and his work. These efforts and their results are discussed in later chapters. They cover the years 1818-1838, during which Orpen also continued his work in social medicine and actively campaigned for such causes as the anti-slavery laws and teaching through the medium of Irish.

In 1838 Orpen, then at Birkenhead, opened a Pestalozzian school at Woodside for 'sons of the higher ranks of society'. He was associated in this venture with M. du Puget, who had previously taught at Abbeyleix and Yverdon. The venture was not a success. "The task of overseeing a number of unruly boys by one.... who could scarcely believe in the possibility

2. Ibid.
of deceit, was soon found to be hopeless'. (1) Orpen then turned his full attention to medicine and founded a lying-in hospital in Birkenhead.

The final endeavours of Orpen's life were neither educational nor exclusively medical. Late in life he was ordained and in 1848 left Ireland for South Africa where he became a missionary. The energy and zeal which characterized his educational endeavours was then directed towards the extension of Christianity and the alleviation of primitive social conditions in a remote area of South Africa known as 'the wilderness'. In 1855 ill-health forced him to resign and he died the following year at Port Elizabeth.

2. THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE

The first attempt in Britain to apply the principles of Pestalozzi to the education of handicapped children was at the Claremont Institute, a Dublin school for deaf and dumb children founded by Charles Orpen. At the time of its inception (1819) few organised attempts had been made to educate deaf and dumb children in England and none had been made in Ireland. It is not known how many deaf and dumb children existed in Ireland at this time but so many applications were received by the Claremont Institute that Orpen was forced to draw up strict rules of eligibility. (2) The 1851 census recorded the existence of 4,747 deaf mutes in Ireland, 4,270 of whom were of sound mind. (3) This distinction reflects some awareness of the educability of deaf and dumb children, a view not prevalent

1. Mrs. Le Fanu, op.cit., p.201.
2. 5th Report of National Institute for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor in Ireland, List of ineligible applicants, p.61; Dublin, 1821.
in earlier times when they were regarded as mentally retarded and often subject to ill-treatment and neglect. The stigma attached to the handicap brought disgrace to the family; in France the mere support of such children was all that was considered necessary and in some countries they were destroyed at the age of three. Dr. Johnson described the education of deaf and dumb children as nothing more than a 'great philosophical curiosity'. In his educational work Orpen sought to allay such ill-informed prejudice, a task that required tremendous patience and personal sacrifice.

As a newly-qualified doctor in England Orpen had little interest in this affliction and while on a tour of medical institutions he had neglected to visit the deaf and dumb school at Birmingham, operated by a Dr. de Lys, to whom he had been given a letter of introduction, 'So ignorant was I as to the wretched state of the deaf-mute when uneducated, and the important and intelligent nature of their instruction that I took so little interest about them as not to visit the school'.(1) His interest in the education of deaf and dumb children and the determination to set up a deaf and dumb institution stem from his fortuitous attempt to educate such a child during a period of convalescence in Dublin, 'but for the accidental leisure caused by illness, I should probably never have executed this project, or perhaps have never thought of it again'.(2)

In 1816 Orpen began a series of public lectures in Dublin, designed to draw attention to the wretched state of deaf and dumb children and to the possibilities of educating them. His lectures to medical practitioners at the Rotunda Hospital were sympathetically received and professional support was

1. Quoted by Mrs. LeFanu, op.cit., p.8.
2. Ibid.
forthcoming. At most of his lectures Orpen was accompanied by a deaf and dumb boy whom he was seeking to educate. The boy had been chosen by Orpen at the Bedford Asylum for Orphans, specifically to demonstrate that a deaf and dumb child was educable. He had selected this particular child 'because he appeared to him the most neglected' and had 'succeeded in teaching him to pronounce any letter, syllable, word or sentence in any language written in English characters, and to know a pretty large number of nouns and adjectives, and a few verbs, and some of the common particles'.(1) The boy could also 'reckon to any amount, write a pretty good hand, perform the first three simple rules of arithmetic, construct some sentences, and answer a few simple questions'.(2) If another source can be relied upon, this remarkable progress was achieved within the space of three months.(3) The boy's name was Thomas Collins and in subsequent years he became acquainted with the Pestalozzian system not only as a pupil at Claremont, but also as a printer employed by John Synge at Glanmore.

The story of Thomas Collins's life, though not without pathos, is full of charm and fascination; it has all the elements of a moral tale for children and is in some ways reminiscent of a Dickens novel. Though handicapped and neglected, Thomas Collins was an intelligent child, and his response to Orpen's care and teaching was most gratifying, 'never yet were love and gratitude more strongly exemplified than in this poor boy'.(4) His nature was generous and without guile; he accepted his misfortune with remarkable courage and took a sincere interest in the care and education of children similarly handicapped. Orpen's care was repaid with 'unbounded

1. Article, The First Pupil at the Claremont Deaf and Dumb Institution, Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, No.352, Sept. 28th 1850, p.207; author is not given but in all probability it was Mrs. Le Fanu.
2. Ibid.
love and almost religious devotion'. (1) His educational progress is witnessed by his letters and essays, many of which appear in the Reports of the National Institute for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children. (2)

Thomas Collins became a monitor at the Claremont Institute and identified himself completely with its activities. In 1821 he wrote to George IV, then on a visit to Dublin, requesting a subscription for the work of the institute. 'We want a new schoolroom, and we want to have more deaf and dumb boys and girls at Claremont but we have not money enough to buy clothes and food for them'. The letter was, perhaps like Collins at that age, delightfully ingenuous; he began 'My Dear George,' and at one point asked the king how many brothers and sisters he had. He described the work of the Claremont Institute in touching detail, and there is some indication of the subjects taken, 'Do you know grammar, geography, Bible, arithmetic, astronomy and dictionary? I knew them very little'. (3)

As a result of the letter, £10. was received by the institute from George IV and it was used not for a new schoolroom but to apprentice Thomas Collins to Goodwin, a Dublin printer, in 1821 and 1822. As an apprentice he printed the first volume of Orpen's lectures (4) and was possibly concerned with the printing of a second edition of Synge's 'Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 1'. In the early 1830's he went to Glanmore where he was employed by Synge as a printer; he presumably stayed here until Synge's death in 1845. Nothing is known of him later than this. The successful education of

1. Ibid.
2. e.g. N.I.E.E.D., 3rd Report, 1819.
3. See Appendix for full reproduction of Thomas Collins's letter.
Thomas Collins was significant as a demonstration not only of the educability of a deaf and dumb child, but also of the adaptability of the Pestalozzian system to such education.

With the help of Thomas Collins, Orpen's lectures in 1816 evoked much sympathy and support; subscriptions mounted rapidly and in that year he established the National Institute for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor in Ireland. He set up a small school for the education of eight deaf and dumb children and the initial difficulties he experienced led to his above-mentioned tour of continental schools for the education of deaf and dumb children. On his return from Yverdon in 1818 Orpen sought to acquire permanent premises for a deaf and dumb school where he could apply, among others, Pestalozzian methods. His plans were put before the National Institute of which he was founder and secretary, and subscriptions were raised for the purchase of permanent school premises. In 1819, Claremont, a mansion at Glasnevin, Dublin was purchased, together with nineteen acres of meadow and garden.

The success of the 'Claremont Institute', as it came to be known, is reflected in the annual reports of the National Institute of which it was a major part. In 1821 there were forty-one resident pupils (1) and by 1840 the number had nearly trebled. (2) An auxiliary society for raising funds and recommending pupils was established at Cork in 1819 (3) and another at Belfast in 1821. (4) By the early 1850's, one hundred and eighty seven auxiliary societies were in existence (5), including one in the Isle of Man. (6) By this time a juvenile

2. Ibid., 24th Report, 1840, p.12.
3. Ibid., 3rd Report, 1819, p.5.
4. Ibid., 5th Report, 1821, p.41.
5. Ibid., 35th Report, 1851, pp.36-39.
6. Ibid., 24th Report, 1840, p.35.
association had also been formed.\(^1\) The patrons of the Institute formed an impressive list and included the Earl of Whitworth (Patron), Lord de Vesci (vice-patron) and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.\(^2\) John Synge was a life-member and a member of the committee, though for some obscure reason he made no donations or subscriptions after 1821.\(^3\) Orpen was the first teacher at Claremont and by 1840 the staff included a superintendant and six assistant teachers.\(^4\)

Unfortunately the extent to which Pestalozzian methods were used at Claremont cannot be ascertained. The annual reports of the National Institute give no details of teaching methods used at Claremont and no copy of a book by Orpen. 'Pestalozzi's System of Domestic Education' (four parts, Dublin, 1829) is available. Mrs. le Fanu records that Orpen's observations of Pestalozzi's system 'were of incalculable service' to him.\(^5\), but she does not specify how they were used, apart from saying 'With respect to punishments and rewards, the admirable principles of Pestalozzi were adopted'.\(^6\) Orpen's own major works\(^7\) are a lucid expression of the problems facing a teacher of the deaf and dumb and contain very detailed accounts of the methods he advocated. The basic problem of teaching the deaf and dumb, that of communication in physically abnormal conditions, is a predominant factor in all the accounts and it is emphasized to the exclusion of any Pestalozzian ideas which may have been contained within the methods. Orpen may well have applied very general principles

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1. Ibid., 24th Report, 1840, p.35.
2. Ibid., 3rd Report, 1819, p.4.
3. Ibid., Reports 1822-1845.
4. Ibid., 24th Report, 1840, p.17.
5. Mrs. le Fanu, op.cit., p.62.
6. Ibid.,
7. Orpen, C.E.H. Anecdotes of the Deaf and Dumb, Dublin, 1827; The Contrast between Atheism, Paganism and Christianity, or The Uneducated Deaf and Dumb, as Heathens, compared with those, who have been instructed in Language and Revelation, and taught by the Holy Spirit, as Christians, Dublin, 1827.
of Pestalozzian Method such as gradation and intuition but preoccupation with problems of communication precluded such highly specific factors as the development of a curriculum based on the elementary course recommended by Pestalozzi.

The major Pestalozzian influence at Claremont appears to have been an intangible factor which could be appreciated only through experience of it, an attitude rather than a categorical approach capable of factual description. At Claremont the atmosphere rather than the method, was Pestalozzian and Pestalozzian ideals were reflected not so much in 'natural' methods of learning as in providing the affection, sympathy and understanding which characterized Pestalozzi's ideal of the home. Whereas the practical expression of Pestalozzian ideas can be seen in the work of John Synge, the very spirit of Pestalozzianism is epitomised in the work of Charles Orpen.

3. THE KILDARE PLACE SOCIETY

In adapting Pestalozzian ideas to the education of deaf and dumb children, Orpen worked in a highly specialized field far removed from that of the education of normal children. The threads of Pestalozzian influence were so closely woven into the fabric of his overall system that to some extent they lost their identity. The Claremont Institute thus had little impact upon educational thought concerning the education of normal children in Ireland. As a committee member of the Kildare Place Society, however, Orpen was able to recommend the application of Pestalozzian methods in Irish elementary schools. Mrs. le Fanu claimed that Orpen saw the Pestalozzian system 'introduced in no long time into almost
every infant school in his native country'(1). This seems an overstatement but the system was, in some degree at least, introduced into many of the fifteen hundred schools supported by the Kildare Place Society.

The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland was founded in 1811 and its better known designation, the Kildare Place Society, is derived from its location in Dublin. Although essentially a Protestant society, its aim was 'to afford the same advantages for Education to all classes of professing Christians without interfering with the peculiar religious opinions of any'.(2) The means of achieving this aim was the 'establishment of Schools wherein the Poor might be instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic upon a cheap and expeditious plan.... and in which the Scriptures without note or comment should be used to the exclusion of all catechisms and books of religious controversy'.(3)

The Kildare Place Society was the largest and most powerful of its kind in Ireland and the scale of its operations is indicated by its support of some fifteen hundred schools. In 1815 the society received its first Parliamentary grant of £6,980 and in little more than a decade it was in receipt of annual grants amounting to nearly £30,000.(4) To some extent the society was superseded by the Board of National Education (1831) but for many years afterwards it continued to make extensive provision for elementary education of the poor. The Church of Ireland Training College(Kildare Place) traces its origin to the society, which undertook teacher-training from its inception. It is not appropriate

1. Mrs. Le Fanu, op.cit., p.48.
2. S.P.E.P.I., First Report, p.4; Dublin, 1813.
3. Ibid.
here to include a detailed account of the Kildare Place Society or to discuss the religious controversies in which it became involved. (1) Some idea of the significance of the society can be gained from a brief summary of its achievements: 'The Kildare Place Society stimulated the foundation of schools in every part of Ireland by supplying the necessary plans and contributing liberally towards the expenses of building and equipment....they were publishers on a large scale....they organised and carried out a careful system of inspection, which kept them accurately informed as to the work done in some fifteen hundred schools'. (2) In addition to these the society established model schools for the training of teachers on a large scale.

The work of the Kildare Place Society as a major influence on the development of elementary education in Ireland is well-known but the part it played in establishing Pestalozzian methods in elementary schools is another 'unwritten chapter'. At a time when elementary schools in England were struggling with the mechanical and inadequate systems of Bell and Lancaster, Pestalozzian ideas, particularly in the teaching of arithmetic, were being applied in Irish elementary schools. Much of the credit for the introduction of Pestalozzian ideas into British elementary schools has been attributed to Greaves and Mayo who were at Yverdon from 1818 to 1822 and 1819 to 1822 respectively. Before Mayo's departure from Yverdon, if not before that of Greaves, the committee of the Kildare Place Society had accepted Orpen's recommendation of the Pestalozzian system. While Greaves and Mayo were studying the system at Yverdon, it was being used by student-teachers

2. Ibid., p.xvii.
at the Kildare Place Model school, and by the time they returned to England, Pestalozzian arithmetic was being taught in at least some of the Society's elementary schools. The Kildare Place Society made the first organised attempt in Britain to introduce Pestalozzian ideas into elementary schools on a national scale, an undertaking which can be traced directly to the work of Synge and Orpen. The early acceptance of continental ideas by the society indicates not only its independence but its awareness of the inadequacies of rival systems being introduced into English elementary schools at the time.

The adoption of Pestalozzian ideas by the society is an interesting reflection of the superiority of such ideas to those of Bell and Lancaster. Joseph Lancaster was present at the inaugural meeting of the Kildare Place Society in December 1811 and although the society declined to bear Lancaster's name, his plan of education was accepted. In April 1812, Lancaster wrote to the society, forwarding copies of his Directions for Fitting Schoolrooms and Directions for Forming Societies. These were published by the society the following year. In July 1812 the right to publish all Lancaster's educational works was purchased for a hundred and five guineas. At this time Lancaster was held in high regard by the society; certain committee members suggested that he should be presented with a carriage and pair. The same year, on the request of the society, Lancaster recommended that a protege of his should be appointed by the society 'He is not only fitted to

1. Letter from Turner and Clapham to Magrath, 27th May, 1812; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C33.
2. Letter from Lancaster to Bewley, 9th November, 1812; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C46.
3. Letter from Bewley to Lancaster, 5th Jan. 1813; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C54.
organise schools, but to train schoolmasters....you will have in him a practical Joseph Lancaster, who will carry on the work in glory'.(1) The young man, John Veevers, was appointed a month later at a salary of £200 p.a.(2) and for many years he served the society with great success.

It will be realized from the above that in its early days the Kildare Place Society was favourably disposed towards Lancaster and his system. Had it remained so, and had it become associated with the British and Foreign Schools Society, the society would not have been free to adopt Pestalozzian ideas as early as it did. The early correspondence of the society shows the rapidity with which Lancaster fell from favour. Correspondence between Bewley and William Allen expresses doubts about the value of Lancaster's work (1); Lancaster's debts and financial irresponsibility are discussed(2); his dishonesty and extravagance are deprecated.(3) The situation was exacerbated when it was discovered that for two years the British and Foreign School Society had been supplementing Veever's salary and had listed the Kildare Place Society as one of their branches. In a letter to Joseph Fox, secretary of the British and Foreign School Society, this presumption is strongly deprecated, 'our society is mentioned amongst several provincial institutions in England as emanating from your Society, and in a subsequent paragraph it is intimated that we derive some support from your funds...the slightest connection with any party, either religious or political...would be fatal to the grand object of the Society...the Committee have therefore professed and

1. Letter from Bewley to Allen, 14th Sept. 1812; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C43.
2. Letter from Allen to Bewley, 24th Sept. 1812; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C44.
3. Letter from Allen to Bewley, 18th Oct. 1813; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C69.
observed the strictest neutrality on these points'. (1)

Independence of the British Society was further threatened when the Duke of Kent, a prospective Patron, expressed the view that 'the British and Foreign School Society must be considered as the parent institution of every other establishment which practises the same system'. (2) The point was not conceded by the Kildare Place Society who insisted that the 'cause of education in Ireland would greatly suffer...by the appearance of being identified with any institution supposed to have been connected with or to have adopted the opinions of either Dr. Bell or Mr. Lancaster'. (3) The crux of the matter was religious rather than educational, a point stressed by the society earlier, 'the ideas of attachment to the Established Church on the one hand, and of opposition to it on the other, are associated in the public mind (however unjustly) with the names of Bell and Lancaster'. (4)

Although in this context, the primary aim of the society was religious neutrality, a significant feature of its independence was that it was not obliged to follow any one educational system. The Lancasterian system was thus not used by the society to the degree that Lancaster and the British Society would have wished. The system of education advocated by the Kildare Place Society was demonstrated in its first model school, 'where lads might be trained to act as Schoolmasters, and be sent from thence to superintend Schools in different parts of Ireland'. (5)

1. Letter from Jackson (Secretary) to J. Fox, 12th Dec.1814; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1.
2. Letter from Duke of Kent to Jackson, 2nd March, 1815; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C98.
3. Letter from Jackson to Duke of Kent, 16th March, 1815; K.P.S. Archives, Box 1, C102.
4. Letter from Jackson to Fox, 12th Dec. 1814, Box 1.
5. S.P.E.P.I., 1st Report, p.6; 1813.
The system was to some extent Lancasterian but it was also intended to follow to a very great degree the system which has been progressively improving for some years past and is now acted on with such success at the School in School Street'. (1) The school referred to was the West Dublin Model School, founded by the School Street Institution in 1786 and superseded by the Kildare Place Society. The system there included a monitorial method evolved independently of Bell and Lancaster, together with provision for 'the reading of the Bible without note or comment'. (2)

In 1814 the School Street system was compared with the Lancasterian system, as introduced by Veevers, with a view to combining 'whatever is valuable in either'. (3) As Jackson pointed out to the British and Foreign School Society, it was not a case of applying the Lancasterian system in toto but of 'whether and what part of it shall be engrafted on the system... acted upon at School Street'. (4) At no time did the society envisage the exclusion of any system by another, slavish adherence to the Lancasterian system, or extension of monitorial methods. The autonomy of the Kildare Place Society allowed a much more flexible approach to educational method than was found in the English societies; the committee of the society could thus say, without fear of reactionary opposition, that it was 'anxious to adopt... every species of improvement, and therefore willing to give a candid trial to every system of instruction which held out a fair promise of ultimate advance'. (5)

1. Ibid., p.7.  
2. Ibid.  
3. Ibid., 2nd Report, p.19; 1814  
4. Letter from Jackson to Fox, 12th Dec. 1814.  
5. S.P.E.P.I., 9th Report, p.28; 1821.
Thus in 1818, when Orpen recommended the use of Pestalozzian methods in the model school and in the elementary schools of the society, his suggestion was sympathetically received.

