

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

‘The End of the Beginning’?
An Examination of ‘The New Education’ and the
New Education Fellowship (NEF) in New Zealand in
the Interwar Period (1919-1938) with Particular
Reference to the NEF Conference 1937.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Massey University,
Palmerston North, New Zealand

Paul Joseph Adams

December 2013

Abstract

The primary focus of this thesis was the rise of ‘the new education’ in New Zealand in the interwar years with particular reference to the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and the NEF Conference held in New Zealand in 1937. It was found that there was a greater depth of progressive policy and practice across the country than many had previously thought. Moreover, the NEF, as the largest global progressive organisation at the time, influenced educators in New Zealand in both the 1920s and 1930s through its progressive activities and its local groups. By 1937, the NEF Conference was the culmination of these progressive endeavours and the influence of the NEF. As such, the new education ideas of the Conference fell not on uninformed educators but on fertile ground. The Conference, then, served to legitimate the previous progressive policy directions, new education experiments, and the activities of progressive organisations. It also attracted a large amount of publicity and reached out to the general public throughout the country. As a consequence, the Conference served to draw to a close the first phase of the somewhat piece-meal adoption of progressive education during the interwar years and signalled the beginning of its nation-wide consolidation into the mainstream education system. In addition, the event re-energised Peter Fraser (the Minister of Education), ensured the appointment of Dr C E Beeby to the Department of Education in 1938, inspired the now famous Fraser-Beeby 1939 policy statement, and provided the educational and political platform for the Government to confidently continue with its progressive reforms in the late 1930s and 1940s, with Dr Beeby at the helm. In sum, the Conference was ‘the end of the beginning’ for new education in New Zealand.

Contents

Abstract		ii
Contents		iii
Acknowledgements		vi
Abbreviations and Conventions		x
Photographs, Figures and Tables		xiii
Introduction		1
	<i>A. 'The New Education' and the New Education Fellowship</i>	
Chapter 1	'The New Education'	14
Chapter 2	The New Education Fellowship	37
	<i>B. New Education in New Zealand in the Interwar Period (1919-1938)</i>	
Chapter 3	Progressive Policy Frameworks, Approaches and Organisations	60
Chapter 4	Progressive Professors of Education	91
Chapter 5	Progressive Training College Lecturers	123
Chapter 6	Progressive School Principals/ Rectors	149
Chapter 7	Progressive Teachers	177
Chapter 8	Progressive Educational Administrators and Inspectors	202
Chapter 9	Progressive Researchers at NZCER and NZ Educators Overseas	223
Chapter 10	Progressive Overseas Visitors	244
	<i>C. The New Zealand NEF Conference 1937</i>	
Chapter 11	The NEF Conference 1937	276
Chapter 12	After the NEF Conference 1937	311
Conclusion	The End of the Beginning?	334
References		344

Appendices

361

1) 'New Education' Teaching Methods	362
2) Organisations that Supported 'New Education'	371
3) Beatrice Ensor's Educational Achievements Prior to the Founding of the NEF	384
4) The Organisational Structure of the New Education Fellowship	403
5) Examples of New Education Material in <i>Theosophy in New Zealand (TiNZ)</i>	420
6) Professor Richard Lawson's Experimental Schooling Initiatives, 1937 to 1939	427
7) Norman R Jacobsen	438
(a) <i>Heat: A Great Traveller</i> (192x)	438
(b) Letters to Dr C E Beeby in September 1934 Outlining his Progressive Theory	442
8) Charles Arthur Batt's Four Major Booklets on Progressive Education	452
9) A L M Perry's PhD (1938)	459
10) Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn (1895-1986)	467
(a) Ryburn's New Education Approaches at the Christian Boys' School in Kharar	467
(b) Brief Overview of His Publications and the Masha'l Press	474
11) Activities During Professor Fred Clarke's 'Grand Tour' of New Zealand, July 1935	481
12) Carnegie Corporation	485
(a) An Introduction to Carnegie Grants in New Zealand: 1904 to 1937	485
(b) Official Reports of Carnegie Visitors to New Zealand: J E Russell (1928), L D Coffman (1931), F P Keppel (1935)	492
13) National Radio Recordings Related to New Education Fellowship Conference 1937	505
14) Overview of the Speakers to the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937	516
15) The Conference Activities in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin	527
16) Summary of Delegates' Reported Activities in New Zealand	545
17) Travel Arrangements of the Visiting Speakers	546
18) Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System, By Dr A G Butchers	567
19) NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)	572
20) Speaker Articles Published in the New Zealand and Australian Proceedings	577

Appendices cond.

21) Conference Between the NEF Delegation, The Minister of Education, Department Officers, and Others (July 1937)	585
(a) Proposed Questions that the Hon. Acting Prime Minister Intends to Take Up With the NEF Delegation	585
(b) Verbatim Record of Conference with the NEF Delegation	589
(c) Summary of the Discussion with the NEF Delegation	614
22) Reports for the Australasian NEF Conferences 1937	618
(a) Reports to the Carnegie Corporation of New York from Beeby and Cunningham	618
(b) Report to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education, from J E Purchase, Christchurch	629
(c) Reports to ACER and NEF from Peter Fraser, Minister of Education	632
(d) Post-Conference Correspondence to Beeby from Visiting NEF Speakers	638
23) The Publication of the New Zealand Conference Proceedings	643
24) The Development of the New Zealand Issue of <i>The New Era in Home and School</i>	651
25) First Issue of the New Zealand <i>NEF News</i>	657
26) The Origins of the Australasian NEF Conference 1937	662
27) Arthur Lismers' Caricatures and Sketches While in New Zealand	699

Acknowledgements

A research project of this nature cannot be undertaken without the assistance and support of many individuals and organisations.

I would particularly like to thank the following principal organisations and staff for their generous assistance and various forms of support throughout this research:

Alexander Turnbull Library (particularly Manuscripts; Research Services; Drawings, Paintings & Prints; Photographic Archive);

Australian Council for Educational Research (Jenny Trevitt, Librarian, Cunningham Library);

Institute of Education, University of London (Sarah Aitchison, Head of Archives and Becky Webster, Deputy Archivist, Newsam Library and Archives);

National Archives of New Zealand (particularly Documents Archives; Film and Sound Archives);

New Zealand Council for Educational Research (Beverley Thomson, Manager, Information Services);

New Zealand Educational Institute Te Riu Roa (Sharon Jones, Executive Officer, Information Services);

University of Columbia, New York (Jane Gorjevsky, Curator, Carnegie Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Butler Library); and,

World Education Fellowship (David Turner, Chair, WEF (GB)).

The assistance of the following New Zealand and international archives and staff is also greatly appreciated:

Art Gallery of Ontario (Amy Marshall Furness, Rosamond Ivey Special Collections Archivist, E P Taylor Research Library & Archives);

Auckland Art Gallery (Caroline McBride, E H McCormick Assistant Librarian);

Auckland City Council (James Armstrong, Archivist);

Auckland University Press;

Australian National Film and Sound Archives (David Atfield, Collection Access);

Christchurch City Council Archives;

Christchurch City Libraries (Allison Page and Rosemary O'Neil, Information Librarians);

Dartington Hall Trust, Totnes, UK (Yvonne Widger, Archives Administrator);

Dunedin City Council (Alison Breese, Archives Assistant/Information Officer, Knowledge Centre);

Dunedin Public Art Gallery (Genevieve Webb, Registrar);

Hertfordshire Genealogy (Chris Renolds);

Knox College, Presbyterian Research Centre (Yvonne Wilkie, Director of Archives; Jane Bloore, Research & Reference Archivist; Mychael Tymons, Photographic Curator);

Kowhai Intermediate School, Auckland (Paul Douglas, Principal);

Ministry for Culture and Heritage, New Zealand (Gavin McLean, Senior Historian);

National Library of Australia;

National Library of New Zealand;

New Zealand Parliament (Bessie Sutherland, Research Librarian, Parliamentary Information Service, Parliamentary Library);

Otago University Press;

Rotorua Museum of Art and History (Jane Strachan);

Scots College, Wellington (Paddianne W Neely, College Archivist);

Southland Boys' High School, Invercargill (Lynley Dear, Archivist);

Te Puia Te Puia, New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua (Molly);

The New Zealand Film Archive Ngā Kaitiaki O Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua (James Taylor, Cataloguer / Researcher);

Theosophical Society in Australia (Naomi Blumensaadt, Librarian, The Campbell Theosophical Research Library);

Theosophical Society in New Zealand (Lara-May Thorne, Archivist);

University of Canterbury Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha (Erin Kimber, Information Librarian - New Zealand History, Macmillan Brown Library);

University of Glasgow (Jon Lewin, Information Officer, The SCRE Centre, Faculty of Education);

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban (Emily Krige, Senior Archivist Killie Campbell Africana Library);

University of Melbourne (Appy Laspagis, Education Librarian);

University of Minnesota (Erik Moore, Head, University Archives)

University of Otago (Kate Guthrie, Assistant Archivist, Archives & Manuscripts, Hocken / Uare Taoka o Hākena);

University of Oxford (Sally Matthews and Louise Trevelyan, Bodleian Library);

University of Tasmania (Cathy Fyfe, Manager, Records & Information);

University of Texas (Mr Aryn Glazier, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History);

University of Victoria, Wellington (Sue Hirst, Special Collections Librarian, J C Beaglehole Room – Tānga Puiaki);

University of Western Australia (Maria Carvalho, University Archivist);

Wellington City Council (Michael Biggs, Archivist); and,

Wittenberg University, Ohio (Kristen Gibson, Assistant Professor and Reference Librarian; Suzanne Smailes, Archives Librarian; Thomas Library).

Thanks are also due to the following who have provided practical support and advice: Ailsa Coutts and Phillippa Ward (NZEI); Angela Grigor (biographer of Arthur Lismar); Carol Henderson (daughter of Gordon Tovey); Clare Hull (Department of History, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban); David Cursons (St Christopher School, Letchworth: St Christopher Club); David McKenzie (Emeritus Professor, University of Otago); Derek Carver (Quakers in Aotearoa); Family of George Ashbridge; Gary McCulloch (Institute of Education); Greg Lee (University of Canterbury); Gunhild Litwin (Adviser Learning Languages, Massey University); Helen Leckie (nee Beeby); Helen May (University of Otago); Jane Abbiss (University of Canterbury); Janet Soler (The Open University); Jenny Collins (Unitec); Jeremy Ensor (grandson of Beatrice Ensor); Jim Holdom; Kay Morris Mathews (EIT); Louis Changuion (Archivist, Massey University); Lynda Goetz (Frensham Heights School, Surrey); Mark Sheehan (Victoria University of Wellington); Mary Jane Shuker (Victoria University of Wellington); Noeline Alcorn (University of Waikato); Paul Goulter (National Secretary, NZEI); Robin Baker (Director of New Zealand Council for Educational Research); Tony Dowden (University of Southern Queensland); and, Warren Manicom (history student, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban). I am also grateful to the Graduate Research Fund of Massey University for providing funding for a selection of the reproductions in this project. A special thanks is due to Jane Leighton of Massey University's Document Supply Service who unflinchingly helped with a constant stream of overseas library interloan requests. Last, but not least, thanks to Guy Broadley, John Clark, Anne-Marie O'Neill, John O'Neill, Kathleen Vossler, Tracey Beattie-Pinfold, Gail Cushing and all my former colleagues at Massey University who gave support in various ways along the way.

It is hard to find words to describe the contribution of my Supervisors, Professor Roger Openshaw, Professor Howard Lee and in the early stages, Emeritus Professor Wayne Edwards. Their wisdom, breadth of historical knowledge and herculean patience have greatly enhanced the quality of this project (whilst all mistakes and shortcomings are my own).

Finally, my family (Judy, Andrew, Anna) has been overwhelmingly supportive throughout my research – and have had, thankfully, the tactful foresight of not continually asking, 'When are you going to finish?'

Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Full Name</i>
AAIE	Austro-American Institute of Education
AAVW	File identifier for the Bureau of Social Science Research, Archives New Zealand
AAVZ	File identifier for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Archives New Zealand
ABEP	File identifier for the Ministry of Education, Archives New Zealand
ACER	Australian Council for Educational Research
AEC	The Association for Education in Citizenship
AJHR	Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
CAR	Carnegie Adult Rural scheme
CBE	Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
CCNY	Carnegie Corporation of New York
CEIP	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
CFAT	Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
DSIR	Department of Scientific and Industrial Research
DSO	Distinguished Service Order
E	File identifier for Department of Education, Archives New Zealand
Fellowship	New Education Fellowship
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
Hocken	File identifier for Hocken / Uare Taoka o Hākena Library, University of Otago
IA	File identifier for Department of Internal Affairs, Archives New Zealand
IOE/ Institute	Institute of Education, University of London
IPR	Institute of Pacific Relations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Full Name</i>
J	File identifier for Department of Corrections, Archives New Zealand
MA	File identifier for Maori Purposes Fund Board, Archives New Zealand
NEA	National Education Association
NEF	New Education Fellowship
<i>New Era</i>	The generic term used for the various iterations of the official English organ of the New Education Fellowship
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZEI	New Zealand Educational Institute Te Riu Roa
NZG	New Zealand Gazette
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
OBE	Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
OTC	Officer Training Corps
PCARC	File identifier for Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin
PEA	Progressive Education Association
RAF	Royal Air Force
SCRE	Scottish Council for Research in Education
TET	Theosophical Educational Trust
<i>TiNZ</i>	<i>Theosophy in New Zealand</i> , the journal of the Theosophical Society in New Zealand
TS	The Theosophical Society
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
WEA	Workers' Educational Association
WEF	World Education Fellowship
YMCA	The Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	The Young Women's Christian Association

Conventions

In line with the definitional discussions in the first two chapters, this thesis will adopt a broad view of ‘progressive’ and ‘new’ education and these terms will be used interchangeably as indeed they were in the contemporary literature.