The first indication of Orpen's connection with the Kildare Place Society is in the Report of 1815, in which he is listed as a subscriber.(1) A letter of 1816 conveys a request by Orpen for use of the Society's premises for a meeting of the N.I.E.D.D.(2) and in the Report of 1818 Orpen is listed as a member of the society's committee.(3) In that year, soon after his return from Yverdon, he drew the attention of the society to the works of Pestalozzi and to his educational system. It is not clear whether the recommendation was taken up immediately but by 1821 the committee had introduced into the model school 'at first by way of experiment, the System of teaching Arithmetic according to Pestalozzi, which has been for some time practised in the Abbeyleix Village School, under the supervision of Lord de Vesci'.(4) (Lord de Vesci was a vice-president of the society)(5). The committee expressed 'great pleasure in being able to state that the results produced by this mode of teaching Arithmetic...proved extremely encouraging'(6) As a consequence the system was introduced 'more generally into the School' and the wish was expressed that the public should visit the school in order to 'satisfy themselves of the advantage of commencing the teaching of Arithmetic to young persons according to this system'.(7)

2. Letter from Orpen to Jackson, 11th June, 1816; K.P.S. Archives Box 1, C123
3. S.P.E.P.I. 6th Report, p.6; 1818
5. S.P.E.P.I., 3rd Report, p.2; 1815.
7. Ibid.
The merits of Pestalozzian methods of teaching arithmetic are reflected in a reconstruction by Kingsmill Moore of the training of a teacher (Sheridan) at the Model School. Sheridan is first introduced to his future companions (nearly fifty in all), the majority of whom 'are busy working out problems of school management, or mastering the mysteries of Pestalozzi's system of arithmetic'.(1) He later finds that 'the Model School arithmetic is a revelation as to the ways of teaching the subject'; the Pestalozzian system 'especially in its relation to mental arithmetic, fills him with astonished admiration'; the 'toil and trouble with which he had slowly acquired the power of doing compound fractions' is in marked contrast to the ease with which classes taught by Pestalozzian methods could 'work them out in their heads'.(2) On becoming more familiar with the method Sheridan attains 'the clearest insight into the principles of arithmetic and the best ways of presenting them'.(3)

After 1821 Pestalozzian methods of teaching arithmetic were introduced into the elementary schools of the society by teachers trained at the model schools and by inspectors of the society. An undated draft list of publications of the society includes the item 'Pestalozzi's Tables'(4) and 'Pestalozzi's Tables (three): 3d per sheet' appears regularly on printed lists of publications available to schools.(5) Pestalozzi's elementary course in number and the course in forms was used in the schools; it is not known whether the course in language was ever used. The success of the system, and the extent to which it was used, is indicated by the reports of the society and of its inspectors.

The 1826 report of the society quotes the observat-

2. Ibid., p.194.
3. Ibid.
5. Printed list of K.P.S. Publications; K.P.S. Archives, Box 10, LP50
ions of the Commissioners of Educational Inquiry (1825): 'The system of instruction, is an union of whatever has... appeared...most worthy of adoption in the several systems of Bell, Lancaster and Pestalozzi; the proficiency which is obtained in the arithmetical system of the latter, by many of the elder boys and several of the candidate masters, is very remarkable'.

(1) Earlier inspectors did not make specific comment on the progress of Pestalozzian methods but the reports of later inspectors, Purdon and Flemyng in particular, show that the Pestalozzian method of teaching arithmetic was well established by 1840. The society's school in the Parish of St. Anne's, Dublin was inspected by Purdon in 1839. '120 boys were distributed into six different classes or Drafts of Pestalozzi....21 were in the highest draft, and manifested much clearness in solving some rather complicated combinations'.

(2) Referring to the male model school, Purdon reports 'The instruction in Pestalozzi's Arithmetic is of a very superior and finished description ....there are seven drafts of boys who learn it in the school....(they) evinced both clearness of perception and readiness of expression in explaining the varied relations of numbers from their simpler to their more varied combinations'.

(3) Purdon makes no mention of Pestalozzian arithmetic in his reports on the female model school but he continues to report favourably on the method in his annual reports on the male model school. In 1844, 241 boys were learning Pestalozzian arithmetic, 'they exhibited no common degree of intelligence in the clear conception and ready enunciation

of the combination of numbers, whole and fractional'\textsuperscript{(1)}; the system 'furnishes a very intelligent development of mental exercise and accuracy of thought' he wrote in 1845, 'I have nowhere met it carried out to the extent it is here'.\textsuperscript{(2)}

Purdon's successor, Flemyng, was similarly impressed by the results of 'Pestalozzi's admirable system' in the society's schools. In 1847, 144 pupils were learning Pestalozzian arithmetic in the model school\textsuperscript{(3)} and by the following year the number had increased to 270, 'they seem thoroughly to understand its application'.\textsuperscript{(4)} His report on the teaching of writing includes reference to 'Pestalozzi's drawing and printing...they seem to enjoy their drawing lessons very much'.\textsuperscript{(5)} In his inspection of the model school in 1849, Flemyng examined 174 boys in 'Pestalozzi's drawing from dictation' and 182 boys in 'Pestalozzi's arithmetic'.\textsuperscript{(6)} Pestalozzian drawing methods were also applied to 'mechanics and ornamental designs'.\textsuperscript{(7)}

The reports of the Kildare Place Society include no reference to John Synge, though his brother Edward is listed as a subscriber in the report of 1833.\textsuperscript{(8)} John Synge was closely associated with Orpen in the dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas and when the society first adopted the system, the only Pestalozzian text-books available in English appear to have been those by Synge. The Pestalozzian course in arithmetic and drawing advocated by the Kildare Place Society are very similar to those developed by Synge at Roundwood and it seems very probable that Synge was associated, in some degree, with the application of Pestalozzian methods.

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] S.P.E.P.I. Report, 1844, p.7.
\item[3.] S.P.E.P.I. Report, 1847, p.10.
\item[4.] S.P.E.P.I. Report, 1848, p.8.
\item[5.] S.P.E.P.I. Report, 1848, p.8.
\item[6.] S.P.E.P.I. Report, 1849, p.10.
\item[7.] Ibid.
\item[8.] S.P.E.P.I. Report, 1833, p.18.
\end{itemize}
by the Kildare Place Society.

More factual evidence of this is contained in an engraved proof-sheet of animal figures found among a large amount of uncatalogued source-material in a neglected basement at Kildare Place. The figures include the 'beehive' device used by Synge in his book on the School of Industry at Hofwyl and in his 'Lessons on the Bead Table'. The device is of such an unusual nature that a common source appears very probable. Further searching at Kildare Place produced several copies of Synge's books, and 'Pestalozzi's Second Table of the Relation of Forms' (designed for use in conjunction with Synge's book on Forms). The books included parts two and three of Synge's 'Relations of Numbers', and his 'Relation and Description of Forms', all printed at Roundwood. Eight copies were found of a second edition of Synge's 'Relations of Numbers' (Part One), printed by Goodwin in Dublin in 1825. This second edition was probably produced as a result of the demand by schools associated with the Kildare Place Society.

In the absence of further evidence the contribution of Pestalozzian ideas to elementary education in Ireland cannot be quantitatively assessed. It is evident, however, that in the case of arithmetic and drawing at least, Pestalozzian methods were in common use in Irish elementary schools much earlier than was the case in English elementary schools. Successive inspectors of the Kildare Place Society spoke highly of the results of this development and in 1863 Sullivan, an inspector of Irish Schools, wrote that 'the germ of all the ameliorations he introduced into the primary instruction of his country was to be found in Pestalozzi's works'.

1. Papers on Popular Education, Dublin, 1863; quoted in Compayre, op cit., p.109. These papers cannot be traced.
John Synge's endeavours are primarily reflections, and to some extent a fusion, of the ideas of two men who had very little in common but whose thought profoundly influenced him. Synge found educational inspiration in Pestalozzi, while his spiritual and religious life was inspired by John Nelson Darby, a founder of the religious sect which bore his name before it became more widely known as the Plymouth Brethren movement. Although the Darbyite movement exerted a dominant influence upon Synge for the last twenty years of his life, it did not do so to the exclusion of his interest in Pestalozzian ideas. His was a Pestalozzianism 'leavened by evangelical truth'(1) and as such typified the English Pestalozzian Movement as a whole. In order to appreciate the extent to which Synge's interpretation of Pestalozzian ideas was influenced by his religious convictions, it first seems necessary to consider briefly the religious movement with which he so closely identified himself, a movement which began in the third decade of the nineteenth century.

The years from 1825 to 1835 were among the most influential of the last century. The growth of more liberal thought in politics is reflected in the Reform Bill of 1832, while in religious matters it is partly expressed in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1827. However, more liberal thought, accompanied by a spread of latitudinarianism, was not altogether welcome within the Established Church, where increased secularism led to bitter controversy.

1. This phrase originally referred to Pestalozzian principles adopted by the training college of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society (1836); see Frank Smith, op.cit., p.130.
The Established Church at this time was in a poor position to alleviate the ferment and dissatisfaction which existed within it. Although the evangelism of the Wesleys and Whitefield no longer constituted such a threat to the Church's membership, the evangelical movement had taken the cream of its spiritual life. In addition to this, unlike the evangelical movement, the Established Church had failed to prevent the development of sacerdotalism and obscurantism. These factors, allied to secularisation and Erastianism, led to protests within the Church which found organised expression in the Oxford and the Plymouth Brethren movements. Though these two movements have been described as antithetical, 'the chief cause of both movements was very much the same, however diverse the two forms which it produced'.

The protest of the Plymouth Brethren appears to have been the most thorough, 'including as it did as marked a protest against secularisation and sacerdotalism as against Erastianism'.

It has been claimed that the Plymouth Brethren movement resulted from the almost simultaneous recognition of certain principles of Church communion and worship by a large number of small and quite independent religious groups within the Established Church. Such a claim discounts the significance of individual initiative and while such small meetings did take place between 1825 and 1832, only three appear to have had sufficient permanence and power of propagation to figure in the later history of the Brethren Movement. These were in Dublin, Plymouth and Bristol. The movement began in Dublin and developments in Plymouth and Bristol were those of later affiliations; 'Dublin must therefore be regarded as the

2. Ibid., p.46.
place whence proceeded the great impulse without which Brethrenism as a definite ecclesiastical system, would, for anything we can see, never have been'.

The individual initiative which led to the formation of the movement was that of John Nelson Darby, a Church of Ireland clergyman. The name 'Plymouth Brethren' dates only from 1831 and the establishment of a strong congregation by Darby at Plymouth; between its inception in 1827 and 1831, the sect adopted the name of their unquestioned leader and were known as 'Darbyites'.

Darby, the son of a wealthy Anglo-Irish family, graduated at Trinity College, Dublin in 1819, at the age of eighteen. Though called to the Irish bar, he abandoned the legal profession in favour of the Church; he was ordained deacon in 1825 and priest in 1826. His curacy was in Wicklow and this probably accounts for his early association with John Synge, who was living at that time in Roundwood. Darby's fiery evangelism, together with his violent criticism of Erastianism, brought strong disapproval from his own church, the Church of Ireland, but the power of his preaching and the force of his personality converted many to the beliefs which were to form the basis of Brethrenism. Though in the Established Church, he was not of it; he preached in the Established Church, but more often outside it.

F.W. Newman, brother of Cardinal Newman, described him as 'an indefatigable curate in the mountains of Wicklow. Every evening he sallied forth to teach in the cabins, and roving far and wide over mountain and amid bogs, was seldom home before midnight.'

3. Quoted by Neatby, op.cit., p.46.
Darby was eccentric and ascetic, but he was also a man of learning and nobility. The Brethren first 'broke bread together' in Dublin in 1827 and like Darby himself most of the pioneer members, such as A.N. Groves and J.G. Bellett, were clergymen and graduates of Trinity College. Neatby comments that that university was 'as much the academic parent of Plymouth Brethrenism, as Oxford of the Evangelical revival a hundred years earlier'.(1) Members of the Irish aristocracy who feature prominently in the early history of the movement include John Vesey Parnell (Lord Congleton) and Lady Powerscourt, a neighbour and friend of John Synge. John Synge's conversion to Brethrenism, though primarily the result of Darby's influence, appears to have been consolidated through his associations with Powerscourt where Darbyite meetings were held regularly for at least a decade after 1827.(2) Brooke, an Irish clergyman, recalls attending such meetings at Powerscourt, and mentions that they were often continued 'at Mr. Synge's, an earnest and religious man, and a ripe scholar, at his beautiful residence, Glanmore Castle'.(2) A later source refers to a Brethren meeting at Powerscourt in 1838, at which 'Mr. John Synge was in the chair' and at which Darby was present.(3) R.M. Tims, the Dublin printer and publisher who was associated with Synge in the publication of several Pestalozzian works, was a pioneer member of the Darbyites(4), while the name of another, Francis Hutchinson, suggests a relation of John Synge.

It is not intended to discuss Darbyite doctrine in detail but as a powerful influence on Synge's life and endeavours, a brief summary of Darbyism or Brethrenism seems necessary. The movement arose within the Established Church and its initial aim was not so much conversion to Christianity as gaining adherents from among Church members. It seems very unlikely that the protest against secularisation, sacerdotalism and Erastianism was envisaged as one which would constitute a revolt from the fellowship of the Church and lead to existence as an independent sect. The motives of pioneer members such as John Synge appear to have constituted no more than a sincere desire for a more religious Church, with simple and informal forms of worship. However, as Darbyite views developed, they became unacceptable to the majority of church members; the movement was forced to form outside the church and eventually became anti-church.

The original aim of the Brethren was 'a spiritual communion based on New Testament principles', which led to repudiation of an organised ministry and intense opposition to the connection between Church and State. No ordained or specially-educated clergy exist within the movement and all may administer the sacrament and preach. The spiritual nature of the Church is stressed and creeds abhorred; the attitude to the Bible is one of fundamentalism and emphasis upon the literal truth of prophecy. The early dichotomy of the movement into 'Open and 'Exclusive' Brethren, two apparently irreconcilable parties, makes an accurate statement of Brethren belief difficult, but great stress is laid on 'sound' doctrine. Acceptable doctrine is Calvinistic in outlook and certain practices of the Brethren are regarded as Puritan. The most distinctive feature of Brethrenism is perhaps 'separatedness', the separation of the Christian from a
morally corrupt world, not in body, as in monasticism, but only in spirit.

For over a century, the Brethren movement has been disfigured by internal dissension and cleavage, though the bitter doctrinal quarrels, unchecked individualism and spiritual censoriousness which plagued the Brethren Movement in later years do not appear to have existed in its very early days. When John Synge became a Darbyite in 1827, he joined a group of evangelical Low Churchmen in a sincere and justified protest against formalism and unmeaning ceremony. Though strict and perhaps somewhat narrow in its outlook, the Darbyite movement appears to have been a more brotherly sect than the Plymouth Brethren movement which originated from it.

John Synge appears to have embraced Darbyism with the same fervent zeal with which he had accepted Pestalozzian ideas some years previously. The strength of his convictions is indicated by his decision, in 1827, to leave Ireland for Teignmouth, near Plymouth, where he lived for five years in a religious community which owed its existence to Darbyism.

2. TEIGNMOUTH

During the ten years beginning in 1827, the Darbyite movement spread rapidly, 'its evangelical fire, fanned by the spirit, swept over the dry and arid fields of the Church of that day'.(1) In England, the movement was largely centred on the West Country. 'At Plymouth and Teignmouth, and in various other places, similar societies had arisen'.(2) Groves, whose influence possibly equalled that of Darby himself, lived at Plymouth and Exeter, a fact which probably accounts

for the early development of Darbyism in Somerset.

Very little is known of the early Brethren communities and their history during the first five years of the Movement is obscure. No records are available of the early Brethren community at Teignmouth but what slender evidence exists suggests that developments there were earlier and initially more significant than those at Plymouth. A little is known of Teignmouth after 1830, when the pastorate of a church in that town was accepted by George Muller, who was to feature prominently in the subsequent history of Brethrenism. Muller, a Prussian training for missionary work in London, was profoundly influenced by a religious pamphlet by Groves; as a result he went to work in a Teignmouth church which had strong Darbyite associations. Here Muller developed religious and doctrinal principles which came to be regarded as distinctive of the Brethren. The existence of a 'pastorate' and the fact that Muller received a stipend of £55 a year(1) suggests that the Movement at Teignmouth had not by that date repudiated an organised ministry and was possibly centred on an established church.

Muller shared the leadership of the Teignmouth congregation with Henry Craig, a convert of Groves who had previously employed him as a tutor to his children at Exeter. Muller and Craig left Teignmouth in 1832 and their joint ministry was continued in Bristol. Teulon implies that many of the Teignmouth congregation accompanied them.(2) Teignmouth did not feature in the history of Brethrenism again until 1837, when Lord Congleton, a pioneer member of the Dublin congregation, went to live there.(3) The history of the movement in the 1840's is concerned largely with strife and doctrinal controversy at Plymouth and Bristol, and the

1. Neatby, W.B., op.cit., p.54.
2. Teulon, J.S., op.cit., p.17.
Teignmouth Brethren appear to have become a community of only minor significance. It thus appears that the significant years of Brethrenism at Teignmouth were those from 1827 to 1832 and the brevity of this period, together with the apparent absence of serious dissension, accounts for the absence of detailed references to Teignmouth in histories of the Brethren movement.

It is interesting to note that John Synge's residence at Teignmouth coincided exactly with its period of significance, though his departure in 1832 was occasioned not by the removal of Muller and Craig to Bristol, but by his inheritance of the Glanmore Estate. In 1827, Synge left Roundwood and with his family took up residence at Buckeridge, a house near Teignmouth. He joined one of the earliest Darbyite communities in England, a religious community which had almost certainly been established by Groves, a pioneer member of the Dublin group. Groves practised dentistry at Exeter until his decision in 1825 to become an ordained missionary. Although he was a student of Trinity College, Dublin between 1825 and 1827, his presence in Dublin was required only for term examinations. He appears to have lived at Exeter until 1830 when he undertook a prolonged missionary tour of the Middle East and India. Whether Synge became the leader of the Teignmouth congregation before Muller took over the pastorate in 1830 is not clear, but he was undoubtedly a prominent member of the group and its development probably owed much to the efforts of Synge and Groves. It seems unlikely that having decided to join the Teignmouth Darbyites, a man of Synge's ability and influence would have spent five years in a religious community to which he did not make a major contribution.