The thesis uses endnotes which are located at the end of each chapter and are used for source and additional material.

The single quote mark format is used throughout.

When including longer extracts from primary material, the original formatting and punctuation is reproduced when appropriate and where possible.

When the term ‘NEF Conference 1937’ is used, it refers to the Conference held in New Zealand. The associated NEF Conference held in Australia in August/September 1937 is referred to as the Australian NEF Conference 1937. Combined they are called the Australasian NEF Conference 1937.

Photographs, Figures and Tables

Photographs

(a) In Chapters

2-1	Beatrice Ensor	40
SB-1	Wellington Primary Classroom	58
SB-2	Wellington Primer Classroom	58
3-1	Open Air Classroom at Vasanta College	78
3-2	Eurhythmics Display at Vasanta College, 1919	79
3-3	Mr Sydney T Butler Teaching in the Open Air, 1919	80
3-4	Revived Ancient Greek Dancing Performance, 1937	82
4-1	Professor James Shelley (1884-1961)	97
4-2	Dr Richard Lawson	103
4-3	Ministerial Committee on Primary School Syllabus	105
5-1	Staff of Wellington Teachers' Training College 1925	132
5-2	Mr Norman R Jacobsen	135
7-1	Socialist Sunday School Outing, Auckland 1920s	180
7-2	A L M Perry	187
8-1	Professor Thomas Alexander Hunter	205
8-2	Professor and Mrs Thomson with Professor T A Hunter	208
9-1	Dr P S de Q Cabot	230
9-2	Reverend William Morton and Hilda May Ryburn	233
9-3	Open Air Classrooms, Christian Boys' School, Kharar	234
10-1	H S Olcott, Annie Besant, and C W Leadbeater	246
10-2	Professor Sir John Adams (1857-1934)	247
10-3	Professor Sir Percy Nunn (1870-1944)	247
10-4	Professor Sir Fred Clarke (1880-1952)	249
10-5	Portrait of Andrew Carnegie	253
10-6	Lotus Delta Coffman	257
10-7	Infant Room (probably College Street School, Palmerston North)	265

10-8	Classroom at College Street School, Palmerston North	266
11-1	Professor T A Hunter	278
11-2	Dr C E Beeby	279
11-3	Mr G R Ashbridge	279
11-4	E G Malherbe, P Meadon, C Norwood, I Kandel, H Rugg & L Zilliacus	292
11-5	ACER Hosts the International NEF Conference in Australia	293

(b) In Appendices

A3-1	Arundale House Letchworth (1924)	387
A4-1	Claire Soper – NEF International Secretary, 1921-1951	404
A10(a)-1	Clay Modelling, Christian Boys’ School, Kharar	468
A10(a)-2	The Carpentry Workshop. Christian Boys’ School, Kharar	469
A10(a)-3	The Weaving Room, Christian Boys’ School, Kharar	469
A10(a)-4	Self-government. Meeting of the Committee, Christian Boys’ School, Kharar	471
A10(a)-5	Staff of the Christian Boys’ School, Kharar	472
A10(b)-1	The Press. Machine Room. Christian Boys’ School, Kharar (early 1930s)	479
A12(a)-1	CAR Travelling Library	488
A14-1	Speaker Photographs (signed)	517-525
A15-1	Luncheon for NEF Speakers at Auckland University College, 9 July 1937	529
A15-2	Official Opening of the New Education Fellowship Conference, 10 July 1937	530
A15-3	A Section of the Large Gathering Who Attended the NEF Conference in Auckland	533
A15-4	Teachers Leaving the NEF Seminars at the Girls’ High School Hall, Dunedin	541
A17-1	Ernst and Janie Malherbe: Arrival at Auckland for NEF Conference 1937	547
A17-2	Dr William Boyd and Mrs Boyd on their arrival in Wellington	548
A17-3	Delegates who arrived by the <i>Mariposa</i> yesterday morning	549
A17-4	Dr C E Beeby, Dr Susan Isaacs and Professor T A Hunter	550
A17-5	Group ‘B’ Speakers at the Whakarewarewa Village and Model Pa	552
A17-6	Guide Ana Hato and Laurin Zilliacus at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, July 1937	553
A17-7	<i>Wanganella</i> experiences one of the roughest Tasman crossings of her career	559
A17-8	Arthur Lismer, Janie Malherbe and Unknown 1937	560
A17-9	Unknown, Unknown, E Salter Davies, G T Hankin, Hankin’s Aunt [?] 1937	561
A26-1	Kenneth Stewart Cunningham (1937)	662
A27-1	Arthur Lismer by Blackboard	700

Figures

(a) In Chapters

4-1	Attributed as Professor Richard Lawson by Arthur Lismer 1937	111
11-1	‘The Young Idea’, 7 July 1937	285
11-2	Untitled Cartoon, 30 July 1937	286
C-1	The NEF Elephant by Arthur Lismer 1937	339

(b) In Appendices

A3-1	Cover of Volume 1, Issue 1, 1920 of <i>Education for The New Era</i>	394
A7(a)-1	Cover for Norman R Jacobsen’s, <i>Heat: A Great Traveller</i>	438
A7(a)-2	Illustration 41. Maori Oven. (Preparing for a Tangi)	439
A7(a)-3	Illustration 42. Section of earth oven showing how heat is held	439
A17-1	NEF NZ, GROUP B by Arthur Lismer 1937	554
A17-2	E G Malherbe by Arthur Lismer 1937	560
A18-1	Cover Page, Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System	569
A18-2	Foreword, Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System	570
A19-1	Cover Page, NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)	573
A19-2	Preface, NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)	574
A19-3	Introductory, NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)	575
A23-1	Cover for <i>Modern Trends in Education</i>	644
A27-1	Cyril Norwood – ‘Informal’	701
A27-2	Harold Rugg – ‘The Confidential’	702
A27-3	E G Malherbe – ‘The Forward Tackle’	703
A27-4	‘Signor’ Kandel – ‘Grand Opera Style’	704
A27-5	‘The Leisurely’ Percy Meadon – ‘Education for Leisure’	705
A27-6	‘The Rector’ – Rektor Zilliacus – ‘I was a pale young curate then’	706
A27-7	ENGLAND V AMERICA by Arthur Lismer 1937	708
A27-8	Isaac Kandel by Arthur Lismer 1937	711
A27-9	Percy Meadon by Arthur Lismer 1937	712
A27-10	Laurin Zilliacus by Arthur Lismer 1937	713
A27-11	Harold Rugg ‘SPEECH’ by Arthur Lismer 1937	714
A27-12	C E Beeby (L) and Isaac Kandel (R) by Arthur Lismer 1937	715
A27-13	C E Beeby of NZCER by Arthur Lismer	716

A27-14	George Ashbridge of NZEI by Arthur Lismer 1937	717
A27-15	The NEF Elephant by Arthur Lismer 1937	718
A27-16	DOMINIE McNORWOOD [Norwood] by Arthur Lismer 1937	720
A27-17	MACALERB, THE SPRINGBOK PUTTER [Malherbe] by Arthur Lismer 1937	721
A27-18	SIR PERRRCY MAC LANCS MEADON [Meadon] by Arthur Lismer 1937	722
A27-19	THE MACRUGG [Rugg] by Arthur Lismer 1937	723
A27-20	THE McKANDELS Are Coming [Kandel] by Arthur Lismer 1937	724
A27-21	McZILLICUDDY, THE TERREEBLE FINN [Zilliacus] by Arthur Lismer 1937	725
A27-22	MACALISMER. A chiel among ye takkin notes. [Lismer] by Arthur Lismer 1937	726
A27-23	MALHERBERAREWA [Malherbe] by Arthur Lismer 1937	728
A27-24	Māori carving by Arthur Lismer 1937	729
A27-25	ULYSSES by Arthur Lismer 1937	730
A27-26	A Springbok SCRUM any day at 1 pm by Arthur Lismer 1937	731
A27-27	Springboks – Outward Bound 1937 (By Day & By Night) by Arthur Lismer 1937	731
A27-28	THE DELINQUENT BOY SEES LIFE by Arthur Lismer 1937	732
A27-29	Dr C E Beeby by Arthur Lismer 1937	733

Tables

(a) In Chapters

10-1	Monies distributed in New Zealand by the CCNY Commonwealth Program between 1927 and 1959	254
-------------	---	-----

(b) In Appendices

A16-1	Summary of Delegates' Reported Activities in New Zealand	545
--------------	--	-----

Introduction

Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning ...

(Winston S. Churchill, 1942)¹

A number of New Zealand writers have perpetuated the notion that ‘the new education’ in New Zealand had its early beginnings with the ground-breaking New Education Fellowship Conference 1937, followed by the appointment of Dr Beeby to the Department of Education in 1938, and the formulation of the Fraser-Beeby educational policy statement that was written and tabled in parliament in 1939.² The difficulty with that perspective, and the problem that this thesis addresses, is that considerably less is widely known about the progressive educational landscape that *preceded* these events (and that ultimately ensured that they would have a lasting impact on education in New Zealand). This thesis, then, examines the development of progressive education in the interwar years in New Zealand and argues that the NEF Conference 1937, far from being the beginning, actually denotes the end of a long phase of progressive policy and practice; more extensive than many had previously thought. Seen in this context, Beeby’s appointment and the now famous 1939 policy statement, did not just emerge from an educational vacuum – these significant events grew from the fertile ground of new education ideas, organisations and educators that had been blossoming across the country.³ In fact, Beeby’s appointment and the Fraser-Beeby statement actually signalled the onset of the next stage of new education in New Zealand, and its widespread expansion into the mainstream education system.⁴

The story of the writing of ‘the new education in New Zealand during the interwar years’ has been an interesting and absorbing journey. That journey began initially with a strong interest in the New Education Fellowship (NEF) Conference held in New Zealand in 1937, including who the visiting speakers were, where they went, how they travelled, who accompanied them, what they did, what outside engagements they had and so on. This turned into a detail-filled account with copious new material coming to light. However, as this research progressed, my attention was drawn to how the Conference came into being. The role of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) and Dr C. E. Beeby was important there. Later, it

became apparent that there would have been no Conference without the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) and Dr Ken Cunningham.

At the same time, the research involved a parallel path of investigation that focussed on the NEF organisation and what ‘new education’ actually was. As that research continued, it became obvious that the New Zealand NEF Conference was part of a larger set of regional and world conferences of the NEF that had started in 1921. In addition, these conferences expounded a particular brand of new education ideas and attracted progressive educators from all over the world, including New Zealand.

What became clear was that while the New Zealand Conference was an important event in New Zealand’s educational history, and it had an impact on the education reforms that were to come after it, the Conference was embedded in broader contexts. These contexts were educational and political and were local, national and global. With that realisation, and the understanding that knowledge of these contexts was essential for interpreting the Conference itself, the fundamental approach to my topic changed. Instead of a thesis devoted to the Conference, its key players, and its origins, the focus shifted to the local, national and global contexts that helped to explain why the Conference was to become the overwhelming success that it was.

Accompanying this shift in focus was a broadening of the research archives that needed to be consulted. In New Zealand, the most useful archives were the National Archives of New Zealand, the Alexander Turnbull Library, and the New Zealand Educational Institute Te Riu Roa (NZEI). In addition, I was fortunate to be granted unlimited access to the papers of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER). Globally, the archives of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), the Carnegie Collections at the University of Columbia, New York, and the Killie Campbell Africana Library at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban were most helpful. Of particular relevance, I made a two-week self-funded trip to the New Education Fellowship Archives held at the Institute of Education, University of London. This and other archival research resulted in a collection of 20,000+ pages of primary documents, 300+ related books, and innumerable articles. From this primary

sources material, over 500,000+ words was written which needed to be edited down and refocused to form this thesis.

In this regard, it is important to reiterate that the main primary sources for this thesis have largely been unpublished archival material (although these have been triangulated where possible with newspaper sources from the time and participant material written some time after the events in question). As McCulloch and Richardson (2000) explain, there are three types of these unpublished primary sources in the education field and each has been extensively used in this thesis. The first concerns 'education policy and administration' and the primary source drawn on has been the archives of various Government Departments located in the New Zealand National Archives. The second involves 'individual educational institutions' and the archival material from institutions such as NZCER, NZEI, ACER, IOE and the Carnegie Corporations has been profoundly helpful. The third type is the 'personal papers of teachers and educational reformers' and significant new material has been uncovered in archives nationally and internationally.