The active adoption of an evangelistic cause by a gentleman of property and social prestige was not as anomalous as it may initially appear; Synge's evangelistic efforts were
in no way a negation of either his social position or his wealth. The Darbyite Movement contained a strong aristocratic infusion and it has been remarked 'how refining an influence association with the Darbyites exercised upon people of an uncultured class'.

This description, though reminiscent of Martha More's statement that a day in her presence brought the Mendip 'wretches' forward at least ten years in civilization, does not necessarily imply patronage; however, some patronage must have existed in a movement where the acceptance of spiritual equality did not always necessitate material equality. Many Darbyites practised material asceticism - carpets, for example, were regarded with particular disfavour, but there were also many exceptions. While at Teignmouth, Synge continued to conduct his business affairs, he employed a governess and servants, and kept at least one carriage. His association with the Darbyite community at Teignmouth did not necessarily constitute a severance of his connections with either the Established Church or the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland; he appears to have lived among the Brethren before active repudiation of the Established Church and dogmatic exclusivism became such real and distinctive features of the movement. In Ireland he was no doubt considered radical in his religious and ecclesiastical views but he appears to have retained the respect of both the clergy and the ascendancy.

Nothing is known of Synge's evangelistic activities at Teignmouth; no records are available and enquiries have proved fruitless. Synge's continued residence at Teignmouth implies an active part within the Darbyite community but beyond this nothing can be established. Some evidence, however, exists.
of Synge's continued interest in the dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas during the Teignmouth period.

In 1830 Synge visited Mayo at the Cheam School. In a letter from Cheam to his governess at Buckeridge, Synge refers only briefly to Mayo, "he seems however much pleased with the measure of blessing the Lord grants to his labours," and the purpose of the visit is not clear. As Pestalozzianism was the major interest which Synge and Mayo had in common it seems reasonable to conclude that the visit had some educational significance. More substantial evidence of a sustained interest in Pestalozzian ideas is found in the printing of several schoolcharts during Synge's period at Teignmouth. The 'Tables of Money and Measures', 'Tables of Weights and Measures' and a series of reading lessons based on Biblical texts, all bear the words 'BARNETT, Printer, Teignmouth'. Synge took his printing-press to Teignmouth and the type-fount used for the Teignmouth charts is almost certainly that used later by Thomas Collins at Glanmore.

Synge's 'Lessons on the BEAD TABLE or Arithmometer' was written at Teignmouth and printed there (printer unknown) in 1828. This work was the first of a series entitled 'The Infant School Teacher's Assistant on Pestalozzian Principles' and was stocked by booksellers in Teignmouth, London and Dublin. No details of the contents of this work can be established as only the cover is available; the spine-section of this paper-cover indicates that it once contained a volume about one quarter of an inch thick. On the end-cover may be seem the 'beehive' device which has already been mentioned in connection with Bull's printing at Roundwood and which was also found on a proof-sheet at the Kildare Place Society. It is not known whether this Pestalozzian series was completed but the production
of a volume evidently intended for general use by infant schoolteachers indicates Synge's sustained interest in elementary education on Pestalozzian principles.

Synge's major educational work at Teignmouth was the production of a large volume on the teaching of Hebrew according to Pestalozzian principles. Printed by Barnett and published in London in 1831, the 'Hebrew Language' was the most elaborate and ambitious of Synge's published works. It was produced in folio and octavo size and retailed by several booksellers in London and Dublin at twenty-five shillings. The comparatively large number of copies still in existence suggests a circulation greater than that of Synge's other works; the names in several of the existing copies indicate its popularity among clergymen. Synge's 'Hebrew Language' is of particular interest not only as an original and ingenious application of Pestalozzian ideas to an entirely new subject, but also as a reconciliation of Pestalozzian methods and Darbyite aims.

Darbyism contained an intensely Biblical element on which its spiritual, ecclesiastical and social life was founded. Conversational Bible readings appear to have been the principal recreation of Darbyites and an intimate knowledge of the Bible as a living and infallible book was the very essence of their belief. A thorough grounding in the Scriptures was of prime necessity in the education of Darbyite children; study of the vernacular Bible was essential and a study of the text in the original Hebrew desirable.

Like Pestalozzi, the Darbyites cherished family life and emphasized the duties of parents in the education of their children.

children. Published under the pseudonym 'Parens', Synge's 'Hebrew Language' was designed specifically for use by parents and originated in the convictions of a Parent that if a dead language be the proper material for training the early years of the human intellect, Hebrew ought undoubtedly to be the first dead language presented to the mind of a Christian child'.(1) Synge's purpose in publishing the volume is stated categorically on the front-piece, 'Intended to enable Parents and Teachers who consider the original word of God the most suitable object of early instruction, to acquire it themselves in the act of teaching.(2)

Three significant points emerge from Synge's preface to his 'Hebrew Language': the desirability of a knowledge of Hebrew to a Christian; the value of Pestalozzian Methods in acquiring such knowledge; the effective reconciliation of Synge's convictions as a disciple of both Darby and Pestalozzi. Synge regarded Hebrew as well-suited to the education of a Christian child as 'the sacred books of the Old Testament written in that language are....most peculiarly suited to feed and nourish the young mind in all that is holy, just and good'.(3) He criticized the teaching of Latin and Greek literature on the grounds that it would fill children's minds with 'notions of impurity, violence and evil', and expressed his dismay that 'the writings of Homer, of Pindar and of Horace, should engross our attention, and monopolize our praise, while those of Moses, of David and of Isaiah pass totally unregarded'.(4) The task of compiling a Hebrew text-book was undoubtedly laborious but Synge sought the compensation of

1. Ibid., preface.
2. Ibid., frontispiece.
3. Ibid., preface.
4. Ibid.
leading even one Christian Parent to share the gratification which the writer has enjoyed, during the hours devoted to the study of the Hebrew Bible with his own children'. (1)

Synge regarded it his 'duty as a Christian Parent' to teach his children Hebrew but immediately recognised the difficulties involved, 'of Hebrew he himself knew little more than the Alphabet'. (2) The lack of a 'verbatim English translation' of the Scriptures added further difficulties and he recorded his 'melancholy reflection' that while translations of classical literature had 'afforded the worldly parent every aid for the instruction of his child in the corrupt and corrupting courses of heathen literature', the path of sacred literature had not been rendered equally easy. (3)

Synge's problem of instruction was eventually solved by recourse to 'the valuable principles of the benevolent Pestalozzi'. Synge remembered teachers at Yverdon who had succeeded in teaching subjects with which they were not at first well-acquainted, and he 'resolved to proceed by candidly stating with one who was a pre-eminentely successful teacher in Pestalozzi's institution, "Now children you have come to the end of my knowledge on this subject, but we will proceed to study it together"'. (4)

For the teaching of Hebrew Synge recommended the process for teaching a language according to Pestalozzi, which he summarized thus:

'First, to develop (or lead the pupil to discover the existence of) the rule or principle to be acquired, from an example or fact exhibiting it.
Secondly, to express the rule so discovered in a good form of words, with due attention to precision, brevity

1. Ibid.,
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid.,
4. Ibid.,
'and elegance, and then commit it to memory.
Thirdly, to lead the pupil to search for as many
examples as can conveniently be brought before his
attention, whereby he becomes familiar with its use
and has fixed upon his mind'.(1)

The 'Hebrew Language' contains three main
sections: A Teacher's Assistant for Developing the Elements
of Hebrew; A Short Hebrew Grammar; The Hebrew Roots, Arranged
in Twenty-four Tables. Without a detailed knowledge of
Hebrew, it is not possible to make a valid assessment of the
work, but the following points have been made by a Hebrew
scholar,

1) It is a unique approach to the teaching of Hebrew
2) Synge's knowledge of Hebrew must have been greater
   than that implied by his modest claim in the preface;
   the use of several colloquial idioms in the text
   suggest tutelage by a Hebrew-speaking Jew. (This
   view is supported by the existence of proofs of part
   of a Hebrew Bible which Synge printed, or began
   printing, at Roundwood a decade or so earlier.)(2)
3) The book is not sufficient, in itself, to facilitate
   an elementary grasp of the Hebrew language. The
carefully graded exercises and ingenious tables are
very useful but a fair knowledge of Hebrew would be
needed to exploit them as a basis of instruction. It
is doubtful whether parents and teachers with no
initial knowledge of Hebrew could, using only the book,
teach children to read the Scriptures in the original.

1. Ibid.
2. Proof sheets of Hebrew Bible, Roundwood, 1817 (Mss.Room,T.C.D.)
The book represents an admirable attempt to apply sound educational methods to the teaching of Hebrew but is of limited value in the hands of a layman as Hebrew is not a subject which lends itself to assimilation by the instructor in the mere course of teaching it.

The above points suggest that as a text-book Synge's 'Hebrew Language' is of little more than historical significance and that its educational value was supplemental rather than primary. However, Synge's 'Hebrew Grammar' was favourably reviewed in 1833 by The Quarterly Journal of Education(1) and its comparative merit at that time appears to have been sound. In a lengthy review which quoted Synge's preface at length, the writer commented favourably on the sources used by Synge in compiling his 'Hebrew Language', and approved of the use of Pestalozzian methods. Synge's name appeared on none of his books and the review is of particular significance in that it categorically identifies 'Parens' with Synge, 'Mr. Synge does not intend in this excellent elementary work....' (2)

Synge's 'Hebrew Language' was of limited influence in popularising Pestalozzian ideas, but it constituted the recommendation of Pestalozzian principles by a devout Christian, and herein may lie its primary importance. At a time when Pestalozzianism was widely condemned in England as a negation of the place of religion in education, its acceptance by a religious sect which was particularly resistant to secular influences seems significant.

Synge does not appear to have envisaged a return to Ireland except as master of the Glanmore estate. The family's Roundwood home was closed down and possibly sold soon after

2. Ibid., p. 100.
Synge's removal to Teignmouth. 'Roundwood does indeed look very solitary now without any furniture', wrote Synge to his children while he was on a business visit to Dublin in 1828.

Synge lost his first wife, Isabella, in 1830 and his father died at Glanmore in the following year. As the elder son, he inherited the Glanmore estate and early in 1832, with his seven children, he left Buckeridge for Glanmore Castle. In that year, he married Frances, daughter of Sir Richard Steel, and in subsequent years the number of his children rose to fourteen.(2)

Between 1832 and his death in 1845, Synge remained a man of strong religious convictions: he maintained his association with Darbyism and became a prominent member of the group which met regularly for Biblical discussion at Powerscourt. Glanmore Castle appears to have become a meeting place for clergymen and divinity students, while Synge gained a repute as a scholar and theologian. His stay at Teignmouth, like the shorter period spent at Yverdon, was one which determined the direction of subsequent endeavours. What evidence exists of Synge's educational efforts after the Teignmouth period indicates increased emphasis upon the religious content of education and the use of Pestalozzian means for spiritual, rather than for purely social or educational ends.

3. PESTALOZZIANISM AND RELIGION

Doubts concerning religious aspects of Pestalozzian ideas were largely responsible for the slow progress of the

1. Letter from Synge to his children at Buckeridge; Dublin, 15th April, 1828.

movement in Britain, and for the violent opposition to Pestalozzian thought in many continental countries. At a time when religious conviction and spiritual salvation were widely regarded as the ultimate aims of education, the lack of emphasis on religious instruction in Pestalozzi's system was abhorred. Pestalozzi was accused of countenancing not merely atheistic, but even anti-Christian, doctrine; he was denounced as a hypocrite and charlatan(1), and his belief that 'l'homme est bon' often proved unacceptable even to those who recognised the educational merit of his system.

Pestalozzi's religion, like his educational method, was 'natural', a fusion of 'rational Christianity' and the philosophical deism of Rousseau. Though his ideas were unacceptable to conventional religious thinkers, they were undoubtedly those of a profoundly religious man who sought for spiritual truth with great earnestness; Pestalozzi had a pious mind and a fundamental belief in God. However, the religious controversy which surrounded him was centred not so much on whether he was a religious man, as on whether his religion was 'Christian'.

A German pamphlet published after Pestalozzi's death was entitled 'Was Pestalozzi a Christian?', a question which the author answered in the negative.(2) A vital factor to consider in answering this question is the connotation of the word 'Christian'. In terms of a current dictionary definition(3) of the word, Pestalozzi was a Christian; he believed in the religion of Christ and he was a man of genuine piety whose

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1. e.g. Biber, E., Notes for the biography of Henry Pestalozzi, and for the better understanding of his late work:Experiences of my Life.
2. No further details of this pamphlet can be established.
character was consistent with Christ's teaching. If a more explicit connotation is used, and a Christian is regarded as one who recognises in Christ a personal saviour who was the Son of God, the question cannot be answered as evidence is conflicting. Pestalozzi said, 'The mystery of the Trinity is not in the Bible - Jesus is simply the greatest of men'(1); he also said, 'Jesus Christ our Saviour came down from heaven and became man among us'.(2)

Much of the criticism of Pestalozzi's religion came from those in whose beliefs Pestalozzi saw a negation of the essential simplicity of the Christian faith. He protested strongly against their emphasis on the theological, rather than on the spiritual aspects of Christianity, 'Religion, which was the salvation of the quiet family circle, has in our days been robbed of all its spiritual character; it has become nothing better than an arrogant tendency to argue and dispute about Divine things, though there are not wanting signs of improvement'.(3)

The signs referred to originated in the religious revival which took place during Pestalozzi's later years at Yverdon. At first Pestalozzi welcomed the revival, in which he saw a more active and living faith and a return to Christian simplicity. 'The true spirit of Christ's teaching seems to be striking new and deep roots and the corruption of our race, and to be nourishing a pure inner life in thousands of souls', he commented early in 1818.(4) However, the revival lost favour with Pestalozzi when its teaching developed into a narrow

1. Compayre, G., op.cit., p.57; occasion unknown.
2. Pestalozzi's Christmas Day Address, 1811; quoted by De Guimps, op.cit., p.403.
repressive theology which denied the existence of free will, denied man any power of sanctification and refused to recognise in the child any element of virtue. Such doctrine was untenable to Pestalozzi and those who accepted it would not accept Pestalozzi as a Christian.

A reasonably objective statement of Pestalozzi's position, in relation to such doctrine, can be expected of Jayet, a revivalist pastor who had been a pupil at Yverdon and who had also sent his son there. 'There was certainly no lack of piety in Pestalozzi,' wrote Jayet, 'though certain important points of Christianity were not clear to him'.(1) Jayet recorded that Pestalozzi did not believe in original sin and that 'as a natural consequence, he ignored the fact of expiation and redemption by Christ's blood'.(2)

Pestalozzi's attitude to such doctrinal points was a source of great concern to John Synge, who as early as 1818 implored Pestalozzi to clarify his views on them. 'Some people whose services would be profitable to us,' wrote Synge to Pestalozzi, 'criticise your system saying that it is your principle that man's heart is good and not as the Holy Scriptures say that the heart of man is deceitful and desperately evil above all things. They also object that you make men think that they can attain Heaven by their own efforts....'(3) In his anxiety to refute the allegations against Pestalozzi, Synge appears to have anticipated a favourable reply, 'Declare yourself what I have already declared in your name, that you believe man is corrupt from birth.... that he can be saved by the blood of Jesus Christ.... and that you do not wish to

1. Letter from Jayet to De Guimps; quoted by De Guimps, op.cit., p.402.
2. Ibid.
cultivate the intellect except in accordance with these views'.

To some extent Synge also begged the question and he asked Pestalozzi to declare that when he spoke of 'the goodness of man' he was referring only to 'those traces of his Creator which he still retains and which one can see in the different faculties with which he is endowed'.

Pestalozzi replied to Synge almost immediately, 'Religion is the unshakable foundation of all education...we must correct the bad traits of our nature, and we find the means for that task in the truths of the Christian religion'.

Though Pestalozzi's reply was evidently intended to allay Synge's anxieties, he remained true to Rousseau and made no real concession to the doctrine of original sin.

Writing to Pestalozzi in 1818, Charles Orpen brought up the doctrine of redemption and his emphasis on it implied his hope that Pestalozzi would revise his views. 'We (Orpen and Synge) love you as a father,' wrote Orpen, 'as a friend in Christ who died for our sins...loving the same God, we are saved by the same Redeemer; our sins have been pardoned through the same mercy. We are justified before God by the same grace'.

In a letter of 1820, Orpen was more explicit and he asked Pestalozzi to publish 'a letter or an address on the religious aspect of your system'; 'this would have a great effect on English public opinion'.

In his preface to 'A Biographical Sketch', Synge sought to refute allegations against Pestalozzi by expressing his conviction 'that the Bible is, and ever has been, the guide

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Letter from Pestalozzi to Synge, Yverdon, Jan.1819; original lost but copy in Pestalozzi Bibliographic (August Israel), Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol.2; quoted by Silber, op.cit., p.292.
5. Letter, Orpen/Pest., Nov.1820.
of every thought of Pestalozzi: that when he talks of
ennobling the man, and awakening him to the knowledge of the
powers he possesses within himself, 'tis with the hope of
leading him on to use them to the glory of the Giver, and under
the full conviction that this is the surest way of humbling
the Christian'. (1) It is doubtful whether Synge was justified
in attributing this specific intention to Pestalozzi, and his
case was not strengthened by subsequent statements in which he
tried to establish the Christian origin of Pestalozzian method.
Synge claimed, for example, that Pestalozzi's 'studies of
Natural History were taken from observing that our Saviour does
not merely say to his Disciples, "behold," but "consider the
lilies of the field"'. (2)

De Guimps, faced with the same problem, resorted to
a similar argument but like that of Synge, it lacks conviction.
He compared Pestalozzi's 'educational doctrine' with the teaching of the Gospel, but confused natural development with
spiritual development. He pointed out that Jesus constantly
took 'vegetable life as a type of the moral and religious life
.... everywhere, in short, He explains the development of the
human heart by likening it to the organic development of the
plant'. (3) On the basis of this comparison, De Guimps equated
the 'philosophy of the Gospel' with that of Pestalozzi. (4)
Pestalozzi's use of natural analogies is in many ways similar
to that of Christ, but his comparison of educational and
natural organic development seems likely to have been derived
from Rousseau rather than from the New Testament.

Attempts to show that Pestalozzi's ideas were the
result of Christian, as opposed to religious, inspiration have
carried scant conviction, but there seems little doubt about

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Pestalozzi's fundamental belief in God. Nor was Pestalozzi's religion merely deistic for he recognised scriptural revelation, 'The whole Bible is nothing but a collection of revelations of God, calling men to rise above the vain service of the world to the Divine service of a holy faith in Him'. (1) Pestalozzi acknowledged divine guidance of his life and in auspicious events he recognised the 'hand of God', 'I have recognized the Eternal in myself. I have seen the way of the Lord, I have read the laws of the Almighty in the dust'. (2)

Though sympathetic towards humanism, Pestalozzi regarded religious faith as the source of the most desirable qualities in man. 'Faith in God is the origin of the feelings of fatherhood and brotherhood amongst men - the source of all righteousness'(3); denial or acceptance of this faith, Pestalozzi saw as the primary differential of mankind. 'Belief in God divides men into children of God and children of the world'. (4) Pestalozzi also regarded wisdom and justice as originating in religious faith, 'faith in God is the beginning of wisdom and blessedness'(5); 'the source of justice... comes from the great religious idea that we are God's children'. (6) Belief in this led Pestalozzi to advocate a system of state government based on religious principles, 'In this great religious principle lies the secret of all true statesmanship which aims at the people's happiness'(7); at the same time he deplored religion organised by the state, 'State-made religion is the handmaid of the circumstance which produced it'. (8).

1. Pestalozzi, Christmas Day Address, 1811; quoted by De Guimps, op.cit., p.403.
3. Pestalozzi, Evening Hours of a Hermit, Green's translation, op.cit., p.28.
5. Ibid., p.24.
6. Ibid., p.31.
7. Ibid.
8. Pestalozzi, Enquiries concerning the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race, Green's translation, op.cit.p.82.
'External religious organisation' he regarded merely as 'a state contrivance for equilibrating selfishness and altruism'.(1) Pestalozzi saw man's relationship with God as exemplified in the relationship between a mother and her child, and although he revered the home he conceded that 'Man's relationship with God is the nearest of all his relationships'.(2) The relationship between a mother and her child not only exemplifies the love of God, but leads both to a fuller realization of such love. Just as the child's concept of God develops from its experience of the mother's love, so 'the noblest mother believes in God with a purer and stronger faith through her child'.(3) Pestalozzi developed his theme of the revelation of God's love in nature and personal relationships. Pestalozzi was opposed not only to the formal teaching of religion but also to the catechetical methods employed, 'In all catechising the child is fettered, partly by the limits of the precise idea about which he is catechised, partly by the form in which he is catechised and....by the limits of the teacher's knowledge, and still more by the teacher's anxious care that he should not be drawn beyond the circle of his knowledge'.(4) In England, where the Bible and catechetical methods featured prominently in elementary education, Pestalozzi's attitude to religious instruction scandalized many Christians and did much to prevent widespread acceptance of his ideas. Orpen pointed out to Pestalozzi that 'England is full of Sunday Schools where rich young people give free instruction in the reading of the Holy Writ to the children of the poor', and suggested that some of Pestalozzi's pupils could be similarly occupied in Switzerland.(5) There is no evidence to suggest that this was ever done.

1. Ibid., p.78.
3. Pestalozzi, Views and experiences, Green's translation, op.cit.p.179
5. Letter, Orpen/Pest., March,1818.
While Pestalozzi did little to encourage scriptural teaching, he strongly deplored any teaching of a theological or doctrinal nature, 'I have said, fearlessly, that it is not opposed to God or religion to lead up to clear ideas, and endeavour to teach children to talk before we cram their memories with the affairs of positive theology and its never-to-be-settled disputes'.(1) Ramsauer, a pupil of Pestalozzi who became a fervent Pietist, though full of praise for Pestalozzi complained of 'never having been instructed in sound Christian doctrine, and especially in the doctrine of original sin'.(2) However, though Pestalozzi made no deliberate attempt to inculcate doctrinal principles he seems unconsciously to have prepared his pupils for the acceptance of Christian doctrine. Another ex-pupil, Jayet, said that without knowing it, Pestalozzi 'prepared many a soul for the discipline of the Gospel and God's methods of salvation'; he also noted the large number of pupils who later 'embraced the faith, for which they almost seemed to have been prepared'.(3)

Pestalozzi may not have been a Christian according to the narrow, doctrinal definition by which he was judged but he was a man whose love for both God and his neighbour is beyond question. Though at times he appears to have put love for his neighbour before his love for God, his Christian spirit was established by his ardent and universal charity. It was also established by the fact that many who followed him were themselves men of sound Christian conviction. A comparison of Pestalozzi's life with Christ's teaching in the sermon on the mount leaves little doubt of Pestalozzi's inclusion among the blessed and the salt of the earth.

2. De Guimps, op.cit., p.401
3. Letter from Jayet to De Guimps, quoted by De Guimps, op.cit., p.403.
The reconciliation of Pestalozzian and conventional Christian ideas posed a great problem for pioneers of Pestalozzian methods in Britain. The Home and Colonial School Society sought to introduce a Pestalozzianism 'leavened with evangelical truth', as did John Synge, particularly after his conversion to Darbyism. Synge's schoolcharts, most of which he produced after leaving Teignmouth, constitute an interesting fusion of Pestalozzian and religious ideas.

Synge's 'Reading Lessons of One Syllable' (Tales for Puss), all have a strong religious content. Christian virtue is their main theme and their religious teaching is typified by the following quotation: "'Do you then love God so much?' said Anne. 'Oh, yes; I love him with all my heart!' said Jane: 'it would be strange if I did not love God, who has done so much for me. First, my dear child, He sent Christ down to die for me - should I not love Him for that? - and should I not love Christ for all He has done to save me?'"(1) The 'Tales for Puss' also encourage the children to read the Bible, "'Whilst you are well, read this Book, for it is full of good things: it will teach you to love God and Christ.'"(2) Many of Synge's early reading lessons were based on Biblical texts and he produced annotated schoolcharts of parts of Genesis and some of the Epistles.(3)

The 'Tales for Puss' contain much pathos and sentiment, the tale is sacrificed for the moral, and in places they seem ill-designed to give great comfort to children who are told that they may die young but that they should find joy in 'thoughts of death'. (4) Darbyite fundamentalism and emphasis upon the 'wages of sin' are seen in many of the hymns included by Synge in his 'Hymns for Cottage Worship':

1. Schoolchart, Tales for Puss, The Sick Girl, XVI.
2. Ibid., XvII.
3. e.g. Schoolcharts, Genesis 1-7; Epistle to the Hebrews (24 sheets)
4. Schoolchart, Tales for Puss, The Sick Girl, XvII.
'There is a dreadful hell,  
And everlasting pains;  
There sinners must with devils dwell  
In darkness, fire and chains.'(1)

Some of the hymns are less sombre and suggest that the children were more natural than virtuous:

"But, children, you should never let  
Such angry passions rise;  
Your little hands were never made,  
To tear each other's eyes.'(2)

It is not clear whether Synge wrote these hymns himself but it is a strong possibility.

Synge's schoolcharts, 'The Three Kingdoms of Nature' are based on the recommendations of Pestalozzi in 'How Gertrude teaches her Children' but they contain much additional material of a religious nature. Synge points out that from a study of 'natural objects in general', we learn of 'the wisdom, the power, and the providential care of our Maker and Preserver.... We cannot look anywhere without finding something to admire, something to astonish and delight us, and something to make us sensible to the goodness and bounty of God'.(3) Under 'Natural Objects', Synge includes 'everything which lives and moves and has a being....by the direct and mysterious laws of God.'(4) Throughout this series of schoolcharts Synge emphasizes the love and creative power of God, 'The care which God takes of all his creatures, is singularly shown, in the modes in which the eggs of insects are preserved from cold or wet....no portion of the animal kingdom is filled with more beautiful instances of His care and protection (than the insect world)'.(5)

1. Hymns for Cottage Worship, Nunscross Press, circa 1835,  
   Hymn Xlll, p.11.  
2. Ibid., Hymn Xll, p.10.  
4. Ibid.  
5. Ibid., Xlv.
Before his conversion to Darbyism, Synge, though even then a deeply religious man, seems to have been concerned largely with Pestalozzian methods of teaching number and form. As a Darbyite he retained the framework of Pestalozzi's elementary system of education but introduced a strongly religious content. The Bible became increasingly important as a school-text and nature was regarded not so much as a source of childhood experience as a revelation of the creative love of God. The advocacy of Pestalozzian methods by a man of Synge's religious conviction was of value to the Pestalozzian movement in Britain, but in stressing the salvation, rather than the happiness of the child, the liberal spirit of Pestalozzian ideas may have been sacrificed to a narrow religious discipline.
Gentil [nom] et [nom]

Je te remercie de ton courrier si aimable et si touchant. J'ai aimé lire tes pensées sur la nature humaine et la liberté. C'est un sujet qui me touche profondément. Je suis convaincu que la philosophie et la littérature peuvent aider à éduquer les enfants et à les préparer à être des citoyens responsables.

Je te joins un petit livre que j'ai lu récemment, je pense qu'il pourrait t'intéresser. Il s'agit de [titre du livre] d'[auteur].

Je t'envoie également ma réflexion sur [sujet]. J'ai essayé de [développer la réflexion].

Je t'envoie mes amitiés les plus sincères et je te prie de recevoir mes salutations les plus respectueuses.

Je t'attends bientôt pour discuter de ces idées avec toi.

Avec toute ma considération,

[Signé]

[Signature]

[Date]
Pestalozzi's mission was to the poor and although his teaching was well adapted to conditions in England during the early nineteenth century, contemporaneous experiments in education owed little to Continental influence. Educational innovations largely ignored the ferment in educational thought produced by Rousseau and the practical possibilities of reform demonstrated by Pestalozzi; disregard of Continental ideas was characteristic and educational provision for children of the poor in England was characterized by grudging expediency rather than by an eager belief in social regeneration through universal education. Pestalozzi's passion for the children of the poor has been described as a purer flame than the condescending charity of eighteenth century England (1) and the vested denominational interests which dominated English education in the early nineteenth century produced an ethos which was ill-designed to reflect liberal and progressive thought in education.

Generally speaking, educational thought in Europe at the time was centred on one of two rival, and apparently irreconcilable, conceptions of education. The objective approach regarded education as primarily external, determined and imposed from without; the subjective approach engendered spontaneous self-development of the individual in accordance with the law of his own nature. Educational thought in England was dominated during the early nineteenth century by the former conception and the general climate of opinion was inconducive to the acceptance of the ideas of Rousseau

and Pestalozzi so closely associated with the latter conception. With few exceptions, English educationists were indifferent to continental ideas and such ideas permeated English education very slowly; though propagandists such as Greaves and Mayo established Pestalozzian schools and advocated Pestalozzian ideas, such ideas reached the elementary schools at second or third hand, by devious means and along forgotten paths.

The Pestalozzian movement in England never achieved the highly organised and integrated structure of the movement in America, nor was it ever identified with state policy and nationalism as it was in Prussia. The movement in England advanced on a narrow and scattered front; its strength was found not in popular acceptance but in the individual enthusiasm of a small number of pioneers whose endeavours constituted a tangible demonstration of the value of Pestalozzian principles. Such principles became an integral part of elementary education in later decades but in the process many lost their identity. The popular acceptance of Pestalozzian ideas, consolidated by Herbert Spencer's 'Education, Intellectual, Moral and Physical' (1861), which re-focused attention on Pestalozzianism, did not coincide with the movement which initiated it. As a distinctive entity, the English Pestalozzian movement lasted for about twenty years after 1820; subsequently Pestalozzian ideas were so absorbed into what loosely might be termed 'continental influences' that they were no longer distinctive.

The English Pestalozzian movement was largely carried through by James Pierrepoint Greaves and Dr. Charles Mayo. The contribution of Greaves and Mayo to the development of Pestalozzianism in England is a reasonably well-documented
field which has concerned several educational historians; a detailed reiteration of the facts they have established seems unnecessary and only a brief summary is intended here.

Greaves was a London merchant to whom the Napoleonic blockade of English trade had brought bankruptcy. At that time he had little interest in education; he existed on a meagre income allowed him by his creditors and lived the life of a recluse. In 1818(1), motivated by a developing interest in Pestalozzi and his educational system, Greaves left London for Yverdon, where he remained until 1822. He taught English at the institute and at Pestalozzi's training school for teachers at Clindy, nearby. One of Greaves's pupils at Clindy, C.F. Reiner, later taught mathematics at Mayo's Pestalozzian school in Cheam, before becoming tutor to Queen Victoria's eldest children.

At Clindy, Greaves taught Swiss boys, who he hoped would apply Pestalozzian ideas in English schools, and tried to bring English boys to Yverdon. On his return to England, he sought to disseminate Pestalozzian principles as secretary of the London Infant School Society. In 1837, he opened a Pestalozzian school at Ham, Surrey which, although it excited little interest in Britain, prompted Swiss educationists to introduce nursery education into Switzerland. Greaves's contribution to the development of infant schools was important but it has, perhaps, been overstated. De Guimps, for example, said that ideas gathered by Greaves at Clindy took root in England, 'and became the origin of infant schools'.(2) Pestalozzi's 'Letters on Early Education'(3), addressed to

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1. 1817 is invariably given as the year in which Greaves went to Yverdon, presumably as this is the date given by his biographer (Cambell,A., Letters and Extracts from the Ms.Writings of J.P.Greaves,Surrey,1843; Vol.1,p.viii). Subsequent, and what appears to be conclusive evidence to the contrary is discussed in the next chapter.


Greaves, were of vital significance in the dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas in England and although very free translation destroyed much of their authenticity they remain among the few English texts on Pestalozzian methods available. Greaves's contribution, significant as it was, was possibly more to educational thought than action; he was a propagandist rather than a teacher and his personality was not conducive to popular acceptance of the methods he advocated. Inspired by the seventeenth century Silesian mystic Jacob Bohme he developed a Utopian philosophy, the essence of which was the submission of social feelings to the Spirit, and upon which he attempted to found a community centre in Gloucestershire.

Whereas the contribution of Greaves was to some extent limited by his mysticism and unworldliness, the same is not true of Dr. Charles Mayo, with whom he is often associated. Mayo was a Protestant clergyman, a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford and headmaster of a grammar school at Bridgnorth, Shropshire. In 1819, his interest in Pestalozzianism led him to resign his post and, together with fifteen pupils, he left England for Yverdon. Here he became Chaplain of the 'colonie Britannique' and taught English, classics and divinity.

Mayo was a man who admired 'moral earnestness' and 'fixity of purpose' more than any other virtues(1) and, as a consequence he remained with Pestalozzi at Yverdon until 1822. On his return to England, he became both an advocate and an exponent of Pestalozzian ideas, upon which he lectured widely.

Several of his lectures, including his address to the Royal Institution in 1826, were later published. At Epsom he established a Pestalozzian school, which in 1826 moved to larger premises at Cheam and became the school most prominently associated with the Pestalozzian movement in England.

With his sister Elizabeth, Mayo forged what was probably the most direct link between educational thought in England and the ideas of Pestalozzi. Mayo's 'Observations on the Establishment and Direction of Infants' Schools' (1827) and 'Practical Remarks on Infant Education' (1837) did much to popularise Pestalozzian ideas, while Pestalozzian methods of teaching specific subjects were contained in 'Lessons on Number' (1831) and 'Lessons on Form' (1837), both by Mayo's assistant Reiner. Elizabeth Mayo was less discerning than her brother with regard to certain defects and inherent dangers of the Pestalozzian system and her 'Lessons on Objects' (1831) and 'Lessons on Shells' (1832) encouraged the formalism which they had been designed to replace. Her allegedly faithful example of the Pestalozzian method was often regarded as the complete system and in the hands of unimaginative teachers the object-lesson became a travesty characterized by arid verbalism.

Although the Pestalozzian spirit at Cheam did not outlive Mayo, it lived on in the schools of the Home and Infant Colonial School Society, which was established in 1836 for the specific demonstration of the application of Pestalozzian ideas to elementary education. The training college of the society was directed by Elizabeth Mayo and teachers trained

in Pestalozzian methods taught not only in England but in many countries overseas. The major phase of the Pestalozzian movement in America, the 'Oswego movement', for example, publicised methods first practised at the Home and Colonial Training college and by the 1850's 'English' Pestalozzianism was spreading rapidly.

Mayo's Pestalozzian school at Cheam was for children of the upper classes and the penetration of Pestalozzian ideas into schools for the education of poor children was in some ways a more significant feature of the movement in England. Among the earliest examples of Pestalozzian influence in England were several infant schools established after, and in some cases as a consequence of, Robert Owen's experiments in infant education at New Lanark. Owen visited Switzerland in 1818, but he was more impressed with Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl, which he felt was 'two or three steps in advance of most schools' than with Yverdon, which he regarded as 'only one step in advance'. (2) (He sent his two elder sons, therefore, to Hofwyl.) Such a comparison was not uncommon among British visitors who approved of Fellenberg's rigid separation of social classes, together with the greater degree of order, discipline and cleanliness they found at Hofwyl. The fact that the major educational principles at Hofwyl were those originated by Pestalozzi was sometimes overlooked.

Owen's infant school at New Lanark, part of his Institute for the Formation of Character, was established in 1816. Many features of the school reflect ideas similar to those of Pestalozzi: coercion was deplored and teachers strove for the respect and affection of their pupils; learning

2. Owen, R., Threading my Way; quoted by Frank Smith, op. cit., p. 92.
involved observation and conversation rather than books and formal instruction; natural objects and pictures were extensively used, while oral lessons in subjects such as geography and history were simple and well-illustrated. Many features of Owen's method, such as suiting material to the age and ability of the child, were Pestalozzian, but not exclusively so; though the spirit at New Lanark might be described as Pestalozzian, Owen appears to have been independent of Pestalozzi in the evolution of his ideas. Owen did not visit Yverdon until two years after he began his experiment in infant education and his interpreter had such difficulty with Pestalozzi's 'confused patois' that little conversation was possible. Owen's visit to Pestalozzi was very cursory and the brief reference to it in his autobiography suggests that he was not greatly impressed by what he saw. He was, however, impressed with Pestalozzi's 'goodness of heart' and 'benevolence of intention', also with Pestalozzi's methods of sense-training and mental arithmetic which he later introduced at New Lanark. Though the New Lanark experiment was of great significance in relation to the early development of infant schools, its major importance was possibly social rather than educational. The primary educational significance of Owen's school derived not so much from its demonstration of Pestalozzian methods as from its example of an educational scheme in which a spirit very similar to Pestalozzianism was successfully achieved.

Pestalozzian influence became more marked in subsequent infant schools which adopted the Methods of Owen and Pestalozzi. Samuel Wilderspin, whose infant school at Spitalfields was opened in 1820, practised a system of education similar in many ways to that of Pestalozzi, though he claimed
to have evolved the system before reading a single word on education by Pestalozzi or any other writer. This assertion was probably as authentic as Wilderspin's claim to have been the founder of infant schools, but many of his ideas, whatever their origin, were cognate with those of Pestalozzi. Wilderspin stressed the importance of kindness, patience and sympathy in teaching, he emphasized the physical and moral duty of the school and he appreciated the educational value of amusement, activity and change. His scheme reflected the spirit of Pestalozzianism but although his methods were based on observation and sense-impression, he confused education with instruction. Lessons intended as exercises in sense-experience (1) amounted to little more than mechanical exercises in memory and he does not appear to have grasped the real significance of Pestalozzi's 'Anschauung'. Nevertheless, Wilderspin's experiments at Spitalfields, together with his work as a propagandist for the Infant School Society (1824), indicate at least an attempt to apply Pestalozzian principles to the education of poor children.