However, there are strengths and weaknesses of using such archival sources. The educational historian Gary McCulloch based at the Institute of Education, London University – who, somewhat fortuitously, has written extensively not only about education in New Zealand and the United Kingdom but also about one of the important participants in the NEF Conference 1937, Sir Cyril Norwood – has written about this historiographical issue in some depth. McCulloch (2004) suggested that the appraisal and analysis of archival sources needed to be evaluated in relation to three important areas: authenticity, reliability and meaning.

The *authenticity* of the archival material consulted was fortunately generally without doubt. Much of the source material drawn on in this thesis was on institutional letterhead and signed by the writer and it came from recognised government or institutional archives. The *reliability* of the material was another story in relation to truth, bias, availability and representativeness. With regard to truth and bias, much of the governmental documents were guarded in tone, cautious and bureaucratic – while their 'official' meaning might have been clear their real intentions were certainly open

to interpretation. The educational institution sources were generally more biased in favour of the particular case being made – for example, if there was a request for funding then the institution’s means and reach appeared understated or if the institution was publicising itself its achievements and abilities appeared inflated. The personal papers and diaries consulted were frequently the frank and honest opinions of the individuals concerned and were naturally biased as could be expected. While needing to acknowledge their partiality, it was these privately made comments that often added new perspectives to an event, personality or situation (along with some humour as in the case of Arthur Lismer’s cartoons). Some material was blatantly unreliable such as the proceedings for both the NEF Conferences (and this issue is discussed in more depth in the sections that cover the proceedings). The availability and representativeness of the sources found was certainly patchy. The well looked after files of the government departments were generally comprehensive, easier to locate, and easier to access. The files of the educational institutions concerned were harder to access (whether from their location or cost) and the material itself was harder to locate due to issues to do with the organisation and cataloguing of the material. The files of individual progressive educators were considerably harder to find given that the individual (or their family) first needed to place their papers in an archive while the material concerning any one educator could be spread over a number of archives and countries. Not surprisingly, the governmental and institutional material, by its sheer volume and availability, has informed this thesis considerably more than the personal papers of progressive educators which have tended to be used as case studies or illustrative examples. While a large amount of source material has been consulted and used to attempt to redress these imbalances, it is evident that much material has not been located or just does not exist anymore (such as the early files of the NEF organisation that were destroyed by fire during the blitz of World War Two).

Finally, there is the interpretive issue of the *meaning* to be ascribed to archival documents. While most of the material drawn upon was written clearly and the meanings were generally understandable, the bulk of the sources used in this thesis dated from the interwar year period, and that raises two issues to consider here. First, as McCulloch (2004) has pointed out, the meaning of those documents cannot be fully understood *a priori* without a wider knowledge of the context within which they were

written. In a sense, that notion also reflects one of the core concerns of this thesis, which was to place the progressive actions of the interwar educators within their local, national and international contexts. This broader emphasis has, then, also greatly assisted in more fully understanding the material contained within these historically-embedded sources. Second, and related to the first, is the concern that the language and form of the documents comprise a discourse that not only is a reflection of an historical context but is being interpreted subjectively by the researcher of today. Admittedly, my interpretation of the meanings of the archival sources used has been only as effective as my broader knowledge of the interwar period and my collective understanding of educational and social policy and practice. In part, this concern has been ameliorated by the use of a wide range of sources and by the critical comments of knowledgeable colleagues and supervisors on approaches, ideas and drafts of the thesis. Though, the historically-embedded discourse of the documents themselves was an issue that only became clearer over time and with the experience of reading many documents from the period. For example, the growing realisation of the loose usage of the terms 'new education' and 'progressive' helped inform the restructuring of this thesis to include a chapter on definitions and the on-going discussion around the parameters of the meanings and usage of these terms.

In sum, the reliance of this thesis on a broad range of unpublished primary sources has provided a strong platform of historical evidence from the interwar years for the overall arguments of this thesis. However, as many historians have pointed out, there are both strengths and weaknesses of using such sources for what they can tell us and what they can't. This discussion here has briefly examined the approach taken to these source documents in relation to three critical areas: authenticity, reliability and meaning. Ultimately, without the opportunity to access now deceased progressive educators from the interwar years or attendees at the Conference, this thesis has unfortunately had little choice but to rely on archival and newspaper material, a small selection of autobiographies and biographies, and a range of secondary sources. As a consequence of these limitations, a broader range of local, national and international private and public archival collections has been consulted than perhaps would have been the case had more first-hand accounts been available in order to redress some of the shortcomings of the predominant focus on archival sources.

Of course, the explicit theorisation of historical events is also a major issue in the historical literature as it is for this thesis. This dissertation generally takes a more traditional/ 'lifting the veil' historical approach to the topic, and is informed by a multi-theoretical position towards the documentary analysis within a post-revisionist perspective. As McCulloch (2004, p. 46) argued (following Jupp & Norris, 1993), the historical theorising of documentary material has customarily drawn on three traditions, positivist (emphasising the 'objective, rational, systematic and quantitative'), interpretive (emphasising documents as being 'social phenomena' that have been 'socially constructed') and critical (focussing on 'social conflict, power, control and ideology'). However, McCulloch (2004) has concluded that for the educational historian 'in practice', such traditions are not discrete and that they inevitably 'overlap and interact with each other' (p. 47). This is particularly the case with the documentary analysis carried out in this thesis which was inevitably multi-theoretical due to the broad range of the primary sources and the wide scope of the chosen topic. There has been a significant focus on 'uncovering' the factual information with regard to specific events and relationships and their chronology, such as the historical foundations of the NEF Conference 1937. There has also been a broader understanding that much of the documentary material concerns both interpretations of events as well as core educational beliefs and ideas (such as the more personalised correspondence amongst the key educators and the negotiations around and theorisation of that vague social phenomena called 'new education'). In addition, it has been useful to emphasise notions of ideology, social and educational conflict as well as struggles for power and control. These aspects have often been central to understanding how 'new education' as an educational, political and spiritual force developed, how particular educators such as Beeby, Kandel and Norwood positioned themselves within educational paradigms, and how specific institutions 'manoeuvred' within the educational landscape, such as the NEF, NZCER and the Carnegie Corporations.

While being pragmatically multi-theoretical in the documentary analysis, this thesis is framed by a post-revisionist perspective. As McCulloch and Richardson (2000, p. 43) outline, a post-revisionist analysis: emphasises 'the complex, subtle and often contradictory relationship of education and society' (no more evident than in the

relationship between spirituality, education and social change espoused by the NEF); draws on ‘an eclectic array of social science concepts, theories and research methods’ (manifest in the varied social, political, educational and spiritual perspectives discussed); and, is concerned with ‘international and cross-national themes’ (apparent in the underlying focus on the global spread of new education and the operation of individuals and organisations in this process).

On a more personal note, the author could not help but be swayed by Aldrich’s (2006) more traditional views on the duties of the educational historian – a duty to people of the past, a duty to your own generation, and a duty to search after the truth. Aldrich firstly suggests that the most important duty of any historian is to ‘record and interpret the events of the past ... as fully and accurately as possible’ in order to provide the broadest and most accurate picture of the times as possible (p. 18). He secondly argues that historians have a duty to their own generation which includes researching material that has relevance and can inform current and future issues. Finally, Aldrich maintains that despite the strong influence of such movements as post-modernism, historians have a duty to search after the truth, arguing that one of their core roles is to illuminate as fully as possible what happened in the past and consider what those realities might mean for the present and the future. These three duties have had a strong influence on both the researching and the writing of this thesis. With regard to the ultimate direction this dissertation took to more broadly focus on the ‘crusades’ of new education, the global efforts of the NEF and the striving to organise the NEF Conference 1937, it is satisfying to read McCulloch’s (2011) recent conclusion that, ‘the history of education is at its best when addressing aspects of struggle in the educational past ... and of the tectonic plates that move and challenge each other in the long history of educational change’ (p. 113).

In addition, the author grappled with a number of historiographical issues in the writing and structuring of this material. First, there is the complexity of the educational change process and how to understand and portray that. Educational change is not just a series of important events or key people or social influences or important organisations or policy discourses or state legislation. It is all of the above and a lot more. Understanding educational change more fully involves joining all of

those dots, bringing to light the complex web of their relationships, portraying their ebb and flow over time, and seeking to bring to light the whole picture from the bottom to the top. Second, the breadth of influences that reached New Zealand during this period encompassed social, educational, psychological, religious, scientific and philosophical areas and primarily derived from the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. Identifying these influences and distinguishing which might be 'progressive', 'new education' or just 'modern' or even 'different' is a considerable challenge. Third, identifying the processes, speed and reach of these new education influences also adds to the complexity of the task. The educational community in New Zealand was relatively small over the interwar period and it was somewhat geographically isolated both from the rest of the world and within the country. Its members were also corralled within a range of community organisations, educational institutions or government bodies, and were influenced by frameworks of tradition, policy and legislation. Finally, determining what or who is important to include and exclude is far from an easy task. Should one focus more on aspects of direct relevance to or influence on the contexts or to the Conference itself? How much should one focus on individuals now deemed significant or accounts of 'brave' individuals who were keen adherents of new education but who may or may not have made any significant impact on education in New Zealand at all? I hope that these issues have been successfully navigated.

Moreover, there is a historical tradition to uphold in the area. While this thesis has uncovered new material and sought to present new perspectives, it builds on and acknowledges the work of many historians and writers who have considered these specific areas previously. In New Zealand, recent researchers have included Jane Abbiss, Noeline Alcorn, Teresa Ball, Jenny Collins, Daniel Couch, Tony Dowden, Greg Lee, Howard Lee, Margaret MacDonald, Helen May, David McKenzie, Sue Middleton, Kay Morris-Matthews, Roger Openshaw, William (Bill) Renwick and Mary Jane Shuker. In Australia, recent researchers have included William Connell, Yvonne Larsson, Arthur Sandell, Richard Selleck, Margaret White, and Brian Williams. Overseas, recent researchers have included Richard Aldrich, Christopher Clews, Brahm Fleisch, Patricia Graham, Rita Hofstetter, Celia Jenkins, Martin Lawn, Roy Lowe, Gary McCulloch, Jürgen Oelkers, Hermann Röhrs, Bernard Schneuwly,

R. N. Sinha, David Turner, and Belle Wallace. A special tribute is due to the recently deceased academic, Kevin Brehony, who was probably the most prolific researcher in this specific area.

Ultimately, a structure for the thesis emerged that does justice to the contexts and the Conference and the issues raised. This structure seeks to highlight the primary focus of this thesis, which is the rise of 'the new education' in New Zealand in the interwar years with particular reference to the New Education Fellowship and the NEF Conference held in New Zealand in 1937. There are three sections. Section A is a broad introduction to 'the new education' (Chapter 1) and the New Education Fellowship (Chapter 2). The NEF itself is placed within the historical context of a broader progressive movement that developed internationally and reached New Zealand through a variety of means.

Section B is the largest section of the thesis. Here new education in New Zealand in the interwar period (1919-1938) is covered in significant depth. This examination is structured into five areas in order to provide an illustrative selection of the pertinent new education influences that were spreading throughout the country in the twenty-year lead up to the NEF Conference 1937:

- a) *Progressive policy frameworks* – in particular, the policy environment that encouraged progressive teaching methods (Chapter Three);
- b) *Progressive teaching approaches* – the Dalton Plan and the Montessori Method (Chapter Three);
- c) *Progressive organisations* – the New Education Fellowship and the Theosophical Society in New Zealand (Chapter Three);
- d) *Progressive individuals* – these individuals comprise by far the largest component of the chapters in Section B, and are grouped into professors of education (Chapter Four), training college lecturers (Chapter Five), school principals and rectors (Chapter Six), teachers (Chapter Seven), educational administrators and inspectors (Chapter Eight), researchers at NZCER and New Zealand educators overseas (Chapter Nine); and,

- e) *Progressive overseas visitors* – trips to New Zealand by Theosophical Society leaders, Institute of Education directors and Carnegie Corporation representatives (Chapter Ten).

The final section, Section C, is structured into two areas in order to place the Conference within the context of the development of the new education in New Zealand during the interwar years:

- a) *The NEF Conference 1937* – including the progressive educators and organisations behind the Conference, the wave of Conference publicity, the speakers and their links to the NEF, an overview of the Conference topics, and the role of the Minister of Education at the Conference (Chapter Eleven); and,
- b) *After the NEF Conference 1937* – including the private correspondence concerning how the Conference had been received and what its immediate impact was, the publication of the official proceedings and the New Zealand *New Era* issue, the winding up of the National Committee, and the distribution of the large surplus to support future new education endeavours in the country (Chapter Twelve).

There are some important points to note. The main period of focus for this thesis is the interwar years where it is possible to identify a representative sampling of progressive influences that had a direct relationship to the Conference. Also, the thesis stops with the Conference and its immediate aftermath. The main scope of focus is primarily on those individuals, groups and organisations that had a relationship with either the New Education Fellowship and the NEF Conference 1937 or both. Where individuals are selected for further discussion, a mix of both higher profile and lesser-known educators have been chosen to illustrate the spread of new educators across the educational landscape. The extensive appendices serve the purposes of providing additional relevant material, detailed information that is important but which hindered the flow of a chapter's argument, material that has been unearthed that may be tangential but is required to be there 'for the record', and background information that is helpful.