John Woods and David Stow are linked inseparably with the development of infant education in Britain but while their ideas show considerable enlightenment, they appear to reflect little Pestalozzian influence. Their work was carried on in Scotland where, as Silber points out, there was no Pestalozzianism, 'the more democratic constitution of their Church and the great importance they attributed to learning had created a system of education that worked well enough at the beginning of the nineteenth century'. (2)

1. See Wilderspin, S., Infant Education; The Infant System, (1825)
Pestalozzian schools for the education of poor children were to be found in several larger cities in England but they appear to have been short-lived and little is known of them. Among these was G.W. Goyder's school at Meadow Street, Bristol (1) and G.J. Holyoake's school at the Hall of Science, Sheffield (2). Goyder's 'Manual of the System of Instruction' (1825) describes the methods he used at his infant school and he freely acknowledges the Pestalozzian source of his ideas. Arithmetic was taught according to Pestalozzi's method while in other subjects observation and activity were used extensively. It is not clear whether Goyder was associated with another Bristol schoolmaster, Lant Carpenter, whose 'Principles of Education' (1820) clearly indicates Pestalozzian influence.

It is interesting to note that the endeavours of both Holyoake and Goyder can be traced to Owenite influence. Holyoake was a prominent pioneer of the co-operative movement, while Goyder's interest in Pestalozzi developed as a result of advice given him by James Buchanan, who had taught with Owen at New Lanark. In his autobiography, Goyder records that Buchanan urged him to make himself acquainted with Pestalozzi's system in order that he might be eligible for the headship of a new infant school which was to be opened at Bristol. (3)

The infant school movement in England was closely related to the work of Robert Owen and Pestalozzi. In studying the extent to which infant education reflected ideas which they held in common, the social implication of such a fusion has perhaps been neglected. Just as interest in Pestalozzi is invariably focussed on Yverdon, which was not a school for

poor children, so interest in English Pestalozzianism tends to be centred on Mayo's exclusive school for upper-class children at Cheam. While the central figures of the English Pestalozzian movement do not appear to have recognised the full significance of Pestalozzi's conception of universal education as a means of social regeneration, this vital aspect of Pestalozzian thought may well have been appreciated by co-operative pioneers who established long-forgotten Pestalozzian schools in industrial cities.

In assessing the significance of the Pestalozzian movement in England, it must be admitted that while certain facets of Pestalozzian technique became standard practice in elementary schools, the general impact of Pestalozzianism was not great. Pestalozzian ideas were introduced at an unpropitious time; interest in popular education was pre-occupied with religious factors and many educational practitioners were preoccupied with establishing 'new systems' as their own. The English pioneers of Pestalozzian ideas had seen Yverdon only in its decline and they sought to popularise the system at a time when Pestalozzi himself was too old to exert any personal influence upon the acceptance of his ideas abroad. The inclination of the English Pestalozzians towards unorthodoxy further limited their impact and, as Silber points out, they 'belonged, spiritually and politically, to the minority... they were personally too gentle to exert a strong influence'.(1) The Pestalozzian movement in England was also hampered by lack of authentic material dealing with Pestalozzian principles and attempts to have Pestalozzi's works translated into English met with failure.

Continental influences were slow to penetrate educational practice in England and when the significance of continental ideas was realized, resort was made to the example of Fellenberg rather than to that of Pestalozzi. Credit is due to Kay-Shuttleworth for the widespread dissemination of certain Pestalozzian methods, especially in the teaching of arithmetic, but like Henry Brougham and Lady Noel Byron, Dr. Kay was more favourably inclined to the teachings of Fellenberg; as Kay-Shuttleworth did not study continental education at first hand until a decade after Pestalozzi’s death, this is perhaps understandable. Fellenberg’s system had a greater popular appeal in England than that of Pestalozzi, an idealist and philosopher whose educational system rested on theoretical foundations which many found bewildering. Fellenberg’s system was essentially practical; it was well-organised and efficient and as such appealed to English observers who also felt its emphasis on manual training well-suited to English needs at the time.

Preoccupation with practice rather than theory was possibly the greatest weakness of the English Pestalozzian movement. Like the majority of educational reformers of the time, the pioneers of Pestalozzian ideas directed their attention primarily to the machinery of instruction, and while many shared Pestalozzi’s zeal for reform, they failed to capture the spirit of his endeavours, ‘Pestalozzi, in fact, commonly stood for a reformed method of instruction rather than for a new educational ideal’. (1) This was particularly unfortunate as 'Pestalozzian method' was so easily and tangibly demonstrated that many were content with what was really little more than apparent success.

Pestalozzian method in England was formalised from the beginning; pedantic formalism was an inherent danger of the Pestalozzian system which became increasingly overt when it was applied without a true understanding of Pestalozzian principles. Pestalozzi was right in relating instruction to the child's experience and in regarding the child's developing life as the fundamental fact for the teacher. Pestalozzi originally assumed that as a consequence, the teacher's task was to analyse the complexity of objects and present the child with the simple elements of knowledge for synthesis. Towards the end of his life Pestalozzi expressed grave doubts concerning the validity of his assumption but his followers, conscious of no such doubts, extended the method to absolute and absurd limits. For over half a century, a type of Pestalozzian practice was an undisputed feature of English elementary schools, but it was Pestalozzian in name rather than nature. In a report of 1878, Arnold conceded that Pestalozzi's doctrine may have been excellent but added that apparent conformity of method to some general doctrine, apparently true, was no guarantee of its soundness; 'the result (of 'Pestalozzian' method) is that one sees a teacher holding up an apple to a gallery of little children and saying, "An apple has a stalk, peel, pulp, core, pips and juice; it is odorous and opaque, and is used for making a pleasant drink called cider"'.

Though the effect of the English Pestalozzian movement on classroom methods was in some ways unfortunate, the saving grace of the movement was its emphasis on the cardinal Pestalozzian principle of putting the child first. In pleading the cause of the child's happiness it paved the way for the 'child-centred' approach and for the reappraisal of Pestalozzianism which resulted

from the introduction of Froebelism and Herbert Spencer's refocussing of attention on the teachings of Pestalozzi. Spencer stressed the need to distinguish between 'the fundamental principles of the Pestalozzian system, and the set of expedients devised for its practice'. (1) In assessing the significance of the English Pestalozzian movement, one should perhaps also distinguish between the few whose concept of Pestalozzianism at least approached authenticity, and the many in whose hands 'Pestalozzian Method' became a travesty. While C.H. Mayo's statement (in 1882) that 'the principles of Pestalozzi are recognised and advocated by every educated schoolmaster in the country, and the spirit of his methods pervades many schools' (2) should be accepted with caution, there is undoubtedly more truth in his claim that 'while the name of Pestalozzi has nearly been forgotten, many if not most of his principles have insensibly been adopted and assimilated in the modern system of education'.

2. EARLY PESTALOZZIAN LITERATURE

The English Pestalozzian movement was influenced, and to some extent originated, by the efforts of John Synge and Charles Orpen. Influence was exerted indirectly through their writings and directly through their efforts to raise support in England for Pestalozzi and his ideas, and to persuade others to visit Yverdon as they had done. Synge's Pestalozzian writings were earlier and more extensive, though possibly less original, than those of Orpen and in seeking to assess Synge's

contribution to educational thought in England, the nature and extent of his contribution to English Pestalozzian literature must be established.

Paterson, in his work on the Edgeworths, points out that 'the years immediately following his (Pestalozzi's) death saw the rise of Pestalozzian literature in England which...is evidence of a considerable degree of interest in what Pestalozzi had to teach'.(1) Pestalozzi died in 1827 and although the better-known Pestalozzian works in English (i.e. those associated with Greaves and Mayo) were published later, several Pestalozzian works in English existed before this. There is no valid way of assessing the relative influence of these books, or of establishing the extent of their circulation, but some idea of Synge's contribution can be gained from the number of his books, dates of publication and the extent to which other writers either plagiarised Synge or resorted to sources previously used by him. The following, as far as can be ascertained, are the earliest Pestalozzian works in English:

1815  Synge  A Biographical Sketch of the Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System (Described as First Tract on Pestalozzi's Elementary System of Education; others unknown)

1815  Synge  A Sketch of Pestalozzi's Intuitive System of Calculations

1815  Hamilton  Hints addressed to Patrons and Directors of Schools

1817  Synge  Relation and Description of Forms according to the principles of Pestalozzi

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Synge</td>
<td>Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Synge</td>
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<td>Pullen</td>
<td>The Mother's Book</td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td>Synge</td>
<td>The Use of the Bean Table</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Pullen</td>
<td>The Mother's Book</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Hints to Mothers on the Cultivation of the Minds of Children in the spirit of Pestalozzi's Method.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Pullen</td>
<td>Hints to Parents; six pamphlets, titles unknown.</td>
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<td>1824</td>
<td>Pestalozzi</td>
<td>Leonard and Gertrude (Part I only); translation by Eliza Shepherd.</td>
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<td>1825</td>
<td>Synge</td>
<td>Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part I (second edition)</td>
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<td>1827</td>
<td>Pestalozzi</td>
<td>Letters on Early Education addressed to J.P. Greaves, Esq., by Pestalozzi.</td>
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<td>1828</td>
<td>Mayo</td>
<td>A Memoir of Pestalozzi (substance of 1826 lecture at Royal Institution)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Synge</td>
<td>Lessons on the Bean Table or Arithmometer (First of a series under general title The Infant School Teacher's Assistant in Pestalozzian Principles; others unknown)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Synge</td>
<td>Early Introduction to the Hebrew Language on the principles of Pestalozzi.</td>
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<td>1831</td>
<td>Mayo,E.</td>
<td>Lessons on objects.</td>
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<td>1831</td>
<td>Reiner</td>
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<td>1831</td>
<td>Biber</td>
<td>Henry Pestalozzi and his Plan of Education</td>
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<td>1832</td>
<td>Mayo,E.</td>
<td>Lessons on Shells</td>
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<td>1837</td>
<td>Mayo,C&amp;E.</td>
<td>Practical Remarks on Infant Education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Reiner</td>
<td>Lessons on Form.</td>
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As will be seen from the above (with the exception of Elizabeth Hamilton's 'Hints addressed to Patrons and Directors of Schools'), Synge's books were not only the first Pestalozzian texts in English, but for some five years they remained the only ones. The sub-title of Hamilton's book shows that it was 'Principally intended to show that the Benefits derived from the New Modes of Teaching may be increased by a Partial Adoption of the Plan of Pestalozzi'. (1) Miss Hamilton does not appear to have visited Yverdon and the impact of her book is not known.

No facts can be established concerning the circulation of Synge's books and it seems unlikely that those printed at Roundwood reached more than a small but discerning public. They were sold by several Dublin booksellers and, although copies reached England, it is not known whether they were on general sale there. Synge's 'A Biographical Sketch' and 'Pestalozzi's Intuitive System of Calculations' (both professionally published) had a much wider circulation, particularly in England, and, as Pollard points out, they are publications of considerable importance when estimating Britain's debt to continental educational thought and practice during the first half of the nineteenth century'. (2)

In the early 1820's, Synge's monopoly of English Pestalozzian literature was terminated by the appearance of


several books and pamphlets by Philip H. Pullen. Little is
known of Pullen, who was described by Orpen to Pestalozzi
as 'a headmaster who is very much concerned with your methods'.(1)
Part of the Advertisement in Pullen's first book reads,
'Mr. Pullen gives private Lessons to Ladies and Gentlemen on
Pestalozzi's plan in Mental Calculations, Geometry, Geography,
Drawing, English Grammar, Counting etc., etc.'(2) Pullen
does not appear to have visited Yverdon and it seems probable
that an interest in Pestalozzian methods as early as this was
the result of Synge's dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas.
One direct link can be established between Synge and Pullen,
a handwritten manuscript entitled 'Pestalozzi's Relations of
Numbers with Questions to each part of the Exercise, containing
the Eight Simple Arithmetic Lessons, Philip Pullen'(3) This
manuscript was found among Synge's possessions and although it
is not in Synge's handwriting, the pages contain a watermark
identical with that in the paper used for one of the tables
in Synge's 'Relation and Description of Forms'. The Pullen
manuscript was never published and it is not clear whether it
is the original, in Pullen's handwriting, or a copy of the
original. The work is undoubtedly derivative, as a comparison
with Synge's 'Intuitive System of Calculations' will show, e.g.

Pestalozzi's Intuitive System of Calculations (Synge, 1815):

'It is not Rules, not understood, though blindly
followed, which serve for the formation of these
operations - it is intuition, the most distinct and
complete respecting the relations he calculates;
intuition in which his imagination finds an immense
latitude, and where it may take the widest range.' (p.1)

1. Letter C.E.H.O./Pest., 1818
2. Pullen, P.H., The Mother's Book, exemplifying Pestalozzi's
plan of awakening the understanding of children in Language,
3. A manuscript of 127 pages, bound but not completed.
Pestalozzi's Relations of Numbers (Pullen, unpublished Ms., date unknown)

'It is not Rules, not understood, though blindly followed, which serve for the foundation of these operations; it is Intuition, the most distinct and complete respecting the relations he calculates; Intuition in which his imagination finds an immense latitude, and where it may take the widest range.'

[Introduction; unnumbered pages]

The situation is further complicated by comparison with Pullen's 'Mother's Book', published in 1821. Here (p.x) the above is duplicated with the exception of 'operations' which is replaced by 'exercises'. Also, several identical problems appear in Synge's 'Intuitive System of Calculations' and in the Pullen manuscript, e.g. a problem beginning 'A boy going to school had 27 marbles in his pocket....' is given as an example of the eighth exercise by Synge (p.19) and as a 'Promiscuous Question' on the sixth exercise by Pullen (p.55). Innumerable examples of duplication appear when the Pullen manuscript is compared with Synge's 'Intuitive System of Calculations' and with Pullen's 'Mother's Book' and it seems unnecessary to labour the point with further quotations.

Pullen's 'Pestalozzi's Intellectual or Intuitive Arithmetic' (1821) is a condensation of the material dealt with by Synge in detail in his 'Intuitive System of Calculations', though Pullen added a large number of problems and exercises which have little relevance to Pestalozzian method. Pullen's material is diverse and extremely heterogeneous, including as it does,'alligation', geometric progression, duodecimals, permutations, ratio, cube-roots, and problems on profit and loss and annuities. Whereas in Synge's books the Pestalozzian principle of the 'imperceptible advance' is carried too far, the reverse is true of Pullen's book, which in this context is a travesty of Pestalozzian method, e.g.
Exercise 37: 'How much is 8 less than 9? (P.7)

Exercise 46: (Complicated explanation of ratio and proportion, cube and biquadrate roots)
'A little patient explanation and illustration will soon render them familiar'!(P.9)

While it appears very likely that Pullen derived much of his material from Synge, the exact degree of his reliance on Synge cannot be established as both probably used the works of Schmidt and Krusi. Some of Pullen's material is taken directly from Synge, while some appears to be taken either from Schmidt and Krusi or from Synge's adaptation of them. Both Synge and Pullen sought to adapt Pestalozzian methods to a British culture but Pullen added so much material that was already common in Britain that in spite of the title of his work only a small part of it is Pestalozzian.

Pullen's 'Mother's Book' (1820) was designed 'to show mothers and teachers how to open "the book of nature" to children, so as to give them power and comprehension'.(1) Pullen expresses the view that it may be considered presumptuous of him to produce a work on education 'in an age of refinement and taste, when the British Empire teems with books on Education' but justifies the publication by voicing his confidence that 'the utility of Pestalozzi's plan will silence every objection, and prompt mathematicians and teachers to adopt his system'.(2)

Part one of Pullen's 'Mother's Book' is a brief condensation (48 pages) of part of Krusi's book of the same name.(3) This is not categorically stated but Pullen acknowledges 'our obligation to many writers on similar subjects, from whom we have made such selections or taken such extracts as suited our purpose'.(4)

2. Ibid., p.1.
This section contains exercises in, and brief details of, the Pestalozzian teaching of, language, drawing, geometry, geography and number; in all of these 'the most efficient mode of instruction will always be found that which is produced by INTUITION'. (1)

The brevity with which these subjects are dealt with is extreme; drawing, for example, occupies only three pages. The drawing of lines and curves is included, followed by trees, leaves, birds, beasts and insects; followed in turn by the drawing of parts of the face, the eye, ear and mouth' in various positions. (2) 'Geometry' includes a brief study of lines, angles, shapes and geometric solids. (3) The section on geography is reminiscent of Synge's schoolcharts and is evidently derived from a common source, 'it will be essential to point out... the geographical denominations of LAND: as continents, islands, peninsulas, isthmuses, capes, promontories, shores, coasts...also WATER, as oceans, seas, straits, gulfs, bays...etc.' (4) The section on number (seven pages) mentions Pestalozzian's first three tables of number but the exercises are abstruse and unrealistic, e.g. 'If ¾ of 2.1/5 of a Flemish ell cost £1.3/11, what will 114.3/5 English ells cost?' (5)

Part Two of Pullen's 'Mother's Book' consists of 218 pages and is by far the larger section. It begins by 'elucidating the several parts of speech used in the English language' (6) and goes on to syntax, parsing and composition. There is little of Pestalozzian relevance in this major section of the book; the model essay titles, for example, reflect

1. Ibid., p. iv.
2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. Ibid., pp. 24-27.
4. Ibid., p. 28.
5. Ibid., p. 46.
6. Ibid., p. 48.
pious adherence to moral conventions rather than imaginative appeal: 'Chastity is an additional monument to Beauty'; 'Beware of Pride, it is the most dangerous of sins'; 'The pleasures resulting from the prudent use of our faculties'.

As a general text-book on the teaching of English, Pullen's 'Mother's Book' may have been of some value but the brevity of its Pestalozzian content limits its significance as an influence on the development of continental ideas in English education. No copies of Pullen's six pamphlets 'Hints to Parents' (1823) are available and their significance in relation to Synge's tracts cannot be established.

The possibility of Pullen having been a collaborator of Synge should be noted. This is suggested by the Pullen manuscript and Pullen's reliance on either Synge's own works or on works used by him. Also, the year of Pullen's first publication (1820) coincides with the end of Synge's first phase of Pestalozzian writing; no book by Synge appeared during the years that Pullen wrote. Pullen's use of the third person in the previously quoted acknowledgement contained in his 'Mother's Book' supports this contention and as Synge always wrote anonymously, the lack of any reference to Synge in Pullen's books is of no significance. Pullen may have collaborated with Synge but the Pestalozzian contents of Pullen's books are so negligible that it appears very unlikely.

In 1824, an English translation of Part One (1781) of Pestalozzi's 'Leonard and Gertrude' was published in Geneva; the translator was Eliza Shepherd, an Englishwoman who had spent some time at Yverdon. The following year another translation appeared anonymously in London but neither was of great educational significance. 'Leonard and Gertrude' was the first German novel based on village life and Pestalozzi's

1. Ibid., pp.223, 222, 223.
purpose in writing it was to reveal the moral degradation of rural life in Switzerland. Although he included educational material in later parts of the book, Part One is concerned with the effects of corrupt bureaucracy and poor social conditions. Of greater significance at this time was the publication in 1825 of a second edition of Part One of Synge's 'Intuitive Relations of Numbers'. It is not known whether the whole work ran to a second edition, but an increased demand for at least part of it indicates an increasing interest in Synge's adaptation of Pestalozzian methods.

In 1827 Pestalozzi's 'Letters on Early Education addressed to J.P. Greaves, Esq.' were published and although free translation made their authenticity controversial, they probably became the most widely read English source of Pestalozzian ideas. 'Letters on Education' is not a text book but a concise expression of Pestalozzi's ideas; whereas Synge's books (with the exception of 'A Biographical Sketch') were essentially practical works for use by teachers, the 'Letters on Early Education' is a theoretical exposition, ostensibly for use by British mothers but of greater appeal to educational theorists. The letters contain Pestalozzi's ideas on the development of a conscious relationship between mother and child, and his first observations on the education of women. They superseded 'A Biographical Sketch' as an English source of Pestalozzian ideas and are a much more sophisticated expression of Pestalozzian principles than that attempted by Synge. Whereas 'A Biographical Sketch' contains an historical account of Pestalozzi's initial educational endeavours and some of his early ideas, the letters are a concise expression of mature ideas which were formulated by Pestalozzi toward the end of his life. As a school textbook the 'Letters on Early
Education' are of little value but as a theoretical work they are superior to any published by Synge.

The rise of Pestalozzian literature in England after Pestalozzi's death in 1827 was not as immediate as Paterson implies. As far as can be ascertained the only Pestalozzian works published between 1827 and 1830 (excluding 'Letters on Early Education') were Mayo's Lecture at the Royal Institution (2), Synge's 'Infant School Teacher's Assistant' series (3), and Orpen's 'Domestic Education'. (4) No copies of these works by Synge and Orpen are available and their significance cannot be assessed. It is doubtful whether Synge's influence extended into the 1830's though his 'Easy Introduction to the Hebrew Language on the Principles of Pestalozzi' (1831) appears to have evoked interest in a limited field.

What influence Synge may have exercised through his writings was superseded in the 1830's by a spate of Pestalozzian literature, much of which was of a more detailed and sophisticated nature than that hitherto produced. An exception was Edward Biber's publication of shortened extracts from Pestalozzi's works, which appeared in 1831. (5) In 1827, influenced by Neiderer, Biber had published a malicious refutation of Pestalozzi's 'Story of my Life' (6); this bitter and tactless pamphlet hastened the death of the ailing Pestalozzi, who was utterly prostrated by its contents. 'I feel that I am going to die,' Pestalozzi told his doctor, 'but I must have six weeks longer to refute these shameful calumnies'. (7)

6. Biber, E., Notes for the biography of Henry Pestalozzi, and for the better understanding of his late work; Experiences of my Life.
7. De Guimps, op.cit., p.364
With rapidly ebbing strength, against medical advice, Pestalozzi began writing his answer to Biber's allegations. In less than two weeks he was dead. Any Pestalozzian work by the critical and unsympathetic Biber should be accepted with caution; his 'Henry Pestalozzi and his Plan of Education' contains much fabrication and is of very doubtful authenticity. Biber was in England at the time of the publication of the 'Letters on Education'; he may well have been Greaves's translator, a possibility which would explain their lack of authenticity.

English Pestalozzian literature in the 1830's was dominated by publications associated either with Cheam School or the Home and Colonial Society, both of which owed their origin to Mayo. The staff at Cheam developed Pestalozzian methods and were encouraged to publish accounts of them: 'It is proposed to publish from time to time, a number of treatises of a strictly practical nature, embodying in a familiar manner the principles of Pestalozzi. They will be the result of many years' experience - the corrected and re-corrected editions of Lessons actually given by different individuals'.(1) Among the most important of these treatises were Reiner's 'Lessons on Number'(1831) and his 'Lessons on Form or An Introduction to Geometry'(1837). These works are very sophisticated when compared with Synge's books on number and form; retailing at 2/6 and 6/- respectively, they had a wide circulation and went into several editions. Both works contain lengthy prefaces by Mayo. Elizabeth Mayo's 'Lessons on Objects'(1831) and 'Lessons on Shells'(1832) have previously been discussed.

The Pestalozzian publications of the Home and Colonial Society reached an even wider public, designed as

1. Reiner, C., Lessons on Number, as given in a Pestalozzian School at Cheam, Surrey; London, 1831, advertisement at end of book.
they were specifically to popularise the application of Pestalozzian principles to elementary education. 'Practical Remarks on Infant Education' (1837), by Charles and Elizabeth Mayo was probably the most significant work in this context. The influence of Mayo is seen in the increase of Pestalozzian articles appearing in educational journals of the time, the 'Quarterly Journal of Education' and the 'Educational Magazine' in particular. (1) The 'Schoolmasters' Magazine and Educational Enquirer', an Ulster publication which first appeared in 1839, was possibly the first English journal designed specifically for schoolmasters. An article on Pestalozzi appeared in its second issue. (2) 'The Quarterly Educational Magazine', edited by Elizabeth Mayo, was concerned almost exclusively with the dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas. (3)

Synge's contribution to early Pestalozzian literature in England appears to have been of major significance, particularly during the early years of the English Pestalozzian movement and during the years immediately preceding it. For a decade or so after 1815, his Pestalozzian works occupied a unique position, one which was not seriously jeopardised in the early 1820's by the publications of Philip Pullen. The Pestalozzian publications of the 1830's were more sophisticated and of greater practical value than the earlier works by Synge but they were the result of experience and facilities denied him. Synge's works may not have been the foremost contribution to early Pestalozzian literature in England, but they were certainly the first.

3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SYNGE AND ORPEN

The development of Pestalozzian ideas in England, together with their absorption into English elementary education, is a topic which has concerned several educational historians. The earlier introduction of Pestalozzian ideas into Ireland and the contribution of Irish Pestalozzians to the English Pestalozzian movement, appear to have been completely neglected until they attracted the recent attention of Pollard and Silber. The endeavours of John Synge are dealt with briefly by Pollard(1) and Silber(2), who also includes the work of Charles Orpen.(3) The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the extent to which educational thought and activity in England was influenced by Synge and Orpen, and the degree in which they initiated the English Pestalozzian movement.

While the deeds of Pestalozzi had a profound influence upon several English educationists who visited him, their interest was aroused by his words. No English edition of Pestalozzi's works was ever published and in all probability Synge's was the first account of his method written in English. It is, however, unlikely that Synge's tracts on Pestalozzi were the first of their kind ever read in England as a small number of French books on Pestalozzi may have been available. Daniel Chavannes's 'Exposé de la Méthode Elementaire' was published in 1805 and was superseded in 1812 by M.A.Jullien's 'Esprit de la Méthode d'Education de M.Pestalozzi'. Silber

3. Ibid., pp.293-295; a very similar account of Synge and Orpen may also be found in Silber's, Pestalozzis Beziehungen zu England und Amerika, Zurich, 1963, pp.45-54.
points out that the latter 'was read in many European countries and was for a long time considered the best contemporary description of the Pestalozzian Method'. (1) Madame de Stael's 'De l'Allemagne' contains a very favourable account of Pestalozzi's work at Yverdon; first printed in 1810, the book was prohibited in France but was reprinted in England in 1813.

The availability of these books in England during the Napoleonic Wars is a matter of conjecture and their impact was further limited by the necessity of translation. They appear to have had little influence on English educational thought before 1815, when Synge's first Pestalozzian tracts appeared. Chavannes's work was of indirect influence in that it was used by Synge in writing 'A Biographical Sketch'. (2) Any impact Jullien's book may have had upon educational thought was limited in England by its denial of the place of religion in Education. Writing to Pestalozzi in 1820, Orpen mentioned Lord de Vesci's wish that Pestalozzi would publish a letter or address on the religious aspect of his system, 'that would have great effect on English public opinion because two or three of our best reviews have discussed your principles as they have found them in that miserable, false work by Jullien, and they have stated that religion was of no account'. (3) The lack of emphasis upon religion in Pestalozzi's system had led to widespread though ill-informed allegations throughout Europe that it was an un-Christian and even an irreligious system; in England, where religion and education were inseparable, such allegations fell on sympathetic ears and did much to prevent widespread acceptance of Pestalozzian principles.

2. See Advertisement in A Biographical Sketch, p.iv.
It is not clear how many tracts were written and published by Synge; 'A Biographical Sketch' is described as 'First Tract on Pestalozzi's Elementary System of Education'(1) and Orpen refers to 'the little leaflets published by Mr. Synge (which have done a great deal to attract public attention to you (Pestalozzi)'.(2) More tracts than can be traced appear to have been written by Synge, and public response to them was evidently gratifying. 'I am indeed delighted' wrote Synge to Pestalozzi, 'that such a notable number of my countrymen are carefully examining your system'.(3) Synge's intention in writing his tracts was not only to popularise Pestalozzian ideas, but also to gain active support for Pestalozzi in England. It is interesting to note that the first tangible results of his writings were produced not in England but at Yverdon.

Concluding his 'Biographical Sketch' Synge drew the attention of the reader to 'the embarrassed circumstances of Pestalozzi' and 'the liberality with which he diffuses the results of the hard labours of a life, now closing its 71st year'(4). He pointed out that many of Pestalozzi's most valuable works remained in manuscript, 'for the want of means to print them', and that Pestalozzi maintained many gratuitously at Yverdon, 'whom his benevolent heart will not allow him to send away'. Synge named the known object of Pestalozzi's wishes as ability 'to place his present establishment on such a footing that it may not fall to the ground at his death, and that he may retire to his native Canton, and there end his days, in the benevolent and useful work, of teaching his countrymen, how they ought to educate their children, by the

2. Letter Orpen/Pest., July, 1818.
example of a small poor school conducted by himself'. In view of this, Synge appealed for contributions 'to calm the evening of such a well-spent life, at least by relieving it from pecuniary difficulty'; he also mentioned that many of his personal friends had already made contributions. Synge made arrangements for the receipt of contributions at one bank in Dublin and at another in London, 'one half of the sum contributed, to be remitted to the venerable Pestalozzi, as a testimony of esteem and a means of promoting the object of his exertions; the other moiety to be expended in the translation of his elementary works in order that the practice of his system may be extended as much as possible'.(1)

It is not known how much was raised as a result of Synge's appeal of 1815 but it appears to have been a considerable amount as Pestalozzi came to regard Britain as one means of ensuring the survival of his institute. Consequently, as an indication of gratitude and as a means of extending British awareness of his methods and ideas, Pestalozzi opened a school at Clindy specifically for the education of poor children from Britain. When the school was opened in September, 1818 Pestalozzi published his 'Address to the British People'(2); British contributions to the fund established by Synge encouraged Pestalozzi to anticipate an English translation of his works and in the address he announced his intention of devoting the profits of its publication to the education of British children at Clindy. However, no English translation of Pestalozzi's works ever appeared and although several British children of wealthy parentage were educated at Clindy, no poor children appear to have been sent there from Britain.

1. Ibid.
2. An Address of Pestalozzi to the British public, soliciting them to aid by subscriptions his plan of preparing schoolmasters and mistresses, that mankind may receive the first principles of intellectual instruction from their mothers.
Synge's major contribution to the English Pestalozzian movement was undoubtedly his initiation of the interest of Greaves and Mayo in Pestalozzi. So significant were the subsequent efforts of these two educationists to introduce Pestalozzian ideas into England that the origin of their interest has been overshadowed by its results. Greaves was approached by Synge in 1817 or early in 1818; why he should have chosen such an improbable figure is unknown. Greaves's biographer, Campbell, records that 'the small volume entitled "Life and System of Pestalozzi by an Irish Traveller who met him at Yverdon" was placed by the author in his hands'. (1) This event was 'an important era in Mr. Greaves's life'; he was 'so intensely activated and outwardly so powerfully directed that he decided at once to...proceed directly to Pestalozzi, and to co-operate with him in developing the hidden realities in essential existence'. (2) Cambell gives undue prominence to the immediate nature of Greaves's departure and he quotes 1817 as the year of Greaves's arrival at Yverdon.(3)

1817 is invariably given as the year in which Greaves's acquaintance with Pestalozzi began. Pollard, for example, quotes a letter written by Greaves to Alcott, an American friend, in 1837: 'In the year 1817....I was promoted to investigate the work of the venerable Pestalozzi....(and)....straightaway left for Switzerland'. (4) Presumably supported by this letter, Pollard quotes Synge's 'A Biographical Sketch' as the volume given to Greaves by Synge. Greaves, many years later, appears to have made a mistake in quoting the date of

1. Cambell, A., Letters and Extracts from the Ms.Writings of J.P. Greaves, Surrey, 1843, Vol.1, p.viii; no copy of the volume mentioned has been traced.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Pollard, op.cit., p.178; Alcott, father of Louisa M. Alcott, author of Little Women, was an American Pestalozzian. His school was named Ham Alcott House, after Greaves's school at Ham, Surrey.
his departure for Yverdon, an error which has since been perpetuated. Greaves was still in London in March 1818, and was several times approached by Orpen, who had just returned from Yverdon. 'He will leave in two or three weeks' Orpen told Pestalozzi. (1) Silber quotes the summer of 1818 as the time of Greaves's arrival at Yverdon (2), quoting Cambell who appears to have contradicted himself. When Greaves was approached by Synge, and when he left for Yverdon are still not absolutely clear but both biographer and later writers are agreed that Greaves's decision to visit Yverdon was instigated by John Synge.

Like that of Greaves, Mayo's interest in Pestalozzi was also initiated by Synge. How Mayo's association with Synge originated is not clear, but both were at Oxford in 1810. Also, Mayo taught at Bridgnorth, where Synge had family connections. A biographer of the Mayo family records that 'having heard through Mr. Synge, of Glanmore Castle, County Wicklow, of Pestalozzi's principles of education, he (Mayo) obtained leave of his college to travel 7th April, 1819, and having resigned his school at Bridgnorth in July of that year he joined Pestalozzi's establishment at Yverdon in Switzerland as English Chaplain'. (3) Synge appears to have continued his association with Mayo, with whom he stayed for a short while at Cheam in 1830. (4)

Cooke, in his introduction to 'How Gertrude teaches her Children' suggests that the visit of the Rev. Andrew Bell to Yverdon in 1816 was 'possibly occasioned by the account of an Irish gentleman, Mr. Mills, who visited Yverdon...in 1815'. (5)

1. Letter Orpen/Pest., March, 1818.
4. Letter from Synge to his governess at Teignmouth, Cheam, April 1830.
It has already been established that the person referred to was, in all probability, not 'Mr. Mills' but John Synge and the question thus arises of whether Synge initiated Bell's visit to Pestalozzi. Bell lectured in Ireland but at the time of his lectures Synge was at Yverdon(1) and the two do not appear to have met. Bell may have been familiar with Synge's early Pestalozzian tracts but his interest in Pestalozzi was probably kindled by Ackermann, a former assistant of Pestalozzi who taught for a while in English national schools, and who acted as Bell's interpreter at Yverdon. In any case, Bell's visit to Yverdon is of little significance, except perhaps as a remarkable example of prejudice and insularity. Salmon states that 'Bell was charmed with Pestalozzi' and quotes Bell's statement that 'He has much that is original, much that is excellent'.(2) Neither Bell's attitude nor his concession is supported by his subsequent statement that if Pestalozzi 'had a course of study, if he were to dismiss four-fifths of his masters, and to adopt the monitorial system and the classification of a Madras school, with the emulation, he would be super-excellent'.(3); or by Bell's scathing remark, 'In another twelve years mutual instruction will be adopted by the whole world, and Pestalozzi's method will be forgotten'.(4) Such comments give fair indication of Bell's capability of objective assessment and even if his visit to Yverdon were initiated by Synge it was of little consequence.

Maria Edgworth lived in Ireland at the same time as Synge but although they had a common interest in 'natural'

1. See La Touche letter, 1814.
3. Ibid.
4. De Guimps, op.cit., p.314; the remark was made to Ackermann as Bell left Yverdon.
methods of education no record exists of their having met. The Edgeworths' interest in the educational ideas of Rousseau was no doubt extended to include those of his disciple, Pestalozzi, and Robert Owen quotes R.L.Edgeworth as saying of Pestalozzi 'I have read that man's works, and he has been in my brains and stolen all my ideas'.(1) Maria Edgeworth visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon in 1820, though she had evidently met him elsewhere some years previously, 'he is, tell my mother, the same wild-looking man he was, with the addition of seventeen years'.(2) Maria Edgeworth's original meeting with Pestalozzi must have been about 1803 but it was more likely to have been in Paris than at Burgdorf. Pestalozzi was in Paris in late 1802 and early 1803, as a member of a political deputation. Apart from domicile and educational interests there is no evidence of any link between the Edgeworths and Synge. In a letter of 1814, Maria Edgeworth expresses her good wishes toward the Kildare Place Society, but beyond this there is no evidence of any association between her and either the society or Orpen. (3)

Other British educationists who went to Yverdon within a few years of Synge's visit included Henry Brougham and William Allen. Henry (later Lord) Brougham was one of the foremost Parliamentary figures concerned with education in England during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1816 he became chairman of the 'Committee to Inquire into the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis', and his name is inseparable from the struggle for a state system of elementary education in England. A strong advocate of continental methods and ideas, he had studied education in Switzerland in 1816. He was accompanied on his tour by

3. Letter from Maria Edgeworth to Bessonett, 30th Sept.1814; K.P.S.Archives, Box 1, C75.
William Allen, the Quaker philanthropist and social reformer. Though favouring Fellenberg's system, Brougham was not unimpressed by his short visit to Pestalozzi at Yverdon. Describing his continental tour to his committee in 1818, he ventured the opinion that Pestalozzi carried his system too far by not allowing pupils to accustom themselves to the use of books, 'I should, however, wish to be understood as speaking with diffidence on this subject from my imperfect examination of it. I understand that a gentleman from Ireland has made it his peculiar study, with the view to introducing it there; and he may, I trust, before long, give the public an account of it in detail.'(1) Though there is no evidence to suggest that Brougham's interest in Pestalozzi was initiated by Synge or Orpen, it is interesting to note that the efforts of one of them were mentioned to a Parliamentary committee as early as 1818. In all probability the reference was to Orpen who, on his return from Yverdon, in March 1818, delivered copies of a letter from Pestalozzi to several English educationists including Brougham. Throughout the years Brougham subsequently spent trying to introduce a state system of education he remained a staunch advocate of continental ideas in education but he made no effort to popularise Pestalozzian ideas in particular. The same is not true of his associate, William Allen, who attributed special significance to Pestalozzian ideas and who became actively engaged in disseminating them. These activities were influenced less by Allen's visit to Yverdon than by his association with Charles Orpen, who persuaded him in 1818 to form a committee for the promotion of Pestalozzian ideas. The establishment of this committee was Orpen's major contribution to the Pestalozzian movement in England.