The reader may also notice a number of themes that continue throughout the thesis that characterise progressive educators and the new education internationally. There is an emphasis on global citizenship where inclusion and tolerance and the creation of better people are viewed as important. There is the view that a better society can be created through educational reform, and particularly the development of individuals to achieve this. So much of the ‘interwar’ context is shaped by just that – the impact of World War One that must not be repeated, and the fear of a second world war. The reader will also notice that there is so much diversity, whether of views about new education or progressive initiatives, and this is linked to the advocacy of freedom. Spirituality in many guises is another theme that runs through much of the thesis along with tolerance for many religious viewpoints. This thesis shows that the new education was driven and spread by local, national and international networks of progressive individuals and organisations and highlights whom was influencing and who was being influenced. There is also a strong theme of authentic democracy where decisions are best made at the grassroots level and that solutions should reflect local contexts and not be imposed from outside. At the more personal level, there is an overwhelming hope – hope that the new education will achieve its goals. Finally, there is courage – and this is displayed in many ways, such as the courage to experiment in a classroom in the face of opposition or to leave a well-paying job to pursue new education experiences overseas.

In sum, this thesis demonstrates that there was a greater depth of progressive policy and practice across the country than many had previously thought and that the NEF had a significant influence on educators in New Zealand in both the 1920s and 1930s through its progressive activities and its local groups. The NEF Conference 1937 and its new education ideas consequently fell on fertile ground and served to draw to a close the first phase of progressive education adoption in the country. It also signalled the beginning of its consolidation within the mainstream education system with the subsequent appointment of Dr Beeby as Assistant-Director of Education in 1938 and the publication of the now famous Fraser-Beeby progressive education policy statement in the Minister of Education’s Annual Report to parliament [this ‘myth statement’ is discussed in more depth in the Conclusion].⁵ The Conference, then, was not the starting point but ‘the end of the beginning’ for new education in New Zealand.

Notes

¹ <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/1941-1945-war-leader/987-the-end-of-the-beginning>

² See other sections of this thesis and the Conclusion for a more in-depth discussion of these latter two events.

³ Ibid.

⁴ As both William (Bill) Renwick (1992) and David McKenzie (1992), for example, pointed out, the progressive ideas of this period were ‘necessary but not sufficient’ to ensure long-lasting educational change. Instead, there needed to be a combination of: considerable political will; sympathetic and knowledgeable educators and administrators; and, the bureaucratic machinery to carry out the reforms. These factors, primarily, were the main difference between the piece-meal progressive initiatives of the interwar period considered in this thesis as opposed to the next stage of nation-wide reforms that moved new education into the mainstream education system.

⁵ See Note 4 [above] for an explanation of what distinguished these two stages of progressive endeavour.

SECTION A

‘The New Education’ and the New Education Fellowship

1

‘The New Education’

All great art and all great science springs from the passionate desire to embody what was at first an unsubstantial phantom, a beckoning beauty luring men away from safety and ease to a glorious torment ...

(Bertrand Russell, 1926)¹

Introduction

The rise of ‘the new education’ in the late 19th and first decades of the 20th century was part of a broader movement of social, political, economic and industrial reforms. Political and social theorists and others were challenging the existing conditions and traditions of the time and progressive educators were an important part of this movement. ‘The new education’, as it was termed at the time, was a reaction against traditional or ‘old’ educational thinking, approaches and practices, and at the forefront of this movement were many of the leading educational thinkers of the age.

This chapter is a brief introduction to the rise of ‘the new education’ with particular reference to the New Education Fellowship (NEF). This includes a consideration of the underlying philosophical foundations, basic principles and the characteristics of ‘the new education’. The chapter also traces the gradual rise of the new education as a series of ‘crusades’ – the metaphor the founder of the NEF, Beatrice Ensor, used to describe the global spread of new education. The four ‘crusades’ considered here are: the establishment of new or pioneer schools globally; a discussion of the pioneering educational thinkers who had inspired the new educators; an elaboration of the range of new education teaching methods that assisted pioneering teachers in putting into practice the aims of the new education; and to conclude, a brief outline of the organisations that supported and facilitated the spread of new education globally.

While it may initially appear that the new education was a coherent and easily defined set of approaches and practices this was far from the reality. As the leading book on

new education – *The Story of the New Education* – written by the ‘insiders’ William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson pointed out, some of the most prominent new education thinkers emphasised the creation of a better society, others better schools, and many, the development of better individuals.² Even into the 1930s, there was considerable debate around the diversity of views held by new educators with no *definitive* definition of the new education being expounded before the NEF Conference 1937 in New Zealand. However, there was considerable common ground: most new educators were appalled by the effects of World War One and feared the eventuality of a second world war; most had strong spiritual beliefs and viewed children as spiritual beings; and, most were generally tolerant of each other’s perspectives as they saw themselves as being a part of a global crusade for educational reform. Thus, ‘the inspiring ideal behind them was the democratic concept of individual worth’.³

New Zealand epitomised many of these characteristics. The now little-known New Zealand new educator Bertha Darroch – principal of the first new education school in New Zealand from the 1920s, founder of the second NEF group in New Zealand in the 1930s, member of the Auckland organising committee for the NEF Conference 1937, and later President of the Theosophical Society of New Zealand – wrote an important article on new education in the *Theosophy in New Zealand* journal in 1940.⁴ In the article, Darroch quoted from Bertrand Russell’s *Education and the Good Life* (1926) that for her and many other new educators, summed up the ethereal nature of new education and what they were actually striving to achieve:

I should not wish the poet, the painter, the composer or the mathematician to be preoccupied with some remote effect of his activities in the world of practice. He should be occupied, rather, in the pursuit of a vision, in capturing and giving permanence to something which he has first seen dimly for a moment, which he has loved with such ardor that the joys of this world have grown pale by comparison. All great art and all great science springs from the passionate desire to embody what was at first an *unsubstantial phantom* [italics added], a beckoning beauty luring men away from safety and ease to a glorious torment. The men in whom this passion exists must not be fettered by the shackles of a utilitarian philosophy, for to their ardor we owe all that make man great.⁵

Certainly, the new education was ‘an unsubstantial phantom’ but for all its lack of definition and coherence, it expanded dramatically as an educational movement around the world in the first decades of the 20th century. As education historian Brian Simon observed, it started as ‘a barely respectable doctrine’ towards the end of the 1800s and remarkably over the following forty years it had become the ‘intellectual orthodoxy’, being widely supported by educators and policy-makers world-wide.⁶ The growth and impact of the new education in New Zealand was little different from other countries, and this thesis will demonstrate the views of the speakers at the NEF Conference 1937, while outspoken and critical, fell on fertile ground. Hence in the 1940s and 1950s, in New Zealand and globally, the new education moved into state school systems as a dominant educational force and its philosophical foundations, basic principles and characteristics are still clearly evident in educational policy and practice in New Zealand today.

1) The underlying philosophical foundations, basic principles and characteristics of ‘the new education’

A pertinent place to embark on an examination of the nature of new education is with the views of three of the leading new education advocates, Dr William Boyd (a longstanding stalwart of the New Education Fellowship and Reader in the Department of Education, University of Glasgow),⁷ Professor Percy Nunn (President of the English section of the NEF and Director of the Institute of Education) and Rektor Laurin Zilliacus (Chairman of the International Board of the NEF) who took up the challenge to identify the underlying philosophical foundations, basic principles and the characteristics of ‘the new education’.

At the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held in Elsinore (Denmark) in 1929, Dr William Boyd encouraged educators to consider the underlying philosophical foundations of ‘the new education’ by posing two questions: what was the ‘world view’ underpinning the new education and what kind of ‘universe’ did it assume? In a deeply spiritual response, Boyd argued that the new

education movement was a result of the 'revolt against the cramping of individuality by modern industrialism'; in effect framing the movement as one that had developed 'substance' only towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁸ He proposed that the individuals across the world were on a collective quest towards 'completeness' where their souls sought oneness with a universe which could be revealed through the search for goodness, beauty and truth. This universe, moreover, was a spiritual one and new education would bring these 'manifold entities into an all-comprehending unity' without losing that which was of real worth in individuals.⁹ Boyd, then, like a number of the other founders of the New Education Fellowship, viewed new education not only as a social or educational movement, but also as a deeply spiritual crusade.

Professor Percy Nunn elaborated on these underlying philosophical foundations by expounding on the basic principles of new education. Starting as Boyd did, with an explanation of how social movements like the new education developed, Nunn suggested that they began as impulses and desires and then later gradually came 'under the control of definite ideas and explicit theory'.¹⁰ He argued that the new education movement had started as a revolt against traditional education and it had 'felt' the desire for reform, and that desire was now 'only gradually assuming a determinate shape'.¹¹ The language used by both Boyd and Nunn is illuminating. Following Bertrand Russell, the new education movement was being framed as springing from passionate desires for educational reform and had initially taken the form of 'an unsubstantial phantom' that, as Nunn put it, was only gradually taking on 'a determinate shape' by the end of the 1920s. Using similar language, Nunn sought to 'bring out' the basic principles which underlay the movement and which were 'striving to express themselves through its progress'.¹² Nunn implied that the principles of the new education movement, then at least four decades old, were far from being easily identified. Rather, they could be inferred from careful observations, theoretical analysis and informed interpretation of the social movement itself. As Nunn suggested in 1929, new education was a social movement that was still at the time seeking to express itself cogently and had not yet assumed a fully 'determinate shape'.

In the remainder of his article, Nunn then strove to identify the basic principles of the new education movement in order to provide a theoretical basis ‘from which, given the necessary enthusiasm and wisdom, the teachers of the future may in time transform the world’.¹³ He suggested that the *first* principle of the movement was that the new education ‘insists upon thinking of the pupil as a whole’.¹⁴ This was in contrast to the Cartesian view commonly found in traditional education where the mind and body could be considered as distinct entities. Nunn argued that the ‘physical, intellectual and moral activities and growth’ of the pupil were interlinked and that the underlying philosophy of the ‘activity school’ was that pupils grew holistically and therefore also needed to be educated holistically.¹⁵ The *second* principle of the movement was that the growth of this whole child should not be considered separately from his/her environment (in contrast to traditional education that solely aimed to ‘fill that mind with knowledge’ and ‘stiffen it with discipline’).¹⁶ Nunn explained that new education, drawing on the science of biology, viewed a child’s life as a dynamic process of ‘give and take’ between the child and their environment and that the role of the school was to provide a physical and social environment that promoted the growth of the whole child. He proposed that ‘all the machinery of society and all the traditions of human achievement and culture’ were only of value if it supported two education aims: providing a rich experience for children and to assist them ‘to integrate their lives into as perfect a unity as possible’; unity in terms of common ends and social fellowship.¹⁷ Reflecting on these two basic principles, Nunn posed the question that as the new education had drawn its inspiration from philosophy and its method from science, were these incompatible. He responded that, like Darwin’s work, while the biologist is devoted to unravelling the physical or mechanical aspects of evolution, most admitted that the creative work of life and the mechanical parameters within which it was undertaken were not incompatible. Nunn concluded that these two basic principles of the new education were a synthesis of two areas: ‘some of the fundamental ideas of biology and the philosophical or religious notion that man is essentially a creative spirit’.¹⁸

In late 1930, Rektor Laurin Zilliacus published an article in the *New Era* describing the characteristics of the new education.¹⁹ At the time Zilliacus was the Finnish representative on the International Council of the NEF and he wrote the article in

response to the burgeoning interest in new education world-wide by educators who were anxious to ascertain what the new education actually was about. Zilliacus's response was, however, as elusive as both Boyd's and Nunn's. He conceded that he couldn't answer the questions definitively, suggesting that the new education movement was like the paintings of a great artist:

I can show you some Corots, I can point out certain of their characteristics. But I can't give you a body of doctrine that has issued in Corot's creations for the simple reason that Corot did not start from a body of doctrine. A work of art isn't made that way. In this respect at least, education is also a work of art.²⁰

Zilliacus maintained that educators may develop educational theories but argued that the 'new' or 'pioneer' schools felt their way 'under the guidance of intuition' rather than consciously applying set doctrine to their practices. New educators, he suggested, did not rely on 'a common and agreed body of theory' and for this reason he found it extraordinary that such educators found a 'fundamental harmony of attitude' when they gathered together. Zilliacus recommended that in order to understand new education, one should approach the study of it as if studying Corot's paintings; by examining a number of examples and from these, 'seek to catch a glimpse of what lies behind'.²¹

Zilliacus did attempt to outline *his* views on the characteristics of the new education, presaging the discussion with the process by which an educator could come to their own conclusions. He suggested they visit as many new schools as practicable around the world, 'read and digest' the written accounts of the best examples of new pioneering schools and pioneering educational methods, and after that, 'subject their experiences to analysis and interpretation'. Zilliacus then concluded that even different educators following the same approach would not necessarily come to the same conclusions, although, he suggested, each could prove of interest and value to other inquirers. It was in this context that Zilliacus's discussion of the characteristics of the new education was framed, and he added that *his* studies were only 'one attempt at such an analysis'. He found seven characteristics of the new education:

activity, freedom, creative activity, social activity, individual treatment, child study and co-operation with home.²²