1. 3rd Report of Select Committee on Education of the Lower Orders, 3rd-8th June, 1818, p.197.
While in London in March, 1818, en route from Yverdon to Dublin, what little time Orpen had at his disposal was spent in organising support for the introduction of Pestalozzian ideas into England. 'If I could stay here for a few months, I could do a lot,' he wrote to Pestalozzi, 'but that is not possible for me, and I must limit myself here to explaining your views and to collecting your friends into a committee, and to exerting pressure'. (1) On his arrival in London, Orpen immediately sought out several people who could help in the project he envisaged, a project which would begin with the publication of an English translation of Pestalozzi's works. These activities are described in detail in a letter written to Pestalozzi by Orpen before he left London. (2)

'I have spoken to several English people,' wrote Orpen, 'and I have interested a few of them.' Orpen discussed the project first with Ackermann, who doubted whether subscriptions would be sufficient to finance the costly task of translating and publishing Pestalozzi's works, 'He speaks too much like an accountant', commented Orpen. Others, however, such as Sir Thomas Ackland, were more enthusiastic. Orpen discussed the matter at length with Greaves, who was soon to leave for Yverdon, 'to spend a few weeks with you, with eight or twelve young English boys, all destined for the teaching profession'. (3) Greaves was to give Pestalozzi a more detailed account of Orpen's activities in London, and 'our translation of your address' (4); 'You will find him devoted to your project' wrote Orpen. Greaves had evidently already translated and published a prospectus of the Yverdon institute

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. It is not generally known that Greaves originally intended to stay at Yverdon for only a few weeks, or if he, in fact, took English pupils with him.
4. Presumably an early draft of Pestalozzi's address to the British public.
which had been sent to a Mr. Stock (nothing is known of Stock but there is a suggestion in the letter that he would send two English teachers to Yverdon in return for two Swiss or German teachers). Greaves, unlike Ackermann, did not think that the cost of translating and publishing Pestalozzi's works would be prohibitive as he could 'find people who will translate (your works) for very little'. Greaves also thought he could 'find people who will give a subscription of a hundred guineas to pay you for the maintenance of ten poor children a year'.

With the intention of gaining support in Parliament for the project, Orpen tried to see William Wilberforce and Henry Brougham but they were, respectively, ill and 'in the countryside'. Orpen evidently distributed copies of a letter from Pestalozzi to all those he approached; he records that copies were sent to Wilberforce and Brougham. In William Allen, Orpen found ready support for the plan, 'He is very interested in you. You will be able to count on him - he will help you all he can'. In Pullen, Orpen found a person 'very much concerned with your methods... (he) has promised to act as secretary to a committee which is to be formed in a few days to have correspondence with you and to propagate your views'.

The day after writing to Pestalozzi, Greaves left for Dublin and it is not clear whether the above-mentioned committee was formed immediately or whether it was the same committee formed a month or so later by William Allen, in association with Orpen. It is clear, however, that within weeks of Orpen's return to Britain, several of the people he had approached formed the nucleus of a committee for the propagation of Pestalozzian ideas. Allen was in Edinburgh during the first fortnight of April, 1818 and on his return wrote immediately to Pestalozzi, 'I shall be happy to promote thy views and indeed
have already thought of a Plan which I have suggested to Dr. Orpen'.

Allen's plan was the formation of 'a small committee in London of Gentlemen known to the Public - for considering the whole subject'. In his letter to Pestalozzi, Allen proposed that Pestalozzi should send him copies of his works for translation, and that subscriptions should be raised 'among our friends all over England'. Thus the committee originally envisaged by Orpen came into being; Orpen was a prominent member of the committee, a branch of which he established in Ireland.

The committee's first task was to publish Pestalozzi's address 'in the broadsheets and the newspapers and periodicals'. At the same time, under the direction of Allen and in association with Orpen, arrangements began for the translation and publication of Pestalozzi's works. The committee was fortunate in having the energetic leadership of Allen who, as Orpen told Pestalozzi, 'saw the importance of your project straight away - he will be able to influence the public a lot because he has correspondence in all the kingdoms'. Within weeks of its inception, the committee appears to have been actively engaged on the beginning of what was evidently intended as an extensive project. The English edition of Pestalozzi's works was discussed with booksellers and publishers, lists of subscribers were drawn up, translators were approached and negotiations for their services begun. The activities of the London committee

1. Letter from Wm. Allen to Pestalozzi', 17th April, 1818.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. There is no reason to suppose that Orpen and Allen did not engage in the activities which they outlined to Pestalozzi.
were duplicated in Dublin, subscriptions were raised and John Synge published Pestalozzi's 'Address to the English Nation' and made a collection of at least 2,500 francs for Pestalozzi's school for the poor. (1) By the summer of 1818 the first stage of the plan envisaged by Orpen and Allan appears to have been complete. An organised framework existed for the translation, publication and sale of Pestalozzi's writings, writings which were being increasingly demanded. 'British interest in your methods is continually increasing,' wrote Orpen to Pestalozzi in July, 1818, 'one hears everywhere of your Institute and there is a constant demand for precise information about what you have done and are doing'. (2) It had been arranged with Pestalozzi that the major phase of the project would be based on his 'Collected Writings', and that publication of the English translation would begin as soon as the first (German) edition was received.

This edition was never received, in fact it was never even published in the form originally envisaged. In 1817 Schmidt, on behalf of Pestalozzi had signed a contract with Cotta, a Stuttgart publisher, arranging for an edition of Pestalozzi's 'Collected Writings'. (3) De Guimps describes the years following 1817 as 'The death-agony of the (Yverdon) institute' (4); they were years during which the ailing and aged Pestalozzi had neither the incentive nor the ability to undertake the formidable task of re-writing the works of a lifetime. Schmidt pleaded with Pestalozzi in vain; Greaves tried to persuade him to publish the 'collected writings', or even to write a concise account of his method suitable for an English public. Instead, Pestalozzi wrote his third version of 'Leonard and Gertrude', 'The Swansong' and 'The Story of My

1. Letter, Orpen/Pest., July, 1818.
2. Ibid.
3. A thirteenth, which included Pestalozzi's 'Swansong' was later added.
4. De Guimps, op.cit., title of chapter XV.
Life', a work of disillusionment, despair and self-reproach. The thirteen small volumes which make up the Cotta 'Collected Writings' were published between 1819 and 1826. They are incomplete, unreliable and bear little resemblance, either in size or selection, to the edition originally planned.

In 1818, Orpen had realized the necessity of Pestalozzi's active participation in the plan of the London committee, 'I beg you,' he wrote to Pestalozzi, '...to do all that you can to interest the English. It is infinitely important for the results of your efforts'.(1) There is little doubt that Pestalozzi realized this and in 1818 he looked to Britain for the most useful application of his methods. In September 1818 his 'Address to the British Public' was printed at Yverdon for distribution in England; in the same month, writing to Count Capo d'Istria, minister to the Czar of Russia, he described Britain as the most advanced country in Europe and said that the British had found his principle of 'mathematical development' the 'most realistic foundation for their views'.(2)

Pestalozzi's hopes of 1818 were doomed to failure and an edition of his 'collected writings', which would have consolidated and extended British interest in Pestalozzian principles, was never received by the London committee. The disappointment of the committee is reflected in Orpen's Letters to Pestalozzi over a period of five years after 1818; just as his letters became less and less enthusiastic, so must the enthusiasm of his colleagues have waned. Great results were expected from the publication of an English edition of the 'Collected Writings', not only for Pestalozzi, who was to receive 'the whole proceeds after the expenses of printing are paid'(3), but also for English education. Orpen's references

1. Letter, Orpen/Pest., March, 1818.
2. Letter, Pest./Capo d'Istria, Sept.1818; quoted by Silber, op.cit., p.296.
3. Letter, Allen/Pest., April, 1818.
to them make melancholy reading: 'Mr. Synge and I hope to receive soon copies of the first parts of your German edition. It is very necessary to have them in advance to see how we can arrange to have them translated and published' (1); 'Please send them (four copies) as soon as possible' (2); 'When you can...send me four copies of the new edition from your publishers' (3); 'I have not yet received the new edition of your works. I regret this greatly' (4).

The success of the London committee was completely dependent upon the enthusiasm and co-operation of Pestalozzi, and while his initial enthusiasm was undoubtedly sincere, they placed undue faith in its practical expression by a sick, harassed and disillusioned man of nearly eighty years. The committee was revived in 1823 by Mayo, but its failure was repeated. In instigating the committee, Orpen made a commendable contribution to the English Pestalozzi Movement and although the venture met with failure, it was a failure partially compensated by increased interest in Pestalozzi ideas. An English edition of Pestalozzi's works has, to this day, never been published.

1. Letter, Orpen/Pest., July, 1818.
3. Letter, Orpen/Pest., Nov. 1820.
4. Letter, Orpen/Pest., March, 1823.
Emergence as a pioneer in any field is, in the first instance, the result either of deliberation or fortuity; while fortune appears to favour the well-prepared mind, the insight in which a discovery or achievement originates is as often the result of calculation as it is of contingency. Chronological pre-eminence in any field is thus not, in itself, necessarily worthy of the credit which is commonly attributed to it; the first, though important, is not of necessity the foremost.

Some educational significance may be attached to the fact that John Synge was the first (known) Britisher to study at the Yverdon institute, but it should be remembered that his arrival there was entirely fortuitous; his Grand Tour had no underlying purpose of educational significance, and it was undertaken merely in the self-styled capacity of an 'Irish traveller'. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the Grand Tour resumed its popularity and Synge's experience of the Yverdon institute may well have been that of several young men from Britain who possibly followed him. That he preceded them by a matter of months is not, in itself, of great import; of much greater significance is the fact that this first (known) British visitor to Yverdon was so impressed that he subsequently devoted considerable effort, and many years of his life, to the practice and dissemination of Pestalozzian ideas. The real significance of Synge's visit to Yverdon attaches not so much to the possibility that he was the first British resident at the Pestalozzian institute, as to the distinct probability that his was the earliest application of Pestalozzian ideas in Britain which was based on first-hand experience.
Synge's school in Roundwood appears to have been the first Pestalozzian school in Britain and his books were the first Pestalozzian texts in English. However, while credit is due to Synge as the first British pioneer of Pestalozzian ideas, undue emphasis on the chronology of his efforts could well overshadow their real significance. This lies not so much in the fact that Synge's efforts were the first of their kind in Britain, as in the fact that they were not the last. Pestalozzi regarded himself as an initiator and depended on others to carry out his views; to some extent this is also true of Synge. He played a major part in arousing British interest in Pestalozzi ideas, but the more extensive application of them he left to others. That others did follow his lead is some measure of Synge's success.

It may be thought that the significance of Synge's efforts was limited by their scale and by the isolated nature of their location. While it is true that such factors may well have had a limiting influence, they did not seriously impair the value of Synge's example. That the Roundwood school was small, even by rural standards cannot be denied; as a Pestalozzian school it is doubtful if it existed more than thirty years at the most, and its pupils never numbered more than a few dozen. Destined for rural occupations, they were poor children who probably received no formal education after the age of twelve. It is doubtful whether their occupational prospects were greatly enhanced by attendance at a Pestalozzian school as the pattern of their lives was determined by economic and social, rather than educational,

1. Excluding the American publication, Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education, Joseph Neef, Philadelphia, 1808; and Elizabeth Hamilton's, Hints addressed to Patrons and Directors of Schools, Edinburgh, 1815 (the same year as Synge's first publications).
factors. They were children of a poor class which was socially ineffectual, lacked organisation and which was engaged largely in manual tasks of a menial nature; yet in this very same category were to be found millions of British children for whom a more satisfactory system of education was desperately needed. Synge conducted his school on a small scale, but as an example it was more relevant to British needs than Cheam school, or perhaps Yverdon itself.

Synge established his school in accordance with the plan for an industrial school given to him by Pestalozzi(1) and it was through the creation of such small experimental schools that Pestalozzi envisaged the eventual and more widespread acceptance of his ideas. Pestalozzi deprecated the hasty adoption of his methods on a large scale, 'The business is not yet ripe enough to be made applicable to a whole state' he wrote to Zeller, who was involved in the establishment of a state (Pestalozzian) system in Prussia.(2) Results justified Pestalozzi's doubts about the establishment of a Pestalozzian system on a national scale, and although Prussia was described as 'one great Pestalozzi school'(3), its educational system remained a machine which stood outside the lives of the people.

That Synge conducted his school on a small scale is thus hardly a valid criticism; it was conducted on a scale which could have been, and indeed was, copied in England. Its size facilitated the effective use of Pestalozzian methods and encouraged the development of an intimate and sympathetic atmosphere in which the spirit of Pestalozzianism could flourish. The real significance of

3. Ibid., p.168.
Synge's school lies in the fact that it constituted an experiment in the application of Pestalozzian ideas at a time when such ideas were unknown in British elementary schools, and Synge's writings were based not on mere theory, but on experimental practice. The Roundwood school was established by Synge in 1815; it was in existence eleven years later when Mayo opened his school at Cheam, and twenty-two years later when Greaves established his school at Ham. Had Synge's interest in Pestalozzian ideas not been consolidated by his experiments at Roundwood, the Pestalozzian schools at Cheam and Ham might never have existed.

Synge's activities as a writer and publisher, like his activities as a teacher, were conducted on a small scale. His early Pestalozzian text-books were produced by a small and unknown press and their circulation must have been limited not only by technical difficulties of production and distribution, but also by the lack of any wide interest in their content. They were ill-designed to attract the interest of teachers and educationists; their prolixity of repetitive exercises and their mechanical formalism were inconducive to eager acceptance by readers. Synge's tracts, however, 'A Biographical Sketch' in particular, were much more readable and enjoyed a much wider circulation. Based largely on translations of continental works on Pestalozzian ideas, they were original in production rather than in content. They contain outline, rather than detailed, accounts, but they at least succeeded in creating an interest in the Pestalozzian system and a demand for more information. 'Several Headmasters are asking for greater and more precise information about your views than they find in the brochures of Mr. Synge', wrote Orpen to Pestalozzi in 1818. (1)

1. Letter, Orpen/Pest., March, 1818.
An assessment of Synge's Pestalozzian writings should not be based only upon their content, which was mostly rudimentary, or upon their circulation which was probably limited; such an assessment has no claim to validity if it takes no account of the effect of Synge's tracts upon those who read them and the indirect results. Little is known of individual headmasters who, through Synge's writings were enabled to conduct their own experiments in the application of Pestalozzian methods, but some significance must be attached to their efforts. More significance is attached to the fact that Synge's writing possibly initiated and certainly stimulated the interest of Greaves and Mayo in Pestalozzian ideas. The English Pestalozzian movement was developed by Greaves and Mayo, rather than by Synge, but his efforts were a major prerequisite of the movement.

The duration, as well as the scale of Synge's efforts should be considered in assessing their significance. It is difficult to establish the degree in which Synge's interest in Pestalozzian ideas was sustained over a period of thirty years and there is some evidence to support the contention that his efforts were of an impulsive and temporary nature. Between 1815 and 1820 there is little doubt that Synge was actively engaged in the establishment of a Pestalozzian school and in writing Pestalozzian works. His marriage in 1818 does not seem to have been a major distraction, 'Mr. Synge got married a few weeks ago,' wrote Orpen to Pestalozzi, 'this has prevented me from seeing him and him from working for you but we are beginning again now'. (1) After 1820 the Roundwood school continued as a

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1. Letter, Orpen/Pest., July, 1818.
Pestalozzian school but Synge appears to have undertaken no more writing or publication until his stay at Teignmouth between 1827 and 1832. A great number of schoolcharts were produced by Synge at Glanmore during the early 1830's but his interests in education appear to have become increasingly concerned with religious education, possibly to the exclusion of any emphasis on Pestalozzian ideas.

It should be noted, however, that after 1832, Synge no longer had the freedom to pursue educational activities that he had enjoyed in previous years. He had a large family to care for and a large estate to administer; several times he was faced with bankruptcy and for many years he was preoccupied with financial difficulties. His major activities during the 1830's at Glanmore were concerned with developing the estate as a remunerative undertaking and it is understandable that charitable and educational interests should feature less prominently among his activities. During these years he established a large slate-quarry at Glanmore, employing quarry-workers brought over from Wales; he built a railway to transport the slates to Ashford some miles away. He developed an extensive garden nursery, installed a water-operated saw-mill on the estate, and exported large quantities of timber to England. A contemporary described Glanmore at this time as 'a scene of most active industry'(1), and while Synge's reputation as a scholar was maintained, his educational interests during his later years appear to have been of a religious rather than an academic nature. What little evidence is available is inconclusive but it appears that Synge's interest in Pestalozzian ideas was sustained throughout his life, but in his later years it was a less active interest. It is not felt, however, that this in any way detracts from the significance of his earlier endeavours.

1. Irwin, G., op.cit., p.38.
limiting factor of serious proportion.

While Synge's example was of limited significance in itself, it was superseded only by those who followed his lead. Foremost among these in Ireland were Charles Orpen, Lord de Vesci and possibly Philip Pullen; the adoption of Pestalozzian methods in the education of deaf and dumb children, the establishment of the Pestalozzian institute at Abbeyleix and the application of Pestalozzian methods in the schools of the Kildare Place Society - all these can be traced directly to the influence of Synge. In England, Synge's example was superseded by that of Greaves and Mayo, again following Synge's lead. Their endeavours were of greater tangible significance than those of Synge, but Synge, Orpen and Pullen were conducting a campaign for the translation of Pestalozzi's works some five years before Greaves and Mayo returned from Yverdon. The letters of Synge and Orpen indicate that they encouraged several others to visit Yverdon between 1815 and 1820 and though nothing is known of these visits they may not have been without significance. The exact degree of Synge's stimulation of British interest in Pestalozzi cannot be established, but his efforts were at least partially responsible for the increasing numbers of British pupils and visitors who arrived at Yverdon after 1815.

While Synge undoubtedly stimulated British interest in Pestalozzi, some of Pestalozzi's interest in Britain can also be traced to his efforts. Increased interest in Britain led to increased financial support for Yverdon and in 1818 Pestalozzi turned to England not only as the country where his ideas could best be employed, but also as a source of financial support which could ensure the continuity of his institute. The Pestalozzian fund in Britain was established by Synge in 1815 and the opening of Pestalozzi's school at
Clindy was but one result of the subscriptions which were later raised. It is not altogether unlikely that without financial support from Britain the Yverdon institute would have ceased to exist by 1820. Had it not been for the proceeds of the fund established by Synge, the institute might even have closed before Greaves and Mayo had an opportunity to visit it.

One major difficulty in assessing the significance of Synge's contribution is the inevitable problem of evaluating what was, with no knowledge of what might have been. Synge's efforts were significant in that they led, directly or otherwise to the establishment of the English Pestalozzian movement. It may thus be contended that without Synge the movement might never have taken place. Alternatively, the task of stimulating British interest in Pestalozzi might well have been undertaken by a more significant and influential person than Synge and the English Pestalozzian movement might have achieved more than it did. Though feasible, this seems less likely when the time factor is considered, together with the identity of those whose visits to Yverdon were not the result of Synge's influence. These included Brougham, Allen, Bell, Owen and Maria Edgeworth; with the possible exception of Allen, it seems unlikely that any of these would have initiated an English Pestalozzian movement or done other than they did on returning from Yverdon. Further the time factor is significant in that, as it was, British visitors saw Yverdon in its decline and had British interest in Pestalozzi been stimulated later than was the case, it might well have been too late for consolidation by first-hand experience. Such factors are, of course, imponderable, and no valid and reliable conclusions can be drawn from them. Nevertheless, while an English Pestalozzian movement would probably have
developed without Synge's contribution, it would almost certainly have been a later and less significant movement.

In the final analysis, the significance of Synge's contribution must be assessed within the limitations of the English Pestalozzian movement as a whole. He made an invaluable contribution to this movement and the educational significance of his efforts is determined primarily by the importance accorded to the application of Pestalozzian methods to British elementary education. The Pestalozzian system of elementary education based on language, number and form has been rejected by modern thought which, not entirely without justification, has attributed to it a basis of faulty psychology and nebulous philosophy. In England, the mechanism of Pestalozzi's 'elementary method' survived the spirit in which it originated; the mechanism was mistaken for the truth which lay behind it and what passed for 'Pestalozzian method' in England has little to commend it. Nevertheless, many desirable features of modern school practice can be traced to Pestalozzi and his system deserves recognition as the first to involve a systematic attempt to develop knowledge and goodness from child experience, and to develop a 'child-centred' theory of education in which the happiness of the child was the prime consideration. Even if the contribution of Pestalozzian ideas to elementary school practice is depreciated, it cannot be denied that the English Pestalozzian movement played a vital role in revealing the inadequacy of British provision for the elementary education of children of the poor. The movement constituted a challenge to antiquated and inefficient methods and did much to establish continental practice as the source of improvement and enlightenment. The Pestalozzian system was no panacea, but as Niemeyer remarked as early as
1796, 'Anything which awakens such a widespread interest as Pestalozzi's educational ideas have done, must necessarily contain, if we can only view it as a whole, much that is both true and useful....the influence in this case can only be for good, and that in the highest degree, if men will look to the spirit rather than to the letter'.(1) Synge, like so many who followed him, may have looked more to the letter than the spirit, but his contribution was nevertheless 'true and useful'.

A modern writer remarks, 'Apart from Mayo's work, the half-century (1800-1850) is singularly lacking in genuine and honest attempts to put Pestalozzi's ideas into practice, or to discuss them in writing'.(2) Nevertheless, Synge's unheralded attempt to practise Pestalozzian ideas, and to discuss them in writing, was undoubtedly genuine and honest. The spirit of his endeavours was essentially Pestalozzian and its very humility ensured that Synge's efforts remained anonymous and largely unrecognised.

Anonymous in life, the Irish Traveller asked no epitaph in death, but within Nunscoor Church at Glanmore the following inscription will be found:


This tablet is erected
by a few clerical friends
in memory of the late
John Synge Esquire
of Glanmore
a man greatly beloved
of real humility and genuine faith
he truly walked with God
his citizenship in heaven
and his affections
fixed on things above
thus affording to all who knew him
the surest evidence
of being found in his lot
amongst the blessed
at the coming of the Lord of Glory
for which he looked and waited daily.
1845.

This epitaph records nothing of John Synge's affection for worthwhile things below, but among them his affection for Pestalozzi and his ideals must rank highly. The Irish Traveller sought no tribute, but the name afforded him is a tribute in itself, Pestalozzi John.
THIS TABLET IS ERECTED
BY A FEW CLERICAL FRIENDS
IN MEMORY OF THE LATE
JOHN SYNGE ESQ
OF CLINMORE.
A MAN GREATLY BELOVED
OF REAL HUMILITY AND GENUINE FAITH
HE TRULY WALKED WITH GOD
HIS CITIZENSHIP IN HEAVEN
AND HIS AFFECTIONS
FIXED ON THINGS ABOVE
THUS 'AFFORDING TO ALL WHO KNEW HIM
THE SUREST EVIDENCE
OF BEING FOUND IN HIS LOT
AMONGST THE BLESSED
AT THE COMING OF THE LORD OF GLORY
FOR WHICH HE LOOKED AND WAITED DAILY.
1845.
APPENDICES
Letter from John Synge to governess in charge of his children at Buckridge, Teignmouth.

Cheam, near Epsom, Surrey.
28th April, 1830.

Dear Miss Bridson,

Having one or two little points to suggest I take the opportunity of Dr. Mayo being occupied to let you know also that through the mercies of our Heavenly Father I had a most prosperous journey and after getting a good sleep from 4 to 9 this morning at Staine's arrived here at 12 o'clock and found my good host rather knocked up I think and his sister gone away to recruit from the same cause. He seems however much pleased with the measure of blessing the Lord grants to his labours - The little suggestions were as to suspending Family prayer during my absence while I feel some little embarrassment at putting it into W...C's....(could not be deciphered) hand, perhaps you could ask him to read a Chapter of the Gospels without exposition and to pray as he sees fit only not too long, at least in the morning but if at night also I should be the better pleased as it seems strange to suspend the means of strength when to human eye we seem most to require it, tho' fact we need it equally at all times. Do this either from yourself to see how it goes on, or in my name if you judge better - another little point was whether if one of the dear boys were to sleep in my bed during my absence it might not perhaps prevent some of the temptation to riot in the mornings which the proximity of their beds without the headboard presents, perhaps some reason may occur to you against this but as they are ever in my mind, I wished to suggest these two, leaving to
you to determine both as being on the spot you were better able to do. I don't know whether in the hurry I said what I intended to George about having the carriage always ready for you in the fine weather and letting nothing interfere with it as that is what I have it for that my dear children may get a proper measure of air and exercise without fatigue - you may read this to him if there is any need.

Give my affectionate love to them all, tho' I need not name each individually on paper they are ever individually before my mind and my heart is continually ascending in prayer to The Good Shepherd that He will vouchsafe to carry them all in His bosom at bring them all at last in His own way into His fold where they shall go in and out and find pasture. Nor are you my kind friend forgotten in my poor prayers that His grace may continue to strengthen you for the charge you have so kindly taken and His Favor acknowledge to you your care of them I trust His little ones as cannot be done by yours

very sincerely

John Synge

My kind regards to Wm. Hake
TRANSCRIPT OF LETTER WRITTEN BY THOMAS COLLINS TO GEORGE IV ON THE OCCASION OF HIS MAJESTY'S VISIT TO DUBLIN, 1821.

SOURCE: Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, September 28th, 1850, p. 207
(Article by Mrs. Le Fanu (?), "The first pupil of the Claremont Deaf and Dumb Institution").

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I hope I will see you when you come here to see the deaf and dumb pupils. I am very sorry that you never did come here to see them. I never saw you. You ought to see the deaf and dumb boys and girls. I will be very glad to see you, if you will come here often to see me. Did you ever see the deaf and dumb in London? In what country did you see the deaf and dumb? The boys and girls are much improving, and very comfortable here. Are you interested in seeing the deaf and dumb? All the soldiers in the armies belong to you. The king of England gives a great deal of money to them. You must write a letter to me soon. I am very much pleased with writing a letter to you. I want to get a letter from you. I am much polite and very fond of you. How many brothers and sisters have you? Would you like to see me at Claremont? I could not go to London, because there is too much money to pay to the captain of a ship for me. I am an orphan, and a very poor boy. God will bless you. I love God very much, because he is the Creator of all things, and sent his Son to save us from sin. He supports us, and gives us everything, and makes us alive in the world. Do you know grammar, geography, Bible, arithmetic, astronomy, and dictionary? I know them very little. Claremont is a very beautiful place; it has a great deal of meadows, ponds, lakes, trees, flowers, gardens, a horse, and an ass. I am thinking of everything, and to be polite to everyone. Some of the deaf and dumb boys are always working in our garden. I have been at school for four years and a half. I am sixteen years of age. I am very delighted that
I am improving very much. Perhaps I will be an assistant of the Deaf and Dumb School. There are forty-one pupils at Claremont. Where were you born? I was born in Dublin. I am quite deaf and dumb, and can speak very well. Would you like to correspond with me? I would be very fond of you. You ought to write a long letter to me soon. What profession are you of? I never saw you. I am very anxious to see you indeed, and would like to see the king of England very much. We want a new schoolroom, and we want to have money enough to buy clothes and food for them. Will you send us some deaf and dumb children, and give us money to pay for educating them? I am your affectionate friend,

THOMAS COLLINS.

Claremont, Glasnevin, near Dublin.
APPENDIX C

PESTALOZZIAN TABLES

TABLE OF UNITS

TABLE OF SIMPLE FRACTIONS

TABLE OF COMPOUND FRACTIONS
SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript, The Elements of Algebra founded on the Elements of Geometry

Centralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland

(Photocopies supplied by Mr. G. Basing, Stadtbibliothek, Winterthur)

Letters written in French:

Syage to Pantaloon, Dublin, 6th Feb., 1815. Ms. Paut. 363.


Syage to Pantaloon, Dublin, 11th Dec., 1815. Ms. Paut. 363.


Letter written in German:

'Letter from Pantaloon to Syage, Dublin, January, 1813.' Ms. Paut. 363.

Letter written in English:

'Letter from Pantaloon, London, 12th April, 1816.' Ms. Paut. 363.
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John Synge's diary (fragments), 1812-1814.
John Synge's account book (fragment), 1833.
John Synge's passport for Spain, 19th Sept., 1813.
Letter from W.D. La Touche to John Synge, Dublin, 3rd Dec. 1814.
Letter from John Synge to Miss Bridson, Cheam, 28th Apr. 1830.
Letter from John Synge to his children (fragment), Dublin, 15th Apr. 1828.

Manuscript, The Elements of Algebra Digested according to Pestalozzian Principles by Joseph Schmidt (circa 1809); writer/translator unknown.

Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland.

(Photocopies supplied by Dr. E. De Jung, Stadtbibliothek, Winterthur)

Letters written in French:

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  " " " 18th Aug. 1817; Ms. Pest. 365/2.
  " " " 10th Dec. 1818; Ms. Pest. 365/3
Orpen to Pestalozzi, London, 31st March, 1818; Ms. Pest. 272/1.
  " " " Dublin, 4th July, 1818; Ms. Pest. 272/2.
  " " " 26th Sept., 1820; Ms. Pest. 272/3.
  " " " 7th Nov., 1820; Ms. Pest. 272/4
  " " " 31st March, 1823; Ms. Pest. 272/5
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Letter written in German:

'Christiana' to Pestalozzi, Dublin, January, 1819; Ms. Pest. 56/405.

Letter written in English:

Wm. Allen to Pestalozzi, London, 17th April, 1818; Ms. Pest. 50/1.
Library/Mss.Room, Trinity College, Dublin.

Ms. Syllabus, Outline of Course of Forms, John Synge. (Attached to end-cover of Synge's 'The Relations and Description of Forms')

Proof sheets of Hebrew Bible, printed by Synge at Roundwood.

Manuscript, Pestalozzi's Relations of Numbers, Philip Pullen.

Manuscript, another handwritten copy (incomplete) of Schmidt's, 'The Elements of Algebra Digested according to Pestalozzian Principles'.

Letter from R.A. Synge to Librarian, T.C.; D., 15th Oct., 1935; (attached to end-cover of Synge's 'Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers')

Schoolcharts (Synge); mostly printed at Roundwood:
- Tables of Money and Measures
- Tables of Weights and Measures
- Alphabet Lessons, Misc.
- Spelling Lessons, VII-X
- Reading Lessons, misc.
- Reading Lessons of One Syllable, Tales for Puss, I-XVIII.
- Three Kingdoms of Nature, I - XVll
- Lessons on Geography, I - XVI
  (Elliptical Lessons), I-XVI

(Total number of charts, 70 + duplicates)

National Library of Ireland

Letter from E.M. Stephens to Librarian (undated)

Schoolcharts (Synge); mostly printed at Roundwood:
- Alphabet Lessons, misc.
- Reading Lessons, misc.
- Scripture Reading Lessons, Genesis I-Vll
- " Epistle to the Hebrews (24 sheets)
- Elliptical Reading Lessons (animals)
- Hymns for Children, VI-Vlll

Duplicates of schoolcharts deposited at T.D.D.

(Total number of charts, approximately 90)
Kildare Place Society Archives (Church of Ireland Training College)

Letters
J. Lancaster to L. Magrath, 24th April, 1812; Box 1, C29.
S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 4th July, 1812; Box 1, C35.
W. Turner and A. Clapham to L. Magrath, 27th May, 1812; Box L.C33
J. Lancaster to S. Bewley, 9th Nov., 1812; Box 1, C46.
S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 5th Jan., 1813; Box 1, C54.
S. Bewley to W. Allen, 14th Sept., 1812; Box 1, C43.
W. Allen to S. Bewley, 24th Sept., 1812; Box 1, C44.
W. Allen to S. Bewley, 18th Oct., 1813; Box 1, C69
J. Jackson to J. Fox, 12th Dec., 1814; Box 1.
Duke of Kent to J. Jackson, 2nd March, 1815; Box 1, C98
J. Jackson to Duke of Kent, 16th March, 1815; Box 1, C102.
J. Jackson to J. Fox, 12th Dec., 1814; Box 1.
C. Orpen to J. Jackson, 11th June, 1816; Box 1, C123
M. Edgeworth to J. Bessonnet, 30th Sept., 1814, C75.

Miscellaneous
Draft of Kildare Place Society Publications; Box 23, CB154
Printed list of above; Box 10, LP50.
Proofsheets, Second Table of the Relations of Forms (55 figures).
'Drawn in the Model School, Kildare Place, Dublin'; unclassified.
Three proofsheets of animal figures (includes 'beehive' device); unclassified.

2. PESTALOZZIAN WORKS BY JOHN SYNGE

Library, Trinity College, Dublin.

A Biographical sketch of The Struggles of Pestalozzi to Establish his System, compiled and translated chiefly from his own works. By an Irish Traveller, Dublin, 1815.
Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 1, Roundwood, 1817

The Relations and Description of Forms, according to the Principles of Pestalozzi, Roundwood, 1817.

The Infant School Teacher's Assistant on Pestalozzian Principles, No. 1, Lessons on the Bead Table or Arithmometer, Teignmouth, 1828 (cover only)

An Easy Introduction to the Hebrew Language in the Principles of Pestalozzi, Teignmouth and London, 1831 (by 'Parens').

National Library of Ireland.

The Use of The Bean Table or an Introduction to Addition, Subtraction and Numeration with visible objects on the Principles of Pestalozzi, Dublin, 1820.

British Museum Library.

A Sketch of Pestalozzi's Intuitive System of Calculations, compiled and translated by an Irish Traveller, Dublin, 1815.

Found in disused basement of the Church of Ireland Training College (formerly premises of Kildare Place Society)

Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 1; the Second Edition carefully revised, Dublin, 1825 (8 copies).
Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 2, Roundwood, 1817 (5 copies).
Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 3, Roundwood, 1818 (3 copies).
Pestalozzi's Intuitive Relations of Numbers, Part 4, Roundwood, 1819 (1 copy).

The Relations and Description of Forms, according to the Principles of Pestalozzi, Roundwood, 1817 (1 copy).

3. MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Maria Taylor's picture of Synge's school at Roundwood, 1825 (Mrs. R.F. Cantan, Sandycove, Dublin)

Printing block used by John Synge; photographs of Kilfeacle School
at turn of century; miscellaneous schoolcharts used by Synge (Mrs. L.M. Stephens, Dublin).

Series of Alphabet/Reading Lessons (loose-leaves, handsewn), inscribed 'Jane Synge a Present from dear Papa' (T.C.D. Library)

Hymns for Cottage Worship, Nunsross Press, Co. Wicklow (T.C.D. Library)

4. JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

Library, Trinity College, Dublin


The Educational Magazine and Journal of Scholastic Literature, Vol.1, March, 1838; Aug., 1838; Sept., 1838; London.

The Schoolmasters' Magazine and Educational Enquirer, Vol.1, Oct., 1839; Armagh.


5. REPORTS.

National Library of Ireland

Annual Reports of the National Institute for the Education of Deaf and Dumb children of the poor in Ireland, 1819-1854; Dublin.

Church of Ireland Training College

Annual Reports of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland (Kildare Place Society), 1813-1850; Dublin.

British Museum Library

Third Report of Select Committee on Education of the Lower Orders, 3rd-8th June, 1818
6. EARLY EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

Library, Trinity College, Dublin

Mayo, Elizabeth, Lessons on Objects, as given to children between the ages of six and eight in a Pestalozzian School at Cheam, Surrey; London, 1831.

Mayo, Elizabeth, Lessons on Shells, (as above); London, 1832.

Reiner, C., Lessons on Form, or An Introduction to Geometry, As given in a Pestalozzian School, Cheam, Surrey; London, 1837.

National Library of Ireland.

Orpen, C.E.H., Contrast between Atheism, Paganism and Christianity, or, Uneducated Deaf and Dumb as Heathens, etc., Dublin, 1827.

British Museum Library.

Biber, E., Henry Pestalozzi and his Plan of Education, London, 1831

Brown, S., A Comparative view of the systems of Pestalozzi and Lancaster, in an address delivered before The Society of Teachers of the City of New York, Jan. 1825; New York, 1825.


Pullen, P.H., Intellectual or Intuitive Arithmetic, etc., London, 1821.

Reiner, C., Lessons on Number, as given in a Pestalozzian School, Cheam, Surrey; London, 1831.

Kildare Place Society Archives (C.I.T.C.)


7. PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS

Library, Trinity College, Dublin


Synge, L.M., The Family of Synge or Sing (pedigree tables), Southampton, 1938.
British Museum Library.


8. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF PESTALOZZI'S WRITINGS


Green, J.A., Pestalozzi's Educational Writings, London, 1912.

9. GENERAL PRINTED WORKS

Allen, W., Life of William Allen, with selections from his correspondence, (3 vols.), London, 1846.


Brooke, R.S., Recollections of the Irish Church, London, 1877.


Cambell, A., Letters and Extracts from the Ms. Writings of James Pierrepont Greaves, Vol.1, Surrey, 1843.

Cole, P.R., A History of Educational Thought, Oxford, 1931.


Dowling, P.J., The Hedge Schools of Ireland, Dublin.


Guimps, R. de, Pestalozzi, His Life and Work (2nd French edition); translation by J. Russell, Sonnenschein, 1900.
Hare, A.J.C., Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, London, 1894.
Herbart, J.F., ABC of Sense Perception and Minor Pedagogical Works, New York, 1903.
Monroe, W.S., Joseph Neef and Pestalozzianism in America, Boston, 1894.
Salmon, D., (ed.), The Practical Parts of Lancaster's 'Improvements' and Bell's 'Experiment', Cambridge, 1932.
Silber, K., Pestalozzi, the Man and His Work, London, 1960.


Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Pestalozzi and His Times, A Pictorial Record, Zurich and London, 1928.

**General Reference**

Alumni Dublineae's, 1593-1846 (ed. T.U. Sadlier), Dublin, 1924.