Zilliacus concluded that these seven characteristics he had identified ultimately aimed at ensuring the vigorous development of well-balanced children through methods that were ‘guided by a profound respect for child nature’. However, the over-riding feature of new education was to be located ‘in the soul of the new educator’. There were three aspects to consider here. First, new educators were *idealists* who had strong loyalties over and above themselves. Zilliacus described this loyalty as a ‘devotion to spiritual ends’ – that feeling of belonging to and serving humanity. Second, new educators had an *artist’s view of life* that revealed itself in the valuing of the individual (and their creative urges) over and above ‘systems, methods and theories’. The ‘artist-teacher’, Zilliacus defined as: one ‘who is sensitive to values not yet expressed in words or fitted to systems, who keeps his eye open for the unexpected and unknown, and who intuitively understands children’. Finally, new educators had a *scientific bent* [sometimes in conflict with the artist’s view] that initiated the experimentation necessary to discover further knowledge concerning human nature [and which has become reflected in the child study approach]. These three tendencies influence the actions of the artist-teacher and ultimately reflect the soul of the new educator.²³

2) The Crusades of ‘The New Education’

These underlying philosophical foundations, basic principles and characteristics of the new education did not operate in a vacuum. Often regarded as the founder of the New Education Fellowship, Beatrice Ensor viewed the new education as gradually evolving through a number of ‘crusades’. She had a vision of ‘a great chain’ of crusaders spreading new education around the world.²⁴ Ensor was not just using the term as a metaphor – it was an acknowledgment that the work of new education was fundamentally spiritual. Thus, the underlying purpose of these crusades was to ‘more fully liberate the divine forces within the children of the world’.²⁵

The conception of crusades, then, is a useful one for understanding the initial development of the new education internationally. Ensor argued that these crusades began with the work of ‘new’ or pioneer schools and were stimulated by the ideas of great educational thinkers. Later, new education gained a wider usage in public schools, especially through both the implementation and adaptation of new education methods and through educational organisations that championed new education. It is therefore necessary to briefly overview these four ‘crusades’: a) the establishment of new or pioneer schools globally; b) a discussion of the pioneering educational thinkers who had inspired the new educators; c) a consideration of the range of new education teaching methods that assisted pioneering teachers in putting into practice the aims of the new education; and d) to conclude, a brief outline of the organisations that supported and facilitated the spread of new education globally.

(a) New or Pioneer Schools

Beatrice Ensor suggested that the first ‘crusade’ of the new education began with the establishment internationally of ‘new’ or pioneer schools at the end of 19th century and into the first decades of the 20th century. These new schools shared a broad foundation of common ground – they were an expression of their founders’ dissatisfaction with the ‘old’ traditional systems of education; they sought to trial and experiment with new approaches, aims and ideas; they wished to support the development of each individual child and their abilities and aspirations; they worked to alter the power relationship between the child and the teacher (and society); and, they had new visions of the nature of society and the role that education had in it.²⁶

While there was common ground there were large differences between the schools and what and how they sought to achieve their goals. As Boyd and Rawson put it: ‘some laid the emphasis on the better society or the better school, others on the ‘better’ child’.²⁷ In addition, this diversity was reflected in the wide range of types of new education schools, including country boarding schools, experimental day schools, schools started by religious or spiritual groups, and educational laboratories attached to educational institutions such as universities and training colleges. Some schools were even established by penal reformers attempting to meet the needs of delinquent children in ground-breaking educational settings and others by medical

doctors (such as Ovide Decroly, Maria Montessori and Edward Claparède) who originally sought to better meet the needs of children with physical and intellectual disabilities and when their methods proved effective were adapted for ‘normal’ schools.

Many of the new schools were founded privately and operated, in the main, outside of state education systems. While they may have been somewhat freer of bureaucratic constraints they often struggled to gain official recognition. Others were established *within* education systems (for example, as in the United States or with links to universities or teacher training institutions) often claiming to be viewed as experimental laboratories for possible new educational approaches for mainstream education.

This brief section cannot do justice to the many new or pioneer schools that started and blossomed globally. However, a small number of new schools in a selection of countries are listed here which highlight the diversity of the new schools, particular pioneering approaches, the global nature of the development of new education, and where relevant, their relationship to the New Education Fellowship. The most significant new or pioneer schools and their founding date by country were: *England* – Abbotsholme (1889); Bedales (1893); West Down (1897); Little Commonwealth (1913); *Germany* – the Leitz Schools (1898 on); Free School Community (1906); Odenwald (1910); *France* – L’École des Roches (1898); *Belgium* – The Hermitage (1907); *Italy* – Montessori’s Orthophrenic School (1900) and Casa dei Bambini (Children’s House School) (1907); *Switzerland* – Glarisegg (1902); Hof Oberkirch (1906/7); *America* – Cook County Normal School (1883); George Junior Republic (1895); the Deweys’ Laboratory School (1896); Meriam’s Laboratory School (1904); *India* – Sanctuary School, Santiniketan (1901); Christian Boys’ School, Kharar (1923); and, *New Zealand* – The Vasanta Garden School (1919).

Each country, then, developed particular pioneering schools and progressive approaches that reflected its own social and educational contexts at the time. For instance, in America, the new experimental schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century emerged *not* to cater for an elite group of pupils in remote country

settings (as many of the new country boarding schools had done in England and Europe) but to address the very nature and purpose of the whole education system and the education of people both as individuals and citizens. Various American new educators, drawing on a range of philosophical influences from Froebel and Herbart to Rousseau and Darwin, re-evaluated both the nature of learning in childhood and contemporary educational provision and brought new insights to the philosophy of education.

Foremost amongst these progressive educators was John Dewey. Dewey, in the late 1800s was the Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago who had focussed on the nature of the individual child while also viewing educational development 'from the angle of its social ends as well as from that of its individual beginnings'.²⁸ Dewey regarded children's ongoing personal experiences as a path to becoming a contributing member of a democratic society and the educators' role was to facilitate this (as opposed to leaving students 'free to follow the promptings of instinct' or having 'a set pattern of thought and behaviours imposed by the adult').²⁹ In order to experiment with these ideas, and to provide a better education for their own and their neighbours' children, Dewey and his wife Mary started their Laboratory School in 1896. The school was located in Chicago and while his wife undertook the teaching, John Dewey observed and wrote about their experiments.

Three years later, Dewey published *The School and Society* comprising in part lectures that he delivered at the school in April 1899 to parents and other guests. Dewey pronounced that, 'Whenever we have in mind the discussion of a new movement in education, it is especially necessary to take the broader, or social, view' in order that the individuals' experiences at school reflect the best of society and not be the 'inventions' or fads of teachers and administrators.³⁰ He outlined four problems that the school had been attempting to find answer for: 1) How to develop closer relationships between the school, home and community? 2) How to teach subject matter such as art, history and science so that it has significance for individuals and be of value? 3) How to teach arithmetic, reading and writing so that it is embedded in the everyday contexts of real life? How can the school meet the genuine needs and

abilities of individuals?³¹ Dewey concluded that the primary goal of education was to develop ways to,

connect this 'New Education' with the general march of events ... [and then] it will cease to be an affair which proceeds only from the over-ingenious minds of pedagogues dealing with particular pupils. It will appear as part and parcel of the whole social evolution, and, in its more general features at least, as inevitable.³²

In 1902, the Deweys' Laboratory School was amalgamated with the School of Education at the University of Chicago and shortly after, Dewey was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy at Teachers' College, Columbia University and went on to develop the ideas he had initially experimented with in his Laboratory School in the late 1800s in a number of seminal texts, including *Democracy and Education*.

The initial numbers of these new schools globally was small. Even by 1914, the International Bureau of New Schools (founded by Adolphe Ferrière) counted only some fifty private country boarding schools deemed to be 'new' across Europe.³³ Numerically, as Boyd and Rawson pointed out, the total numbers of schools were insignificant and these early pioneer or 'new' experimental schools were generally small-scale endeavours (some succeeding and others not). However, their ideals and practices had challenged traditional practices and demonstrated alternative ways of delivering education. In addition, many accounts of these experiments were being written up and were being widely disseminated throughout Europe and internationally in the form of books, journal and newspaper articles and visitors' accounts in the first two decades of the 20th century. The spirit of the new education spread quickly and many new education schools soon followed these early examples across Europe, the United States, Asia and Australasia. These were to spearhead the beginning of a truly international new education movement.

While there was considerable diversity in the types of these schools, their aims and approaches, there was also much common ground. As the founder of Bedales, J H Badley, wrote in 1923, the common aim of these new schools was: 'the development

of each individual to the fullest services and happiness of which he is capable as a useful member of the community'.³⁴ Thirteen years later the New Zealander H C D Somerset came to a similar conclusion after attending the Seventh World Conference of the NEF at Cheltenham in 1936. In several sessions on secondary schooling, representatives of progressive schools from England, Finland, France, Holland, Japan, Spain, Sweden and USA outlined their work. Somerset's impression was that,

The discussion proved valuable in that it showed a closer agreement in principles of secondary education than one had imagined to exist in schools of such diverse types. The differences are more often superficial than deep.³⁵

(b) Formative New Education Thinkers

As stated earlier, the late 1800s and early 1900s was a period of social, political, economic and industrial turmoil, with many challenging the existing conditions and traditions of the time. New educators were at the forefront of this crusade. As Beatrice Ensor argued in 1929, the second crusade of the new education 'emanated from the impulses given by the thinkers of the world in modern education ... whose ideas are permeating our thought-stream until it is becoming a mighty current changing the whole trend of education'.³⁶ Ensor cited thinkers such as Decroly, Dewey, Freud, Froebel, Grundtvig, Jung, Kilpatrick, Montessori, Parkhurst and Thorndike, but conceded that there were many more pioneering educational thinkers who had inspired new educators.

These thinkers of the second crusade articulated in their writing and their actions a body of progressive educational ideas that quickly spread around the globe in the first decades of the 20th century. However, the majority of these ideas were *not* actually recent – they were heavily based on the writing, methods and educational practices of three formative new education thinkers, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel.

Moreover, even though the progressive ideas of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel were not always compatible with each other, there was a consistency of general thrust that held them together well beyond each being just a strong reaction to the 'old'

traditional educational approaches at the time. The key elements of this body of radical ‘new’ ideas that inspired progressive educational thinkers in the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century fell into two groups: 1) education for social and political reform; and, 2) beliefs related to educational policy and practice and children’s learning and development.

Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel’s combined contribution to educational thinking around the place and use of education for *social* and *political* reform was immense. What these educators argued in the 18th and 19th century can be summed up as follows: no matter what an individual’s economic or social circumstances, educational background or physical and intellectual abilities were, they were able to benefit from education; equality of educational opportunity was a fundamental social and political right; education provided the means for individuals to overcome economic, social and political inequality; education provided people with feelings of individual worth and dignity and the ability to look after themselves; education provided the means for individuals to develop free will and critical thinking in relation to the nature and discourses of society; and, the cultivation of the individual (from all backgrounds) was an integral part of the cultivation of mankind. These social and political views formed the core of new educators’ thinking and were still central themes in the NEF Conference 1937.

In addition, their collective contribution to *educational* thinking in relation to policy and children’s development was substantial. Their views can be synthesised into seven areas as follows:

- a) *Educational policy* – all aspects of education should be raised to the ‘dignity of a science’; education needed to be based in the deep knowledge of human nature; education needed to reflect the developmental stages of each age group; the education of teachers was critically important; teachers of all age groups needed to be professionally trained; and, national state-funded education systems were needed particularly for young children.
- b) *Spiritual beliefs* – there was an underlying spiritual foundation to the universe and this was reflected in nature; all existence originated in and with God;

humans possessed an inherent spiritual essence that was the vitalizing life force that caused development; all human beings and ideas are interconnected parts of a grand, ordered, and systematic universe; and, education was fundamentally religious.

- c) *Development* – development is a process that is prestructured by eternal laws of nature; development is the ‘unfolding’ of an internal spiritual essence – a life force – which was already present in the individual; this life force seeks to be externalised through self-activity; children pass through stages of development (e.g., birth to 3 years, 3 to 7 years, 7 to 10 years); and, children need to fulfil the needs of each stage before they are ready to move to the next stage (‘readiness’).
- d) *Learning* – learning is a holistic process involving ‘hand, heart and mind’; children learn through a process of self-activity (i.e., self-instruction, self-education, self-cultivation and purposeful play); children need to first discover understandings for themselves through exploring and analysing their natural environment; and, children evolve morals, values and more complex understandings from simpler experiences.
- e) *The learning environment* – children should be nurtured and loved in a kind and liberal environment akin to a sympathetic home environment; children learn through engaging with manipulative materials; children learn through applying knowledge (such as through constructions with materials); children learn by experiencing a range of activities (such as stories, games, songs, gardening, arts and crafts); and, children learn through being involved in social experiences (such as peer-learning, mixed-age groupings, group experiences).
- f) *The role of the teacher* – to facilitate children’s innate drives, powers, talents and abilities through opportunities for self-activity; to support the learning of the whole child (‘hand, heart and mind’); to be open, cheerful, affectionate and kind; to open children’s hearts and give them the confidence to express themselves; to provide coherent, logical, systematic and sequential individualised instruction that supports the gradual growth and development of children; to create a learning environment where children can learn through engaging with manipulative materials, applying knowledge, experiencing a

range of activities and being involved in social experiences; to group children by needs, ability and knowledge (not age); and, to recognise that if children are not interested that the problem may well lie with the teacher.

- g) *Home and parents* – children first learn and develop in the home environment; the mother plays a critical role in early learning and development; and, mothers need to be supported to educate their own children.

To conclude, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel's educational ideas collectively were fundamentally driven by a spiritually-based vision of social and political equality. Their views on education at the time were a radical contrast to existing European practices and were to remain important to a new generation of educational reformers. The new education thinkers comprising Ensor's second crusade were fortunate to be able to draw on this large body of new educational thought and were able to adapt it to the 'modern conditions' facing educational reformers in the late 19th and early 20th century.³⁷ In particular, the central aspects of this social, political and educational thinking underpinned that of the founders of the NEF and their first set of principles [see Chapter Two].

(c) 'New Education' Teaching Methods

The third crusade of the new education, according to Beatrice Ensor, involved the adoption of new education methods and approaches by pioneering teachers in state schools around the world.³⁸ These teachers had followed the experiments being undertaken in the new experimental schools and had been inspired by the new educational thinkers. They were therefore able to draw upon a burgeoning literature on new school practices and a large body of new education ideas being expounded by progressive educators in the early decades of the 20th century.

The leading thinkers of the new education movement in the early 1900s were also enthusiastically experimenting with a range of methods that could assist pioneering teachers to put into practice the aims of the new education.³⁹ New education teachers in state schools, then, had the option of selecting ideas and techniques to suit their own learning contexts and professional beliefs and they also increasingly had access to a growing number of well elaborated new education methods that they could implement and adapt as a package regardless of their geographical location.

Many nations were thus involved. In the United States, there was The Dalton Laboratory Plan (Helen Parkhurst), The Project Method (inspired by Dewey and formalised by William Kilpatrick), and the Winnetka Technique (developed by Carleton Washburne for the Winnetka schools in Chicago). In France, there was the School Co-operative (B Profit), the Free Group or Cousinet Method (Roger Cousinet), and The Printing Press in the School Method (Celestin Freinet). Those working with children with physical and mental disabilities included The Montessori Method (Maria Montessori) and The Decroly Method (Ovide Decroly). The so-called ‘artist-educators’ included Franz Cizek’s Viennese studio where children were given free rein to their artistic expression (Cizek influenced two of the delegates to the NEF Conference 1937, the Canadian artist-educator Arthur Lismer and the Austrian new educator, Paul Dengler), Émile Jacques-Dalcroze who developed a method of music education generically called The Eurythmics Method, and Caldwell Cook who encouraged a variety of literary pursuits through a process of purposeful free play called the Play Way Method.⁴⁰

The originators and exponents of these methods attended and gave lectures at NEF conferences, helped organise regional and international NEF conferences, wrote for the NEF journals, published books and manuals on their methods and welcomed visitors to their model schools and studios. Four methods in particular were used throughout New Zealand and a considerable body of literature on each of these was available in New Zealand – The Montessori Method, The Dalton Laboratory Plan, The Project Method and The Eurythmics Method. In addition, New Zealand educators travelled overseas and observed the methods in progressive schools overseas and, as will be discussed later, they used the same methods in their own schools. The least well-known today is probably The Eurythmics Method although it was frequently mentioned in New Zealand in *New Education* in the 1920s and in official government documents in the 1930s. It also became an important part of the curriculum of the Vasanta Garden School (discussed later). [*Appendix 1* gives a more detailed account of each of these four methods.]

It is evident from just a brief examination of these four progressive methods that there was considerable diversity in their aims and approaches. Some sought to ensure ‘freedom and individuality’ through working within existing curriculum subject divisions (e.g., The Montessori Method and The Dalton Laboratory Plan) while others involved a reorganisation of curriculum subjects through integrated approaches involving projects and centres of interest (e.g., The Project Method). With regard to the individual’s independence some methods involved independent self-motivated work and others revolved around group activities and decision-making. The teacher’s role was generally as an observer and shaper of the environment, while for other methods the teacher was an expert facilitator and instructor. The learning environment was shaped sometimes by graded materials and apparatus while for others it involved independent or group research or activity. Some methods required special school environments to be developed while others required modifications of existing school organisation. As Boyd pointed out in 1930, those methods that sought to improve learning within existing curriculum subject divisions risked losing the deep interest of individual children while those methods that radically altered the curriculum to allow for integrated and personalised learning gained the interest of individual children but risked the efficiency of the school to deliver the method.⁴¹

However, even by 1930, what held these seemingly diverse methods and ideas together was their underlying similarities – according to Boyd, no matter what the method or approach, each stressed active learning, pupil initiative and freedom.⁴² In addition, it could be argued that there was a deeper sense of purpose within the new education movement that ensured that there was surprisingly little conflict and dispute amongst the members, despite their diversity and differences in views. The progressive educators were a strong community who had ‘an urgent need’ that bound them together – to bring new education to the wider school communities around the world and in doing so reconstruct society through new education.⁴³ It was in this spirit that the diverse group of new educators visited New Zealand for the NEF Conference in 1937.

(d) Organisations that Supported 'New Education'

The fourth crusade of the new education, according to Beatrice Ensor, related to organisations that supported and facilitated the spread of new education globally. In this category there were existing and newly founded organisations that were established for other purposes but which supported new education aims. There were also educational organisations that were established solely to meet the needs of the new education movement, particularly the Progressive Education Association (PEA) and the New Education Fellowship (NEF). These organisations became magnets for new educators and progressive education approaches and are frequently mentioned throughout this thesis.

From the end of the 19th century and into the first half of the 20th century, there were many existing and newly founded philanthropic organisations, universities and educational research institutes that facilitated and supported the new education movement. The most relevant philanthropic organisations for the purposes of this thesis were the work and trusts set up by Andrew Carnegie. With regard to universities, in the United States there was the School of Education at the University of Chicago and Teachers College, Columbia University and in the United Kingdom there was the University of Manchester and the Institute of Education, London University, each of which made a significant contribution to the new education. Progressive educational research institutes also promoted new education ideas. They included the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE), the South African National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, the Australian Council for Educational Research, and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. [Appendix 2 considers in more detail the most important and relevant of these philanthropic organisations, universities and educational research institutes.]

There were also many professional organisations that promoted new education ideals. Some organisations were established for *other* purposes but supported new education aims. These included the Theosophical Society, the Quaker movement, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Austro-American Institute of Education, the League of Nation's International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, the Geneva-based J J Rousseau

Institute's International Bureau of Education, and the short-lived Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles. In New Zealand, the New Zealand Educational Institute was to be particularly significant. In addition, two organisations were set up *solely* to promote the new education: the Progressive Education Association (PEA) founded in 1919 and the New Education Fellowship (NEF) founded in 1921. [*Appendix 2* also discusses the contribution of the Progressive Education Association in more depth.]

In sum, this crusade of organisations supported and facilitated the spread of new education globally in the first decades of the 20th century and New Zealand organisations, students and educators played an important part in this. In particular, the influence of the New Education Fellowship was felt through the founding of two 'groups' in New Zealand with its most high profile event being the highly successful NEF Conference 1937 in Australasia. It is also hard to underestimate the closeness of the networks within and between these organisations and their importance to the growth of new education globally. While New Zealand was isolated geographically from Europe and the United States, new education ideas and approaches reached the country from the early 1900s and these organisations played an important role in breaking down the geographical barriers in numerous ways, from newspaper and journal articles to overseas visitors and travel grants. New Zealand educators were, therefore, very much in touch with the key new education developments that were occurring overseas.

Conclusion

The new education movement internationally and in New Zealand was a part of a broader set of social, political, economic and industrial reforms in the late 19th and first decades of the 20th century. It then consolidated globally to be the dominant 'intellectual orthodoxy' in the 1940s and 1950s. This rapid spread was explained by the founder of the NEF, Beatrice Ensor, as a set of global crusades (spiritual, social and educational) that included the establishment of new or pioneer schools, the inspiration of pioneering educational thinkers, the development of a range of new

education teaching methods, all of which were supported and facilitated by specific progressive and other organisations.

While there was (and is) no definitive definition of the new education there was considerable common ground around the underlying philosophical foundations, basic principles and characteristics of the new education. As William Boyd (then a member of the Executive Board of the New Education Fellowship) concluded during the NEF Conference 1937 in New Zealand: 'Through all the diverse forms of new educational thought runs a common ideal: that of a system of well-ordered freedom in which the mind and spirit of the young can be nurtured into fine personality'.⁴⁴

Notes

¹ Russell, B. (1926). *Education and the good life*. NY: Liveright; pp. 312-3.

² See: Boyd, W., & Rawson, W. (1965). *The story of the new education*. London: Heinemann; p. 34.

³ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 34.

⁴ The whole article is now readily available online:

From the *Theosophy in New Zealand* journal, October 1940;

<http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/school-teacher-articles.html>

⁵ Russell, B. (1926). *Education and the good life*. NY: Liveright; pp. 312-3.

⁶ Simon, B. (1972). Introduction. In R. J. W. Selleck, *English primary education and the progressives, 1914-1939*. London: RKP; p. vi.

⁷ Dr. William Boyd was a member of the Executive Board of the New Education Fellowship and Head of Department of Education at Glasgow University. He founded the first educational clinic in Great Britain and was one of the founders of the Scottish Council for Educational Research.

⁸ Boyd, W. (Ed.) (1930). *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 453.

⁹ Ibid.; p. 454.

¹⁰ Percy Nunn, T. (1930). The basic principles of the new education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 454.

¹¹ Ibid.; p. 455.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Percy Nunn, T. (1930). The basic principles of the new education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 459.

¹⁴ Ibid.; p. 455.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.; p. 456.

¹⁷ Ibid.; pp. 457-458.

¹⁸ Ibid.; p. 459.

¹⁹ Zilliacus, L. (1930, December). An analysis of the new education. *The New Era*, 11, 170-172. Zilliacus expanded on many of the themes in this article in: Zilliacus, L. (1935). The modern movement in education. In E. D. Laborde (Ed.) (1935), *Education of to-day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁰ Zilliacus, L. (1930, December). An analysis of the new education. *The New Era*, 11, 170-172; p. 170.

²¹ Ibid.; p. 170.

²² Ibid.; pp. 170-171. Zilliacus elaborated on these as follows: *Activity* – Children in new schools were considerably more active across a broad spectrum than in traditional schools (hence the use of the term, ‘activity schools’); *Freedom* – Children in new schools were accorded ample freedom that took many forms: such as,

‘freedom to move about, talk, choose from alternatives, freedom from formality and external restriction’; *Creative Activity* – Children in new schools spend a great deal of their time in creative pursuits: in almost all areas of their studies ‘they draw, paint, model, dramatize, act, write, compose, and make things’; *Social Activity* – Children in new schools are constantly engaged in social discussions, co-operative tasks and helping each other: many studies utilise a ‘social bent’, communal work is highlighted, and forms of self-government are frequently found; *Individual Treatment* – In order to achieve the first four characteristics, new schools utilise considerable ‘elasticity’ in their methods and a particular focus on individual needs and differences (including gifts); *Child Study* – Children in new schools are studied with a particular interest in their psychology: frequently including the measurement of emotional, intellectual, physical and other traits; and, *Co-operation with Home* – New schools frequently interact with parents in a variety of ways: from communicating or working with parents on the aims of the school to involving the parents in the planning and carrying out of the school’s activities.

²³ Zilliacus, L. (1930, December). An analysis of the new education. *The New Era*, 11, 170-172; p. 172.

²⁴ Ensor, B. (1930). Crusades in the realm of education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; p. 1.

²⁶ Also see Boyd and Rawson’s (1965) discussion in Chapter Two.

²⁷ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 34.

²⁸ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 18.

²⁹ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 18.

³⁰ Dewey, J. (1915). *The school and society* (rev. ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; p. 4.

³¹ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 19.

³² Dewey, J. (1915). *The school and society* (rev. ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; pp. 4-5.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁴ Badley, J. H. (1923). *Bedales: A pioneer school*. London: Methuen; pp. 14-15.

³⁵ Report by H. C. D. Somerset to Beeby/ NZCER on attendance at Seventh World Conference of the NEF at Cheltenham from July 31 to August 14, 1936 as representative for the NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

³⁶ Ensor, B. (1930). Crusades in the realm of education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ See, for example, Adams’ discussion on how educational movements subsequently generate methods: Adams, J. (Ed.) (1924). *Educational movements and methods*. London: George Harrap.

⁴⁰ This list draws heavily on Chapter Three of Boyd and Rawson (1965).

⁴¹ Boyd, W. (Ed.) (1930). *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference*

of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929.
London: Knopf; p. 137.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 56.

⁴⁴ Campbell (1938), p. 488.

2

The New Education Fellowship

Let us try to ingather as many members as possible in order that we may form a large band of enthusiasts welded together by a mutual ideal, inspired by a new vision of the earth as it could be, and as it so soon can be ...

(Beatrice Ensor, 1921)¹

Introduction

The New Education Fellowship (NEF, the ‘Fellowship’) was the second major educational organisation to be established primarily to promote new education ideals in the interwar years following the founding of the Progressive Education Association (PEA) in 1919 [see the previous chapter]. These progressive organisations were part of a broader wave of ‘crusades’ that comprised the initial global development of the new education in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Both the NEF and the PEA built on the new or pioneering schools, the progressive ideas of eminent educational thinkers, and the development of a range of new education teaching methods that enabled pioneering teachers to put new education ideals into practice.²

The NEF had a broad agenda that included not only the promotion of new education but also emphasised international tolerance and citizenship, the spiritual development of mankind and the creation of a global democratic fellowship of educators and affiliated organisations. The organisation’s roots were not just strictly in the new education but also drew upon theosophical thought and the Theosophical Society, the conferences and followers of Maria Montessori and the Montessori Method, the so-called First Wave of the feminist movement, and the enormous influence of Beatrice Ensor.

This chapter is not a history of the NEF per se. Rather, it presents an outline of its origins, founding, underlying principles and organisational structure in order to better understand the role of the NEF in the international promotion of the new education in

the interwar years, especially in New Zealand, including the regional NEF Conference held there in 1937. This is because the educational ideals espoused by the NEF were at the heart of the NEF Conference 1937 in New Zealand.

1) The Origins of the New Education Fellowship (1915-1920)

The New Education Fellowship was perhaps the most influential and enduring of many organisations that emerged from the new education movement. The immediate antecedents of the NEF organisation were forged in the historical, political, spiritual and educational milieu encompassing the First World War. As the NEF adherents, William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson asserted in *The Story of the New Education*,³

The War of 1914-18 led to a growing sense of world unity that found expression in a wide variety of international associations including those concerned with education. The War shook mankind as perhaps no previous event had ever done. It forced people everywhere to re-examine all that affects human life and relations.⁴

Boyd and Rawson argued that the NEF developed from an official educational vacuum in international thinking. They posited that a major educational opportunity was lost at the end of the war. At the time, world-wide *educational* reformation as opposed to social and economic restoration was not such a high priority in international politics. The role thus fell to voluntary international educational bodies to fill this vacuum; the NEF being one of these.

There were, however, significant advantages and disadvantages of leaving this task to voluntary, unofficial educational organisations. On the one hand new organisations could be formed relatively quickly to respond to changing needs (as the NEF was) and educators with vision, spirit and commitment could achieve significant gains where perhaps a larger officially-sanctioned international organisation might not. However, on the other hand, such voluntary groups frequently struggled with a lack of on-going financial security and changing personnel, not to mention often debilitating

debates surrounding philosophy and strategic approaches. Both the NEF and the PEA as voluntary organisations were to struggle with these issues throughout their existence.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the NEF managed to flourish and succeed in its early years by harnessing the passion (and personal finances) of progressive and theosophical educators. The NEF was especially fortunate to gain high-level national and international political support derived from its inclusive and diverse membership policies, its democratically-based, semi-autonomous organisational structures, and the broad international appeal of its principles. The NEF was also extremely adept at spreading its philosophy through its international journals and conferences; the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 being an excellent example.

Without doubt, Ensor was the main force behind the establishment of the NEF in 1921. With a multi-lingual background, a powerful personality, strong theosophical and progressive beliefs, and a persuasive ability, Ensor gained the breadth of experience and the wide-spread support in the decade of World War One to found the NEF in 1921. Beatrice Ensor née de Normann had been a progressive school teacher, inspector for the Glamorgan County Council (Wales) and finally inspector of schools (HMI) for the Board of Education before resigning to take up the position of Organising Secretary of the Theosophical Educational Trust in 1915. She became heavily involved in the New Ideals in Education Montessori Conferences and also founded the global Theosophical Fraternity in Education in 1915 (a group of like-minded theosophical educators). In 1920, she established the *New Era* journal. [See *Appendix 3* for a more detailed account of Beatrice Ensor's educational achievements prior to the founding of the NEF including her influence on the Theosophical Educational Trust, the New Ideals in Education Conferences and the international Theosophical Fraternity in Education.]



Photograph 2-1 Beatrice Ensor
NEF Publicity Photograph, 1921⁵

Besides running the Theosophical Educational Trust, editing the *New Era* and being heavily involved in the Fraternity in Education from 1915 to 1920, Ensor (as de Normann) wrote numerous articles and booklets, including *Educational Reconstruction*, *Brotherhood and Education*, *The Educational Aspect of Infant Welfare Work*, and *The Ethics of Education*. Shortly after World War One, she also travelled to Germany, Austria and Hungary and was so moved by the plight of war children that she established an international aid organisation that helped over 2,000 children to be temporarily homed with English and Scottish families. For this work, Ensor was awarded a humanitarian medal by the Hungarian Red Cross.⁶ Mrs Dengler was one of the children that Mrs Ensor brought to England and it should be mentioned that her husband, Paul Dengler was the Austrian delegate at the NEF Conference 1937.⁷

2) Founding of the New Education Fellowship (1921)

By the early 1920s, the international education community had begun to focus on reconstruction and unsurprisingly progressive educators world-wide were discussing and writing about the need for educational reconstruction after the war. The founding headmaster of England's second new education school, J H Badley of Bedales, had observed that:

We are ready to bring a more open mind to all the difficult questions, political, industrial, social, that before, we tried to persuade ourselves were not really urgent; now we see that they *must* and that they *can* be solved. We have had a glimpse into the pit of ruin ... when the war is over, by common effort, women with men, capital with labour, class with class, and nation with nation, [will be] inspired by a common purpose.⁸

This desire for post-war reconstruction was endorsed by the theosophical community. Theosophists had become increasingly disillusioned with western materialism and modernism. The utilisation of modern science and technology to maximise the carnage in the war effort had pushed them to critique materialism and look for spiritual solutions for mankind's problems. The theosophists weren't just focussing on educational reconstruction after the war but a much grander spiritual ideal – the creation of a New Era and the coming of a New Age.⁹ Ensor, for example, argued in 1917 that 'as the new wine cannot be put into old bottles there is a great need for destruction and re-construction' and that the end of World War One had brought forth 'the birth throes of the New Age'.¹⁰ Two years later, in the Prefatory Notes to a text on spiritual reconstruction, Ensor asserted that education was the key to spiritual reconstruction and that the citizens of tomorrow needed 'a truly spiritual attitude towards life'. She concluded that, 'When we have provided in our schools a vital, tolerant, and non-sectarian atmosphere ... can we expect to have citizens who will manifest the Spirit of Democracy of which so many of us are dreaming'.¹¹ This notion on creating free-thinking democratic citizens was to be the focus of new educators

throughout the interwar years, becoming a more strident call in the 1930s following the rise of totalitarianism and fascism.

It was amidst this general mood for educational and spiritual reconstruction that Ensor's Theosophical Fraternity in Education group held their Conference in Letchworth in August 1920. The Fraternity by then had over 500 members in England and sections around the world, including an active section in New Zealand. This Conference had two aims: linking pioneers in private and state schools throughout the world, and education for peace. Resonating with theosophists' earlier views on educational reconstruction (such as Edmond Holmes', *What Is and What Might Be*) the Fraternity argued for a major reconstruction of both educational and spiritual provision. This could only be achieved, it was argued, by 'substituting co-operation for competition, discipline from within for discipline from without; cultivating the power to think for oneself instead of being swayed by mass emotion, and stressing spiritual development instead of ambitions of a material kind'.¹²

During the Fraternity's 1920 Conference it was agreed to convene a larger conference in France of new educators to be held in the summer of 1921 (and it was here that the NEF was to be formally constituted). The intention to hold an international conference had already been signalled in the first issue of the *New Era* in January 1920 and, in the January 1921 issue.¹³ Subsequently, it was to be widely publicised, first as an 'International Summer Conference of the Fraternity in Education' then later as 'The New Era International Conference on Education' in order to avoid the association with the Theosophical Society and to attract a wider audience.¹⁴

What became known as the first world NEF Conference was held in Calais in August 1921 and was deemed to be a great success by both lecturers and participants. There were approximately one hundred delegates from at least fifteen countries. While the largest number came from England, Scotland and Ireland, there were representatives from France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Russia Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and India. This Conference thus represented the first major opportunity, post-war for educators to meet.¹⁵

In what was to be the case in successive NEF conferences, including the NEF Conference 1937, there was a considerable variety in the programme of lectures. The sessions were broadly based around the theme of *The Creative Self-Expression of the Child*, and included presentations on drama, art, handicraft, intelligence testing, scouting, and co-education. Presenters considered core aspects of the new education from a multidisciplinary perspective, including the nature of the child, self-government, creative education, analytical psychology, and the schools of tomorrow. Dr James Young (a disciple of Jung) gave talks on the importance of psychology, and particularly the psychology of the unconscious. A S Neill's more controversial presentation on 'the Abolition of Authority' considered children's morality and he argued, 'I refuse to teach morality, for the simple reason that every child is moral – until the moralists get hold of him'.¹⁶ There was also an exhibition of children's art and craft work including paintings, jewellery, lacework, book-binding and needlework from English and Scottish theosophical and progressive schools.¹⁷ This mix of varied presentations and exhibitions of children's work was to become the model for future regional and international conferences of the NEF.

The Calais Conference was international in nature and intent, bringing together a diverse group of people with varying (and sometimes contradictory) views on the nature of education and educational reconstruction. Distinguished international guests included Dr Decroly (founder of a new education movement in Belgium), Dr Ferrière (Director of the Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelle in Switzerland), M R Nussbaum (Director of the first Ecole-Foyer), Professor A Beltette (Secretary of the International Federation of Secondary Schools), M J Loiseau (leader of the new Scout movement in France), and Dr James Young (a pupil of Dr Jung).¹⁸ A major concern expressed, however, was whether there would be enough 'community of spirit and purpose' to enable the creation of a workable world organisation.¹⁹

The formation of such an organisation fell to a small committee that met during the Conference (the 'Committee of Five') that subsequently worked on the possible nature and organisation of an international fellowship.²⁰ Ensor wrote that the time had come for a union of new educators 'who are seeing the signs of the dawn of a new era, helping in the reconstruction of the shattered world about us, and who have the

vision of what the world might be in a comparatively short time if it were possible to change the education given to its future citizens now in our schools'.²¹ She added that the Fellowship was deliberately designed to be 'very elastic and untrammelled by the usual crystallising influences of rules, a constitution, committee meetings'.²²

Ensor proposed the following scheme for the NEF be adopted:

- 1) 'That there should be three co-operating magazines, one in French edited by Dr Ferrière, one in German edited by Dr Rotten,²³ and one in English, the *New Era*, edited by Mrs Ensor;
- 2) That subscription to these magazines would *ipso facto* make the subscriber a member of the new international body;
- 3) That the principles of the Fellowship be printed in all three magazines;
- 4) That there should be no rules, constitution or subscription to the Fellowship;
- 5) That each country should be autonomous, but that all notices concerning any country be inserted in all three magazines;
- 6) That a second link should be by a congress every two years, the theme of the Conference being decided by the editors of the three magazines and any helpers they might co-opt.'

The Conference adopted this proposal without substantial change.²⁴

3) Principles of the New Education Fellowship

The Committee of Five agreed that the NEF would have no constitution or rules or subscriptions, but would be held together by the free-thinking ideals of those who subscribed to the organisation's international journals.²⁵ As Ensor explained, these links between the Fellowship's members would comprise: 1) acceptance of the principles; 2) subscription to the *New Era*; and, 3) the right of attendance at the biennial conferences. Ensor added that for the Fellowship to be effective it would need to be inclusive, suited to the diverse range of international contexts, be independent, and be run from the grass-roots up:

The Fellowship will be, of course, entirely non-political and non-sectarian and will not be the advocate of any particular method of education, but will seek to find the thread of truth in all methods and weave in each thread differently so as to suit the varying needs of particular schools and particular countries. It will be understood that a Fellowship of this nature will give full opportunity to each country to work along its own path of development.²⁶

The Committee of Five developed a set of common principles that were very broad, and clearly reflected the core tenets of the new education discussed in the previous chapter. However, as others have argued, they also closely resonated with theosophical thought as well, particularly the spiritual references and the placing of ‘the supremacy of the spirit’ as the first principle.²⁷ The seven principles focussed on children’s spiritual development, the development of individuality and innate interests, developmental appropriateness, co-operation, co-education, and citizenship.²⁸ This first set of principles for the Fellowship was distributed widely and a slightly updated version was then published in each version of the organisation’s journals up until their revision at the Nice Conference in 1932.

The 1932 revision of the principles reflected a general trend in the new education literature from fostering complete individual freedom to the inclusion of more social responsibility. In addition, the emphasis on international fellowship was heightened while the spiritual references were also toned down considerably. The new set of nine principles were again widely distributed and were even reproduced in the proceedings of the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937.²⁹

While adherence to the principles was (and still is) an implicit part of being a member of the Fellowship, the principles were not designed to be treated as strict dogmas. Rather, they were intended to be viewed as aspirations towards which the Fellowship was continuing to strive to achieve.³⁰ Indeed, intentionally, the Fellowship had no specific organisational mechanisms to exclude or coerce its members to do anything. Ultimately the principles came to be viewed as ideals to which members were free to

subscribe to (or not). This last point needs to be particularly born in mind when we consider the work of New Zealand's own progressive educators later in the thesis.

4) Organisational Structure of the New Education Fellowship

The New Education Fellowship from its beginnings was intended to be an international movement that sought to bring together those who believed that 'the problems confronting our civilization were basically problems of human relationships which demanded a new type of education'.³¹ The structure that was developed for the organisation was designed to carry out three functions:

- 1) *The Promotion of New Education Ideals.* The NEF became a 'permanent working laboratory' where new developments in educational theory and practice could be shared. Notably the Fellowship's network of conferences, national sections and groups, and journals in a number of languages provided a global vehicle for this role.
- 2) *The Development of Human Solidarity.* Through the close personal networks between educators nationally and internationally that were facilitated by the Fellowship, 'feelings of human solidarity' were manifested that underpinned the Fellowship's aims for collective action.
- 3) *The Facilitation of Internationalisation.* Members of the Fellowship came to learn about, understand and respect the social and cultural differences between the regions and nations of the world where previously misunderstandings could lead to division and conflict in human relationships.

To carry out the aims, principles and functions for the Fellowship, the Committee of Five at the Calais Conference in 1921 set about formulating a systematic and stable organisational structure. However, the approach the Committee took was not to put in place a well-planned top-down hierarchical structure but a flexible democratic 'grassroots' structure that emphasised the individual needs of the communities being served, and requiring minimal central organisation. Consequently, it was decided that there would be no formal rules, no paid subscription to the Fellowship, and no official

constitution. On the one hand this might appear as an organisation bordering on anarchy, though on the other, this structure reflected both its progressive and theosophical roots as being inherently concerned with the development of the individual spirit and the reconstruction of the international community. The members of the Fellowship would simply be those individuals or groups who wished to subscribe to the Fellowship's international journals. Hence, the journals became the most important mechanism for the dissemination of new education ideals, practices and research as well as being vehicles for the publicising of the Fellowship's international sections and conferences.

One of the distinguished speakers at the New Zealand NEF Conference in 1937 outlined more specifically what the Fellowship's organisation comprised of (as well as what it didn't). Dr William Boyd, then a member of the Executive Board of the Fellowship, argued that:

It is not a teachers' association, nor an administrators' association, nor a parents' association. It includes teachers, administrators, parents and all others interested in young people and their upbringing. It is interested in everything that pertains to the making of mind and character: in schools, in newspapers, in all social influences. There is the further advantage that while national in its government, it is linked up with like-minded bodies over the world, and can put at the service of its members the experiences and inspirations of a great international organisation.³²

Boyd added that the Fellowship didn't impose views on its members but instead sought to support and disseminate their progressive endeavours. He concluded that this meant that not all the Fellowship's members interpreted new education in exactly the same way, and that the Fellowship didn't expect its members to subscribe to any particular 'formulary'.

The organisational structure for the NEF that developed out of the Calais Conference was a simple, parsimonious one suited to the needs of a voluntary organisation that was, in essence, a global network of new educators. There was a small central body

organised by a committee structure that comprised an international body of elected representatives and an executive body for more day-to-day affairs. There was a national 'sections and groups' structure designed to be inclusive with countries joining the NEF as a national umbrella 'section' and within these could be formed any number of more local 'groups'. There were initially three co-operating journals which were the official organs of the organisation (English, French and German) and these later expanded to over twenty Fellowship journals in fifteen languages. The NEF organised official congresses, both regional and world conferences (the NEF Conference 1937 being a regional conference). It was also involved in other activities such as acting as a clearinghouse for progressive material, publishing conference proceedings and progressive material, and establishing research commissions. [See *Appendix 4* for more detailed information on the organisational structure of the NEF.]

During the interwar years, the activities of the NEF grew in scope dramatically even though the work was undertaken 'on a voluntary basis by a small band of pioneers, financed by personal donations'.³³ In a letter from Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus to Peter Fraser (Minister of Education for New Zealand) in 1937, an ambitious plan to put the international activities of the NEF on a more permanent professional footing was outlined. In order to meet the increasing demand for educational services, the NEF proposed that they required:

- 1) A qualified director and business manager;
- 2) A greatly expanded International Bureau of Information ...;
- 3) A full-time Sections-Secretary ...;
- 4) A greatly expanded Publications Department; and,
- 5) An effective centre for the co-ordination of educational conferences and research.³⁴

This approach was unsuccessful, illustrating the on-going challenges for the organisation (notwithstanding dramatic membership growth) of leading a global crusade.

5) Cranks And Faddists?

NEF adherents were concerned at being labelled cranks and faddists, making a special point of refuting such charges. As Dixon (2001) explained, members of groups with unusual beliefs were often concerned at being portrayed as ‘faddists and cranks’ especially when their actions and beliefs strayed too far from the norm.³⁵

While the NEF fairly quickly separated itself publically from its more radical theosophical roots, eminent NEF advocates, including two of the delegates who visited New Zealand for the NEF Conference 1937, also sought to distance the new education movement from such accusations. At the Nice NEF Conference in 1932, Ernest Salter Davies (Director of Education for Kent) outlined what was ‘new’ in the term ‘New Education Fellowship’ and why NEF advocates weren’t eccentrics or cranks:

When an association arrogates to itself the title of ‘new’, one rather thinks there must be something a little ultra-revolutionary, a little eccentric, about its character ... It does not consist of eccentrics or cranks, though the people who go by that name are sometimes only the pioneers who are a little ahead of their generation. It seems to me that the Fellowship is founded upon a great principle which has been taught in different ways by the best educationists throughout the ages, that the object of education is the production of balanced individuality. What we are wanting in education is the same as what we are wanting in religion; not a new gospel but a better realisation of the old; not the teaching of a new faith, but the getting of a new way of life; not the dissemination of strange doctrines, but the lessening of the gap between theory and practice. That, as I understand it at all events, is what the New Education Fellowship stands for.³⁶

Similarly, in 1937 in New Zealand, Cyril Norwood defended new educators and the NEF from such accusations:

A hasty critic of the old school may say that the New Education Fellowship is probably a company of cranks, and would go by on the other side without stopping. But this is not a fellowship of cranks, but in the main a company of teachers who are thinking about what they are doing, and their work is to make the rest of the world ... stop and look and take notice of the places where the old education is not fitting the modern world.³⁷

In its early days new education adherents may have been seen as cranks and faddists, however, by the 1930s supporters of the New Education Fellowship were to include many of the most eminent names in education around the world. The NEF Conference in New Zealand was to be no exception, as we shall see.

Conclusion

The New Education Fellowship was a remarkable new education initiative that started from small beginnings and grew to become the largest progressive education organisation in the world during the interwar years. From its early origins in the Theosophical Fraternity in Education and the New Ideals in Education group, the NEF quickly attracted a membership of many of the most eminent educators in the world. While it was formed decades after the first crusades of the new education, it filled a global educational vacuum in international efforts for social, political and economic reconstruction after World War One. The Fellowship's rapid expansion occurred with 'a minimum of contrivance and planning' and while Boyd and Rawson (1965) argued that this was due to 'the outcome, it seemed, of great hidden forces of the spirit of man' (p. 76) it is probably more likely that its spirited ideals and principles for creating better people for a better world struck a chord with educators, policymakers, administrators and other interested in education around the world.

The Fellowship's democratic grassroots organisational structure also contributed to its popularity and growth, but conversely was to be a source of its inherent weakness. The fundamental issue for the NEF was its financial foundations that were based on membership numbers alone coupled with its voluntary status. Despite a rapid growth

in membership, and much enthusiasm from its adherents, the NEF was not able to undertake many of the projects that it wished to and this limited its potential growth in the interwar years. When external funding was available the organisation prospered, when it wasn't the organisation fell into decline.

Finally, as we will see in the following section, the new education had reached New Zealand and was having a sporadic impact on educational practice in the first two decades of the 20th century even before the NEF was founded. As early as the 1920s, new education ideas were being officially sanctioned and progressive resources were being distributed around the country with many educators undertaking new education experiments across the education system. Hence, by the 1930s, the NEF as an organisation was well-known in New Zealand and it will be argued that the NEF Conference in 1937 fell not on a barren landscape but on fertile ground. The renowned overseas educators who travelled throughout New Zealand on behalf of the NEF were extremely well received and far from delivering a radical message as a group of cranks and faddists, their ideas were seen as a reinforcement and fundamental affirmation of the views and practices of many policymakers and educators in the country.

Notes

¹ From Beatrice Ensor's report on the first NEF Conference in Calais in 1921; *The New Era*, 2, 8, 220.

² The core sources of this chapter are *The Story of the New Education* by the official biographers of the NEF, William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson and the works of the educational historian Professor Kevin J Brehony who was the most prolific researcher in the area of the NEF, its conferences and its early links to the Theosophical Society. While in the last phases of editing this doctorate, it was announced that Professor Brehony had passed away and this clumsy chapter is a tribute to his scholarship.

³ *The Story of the New Education* by William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson was published in 1965 and had an interesting history. In 1954 Dr William Boyd wrote a manuscript entitled *The New Education of the Twentieth Century* which he saw as a companion volume to his *History of Western Education*. It was not published and Boyd died while revising the text in 1962. According to the Preface of the published book, Wyatt Rawson recounts how Boyd asked him to take over the manuscript and 'make the best use of it'. Rawson carried out a number of significant revisions and additions and the last three chapters are wholly his own work while significant cuts were made to the chapters relating to the NEF conferences.

⁴ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 57.

⁵ NEF Publicity Photographs; WEF|A|1|42.

⁶ Beatrice Ensor's Wikipedia page; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatrice_Ensor.

⁷ According to Brehony (1997), Ensor's aid organisation was incorporated (on the efforts of the theosophists Haden Guest and Armstrong Smith) into the activities of the Save the Children Fund that had been formed in 1919 with similar aims.

⁸ Badley, J. H. (1917). *Education after the war*. Oxford: Blackwell; pp. 3-4.

⁹ See Dixon for a broader discussion of this area: Dixon, J. (2001). *Divine feminine: Theosophy and feminism in England*. Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.

¹⁰ Cited in Dixon (2001), p. 87.

¹¹ Hayward, F. H., & Freeman, A. (1919). *Spiritual foundations of reconstruction: A plea for new educational methods*. London: P. S. King; p. xxxii. The new educator, Professor John Adams of the Institute of Education, University of London also wrote a Prefatory Note for the text.

¹² Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 68.

¹³ Ensor wrote that 'arrangements for the International Summer Conference of the Fraternity in Education are now well in hand' and that it would be held in France around the beginning August 1921 – she also exhorted readers to come and 'spend a fortnight of their holiday in France' (p. 126). In the April 1921 issue, Ensor drew readers' attention to an advertisement for the Summer Conference in the issue and regretted that the dates for that Conference clashed with The New Ideals in Education Conference that was intended to be held in Leeds (traditionally, the Fraternity in Education members had attended these conferences). This presumably contributed to the tension (discussed earlier) between the New Ideals group and the Fraternity.

¹⁴ The 'International Summer Conference of the Fraternity in Education' (as it was called in January 1921) was initially advertised as an international conference of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education, was presumably organised by the Theosophical Educational Trust out of the English Theosophical Society premises in London, had

as its Organising Secretary the theosophist I A Hawliczek, and, was promoted by the Director of the Theosophical Educational Trust, Beatrice Ensor, through her journal, the *New Era*. While this form of arrangement was unremarkable for and attracted Fraternity in Education members from around the world, this relationship was more problematic if one of the goals of the Conference was to later form a truly independent international body that was not seen to be under the influence of the Theosophical Society. To attract a wider representation of participants, and distance the Conference from the Society, the 1921 Calais Conference was later promoted under the *New Era* journal's banner instead: 'The New Era International Conference on Education will be held at the Collège Sophie-Berthelot, Calais, from 30th July to 12th August, 1921'. In reporting on the Conference in the following issue of the *New Era*, Ensor loosely titled the Conference, 'Our International Congress of Education in Calais' (p. 218). Later in NEF material, the Calais Conference was listed as the first international Conference of the NEF.

¹⁵ See Boyd and Rawson (1965) and Brehony (1997), for example, for a more detailed examination of this Conference and the initial founding of the NEF.

¹⁶ Boyd and Rawson (1965, pp. 71-72)

¹⁷ Source: Beatrice Ensor's report on the Conference in the 1921 issue of the *New Era* following the Conference; *The New Era*, 2, 8, 218-219.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁹ Boyd and Rawson (1965), pp. 69-70.

²⁰ It's not clear who the 'Committee of Five' were, but presumably it included Beatrice Ensor, Elizabeth Rotten, Adolph Ferrière, Iwan Hawliczek and maybe Ovid Decroly.

²¹ Source: Beatrice Ensor's report on the Conference in the 1921 issue of the *New Era* following the Conference; *The New Era*, 2, 8, 219.

²² Source: Beatrice Ensor's report on the Conference in the 1921 issue of the *New Era* following the Conference; *The New Era*, 2, 8, 219. This idealistic view at the time later gave way to constitutions for sections and more formal committee meetings at both the national and international level.

²³ Dr Elizabeth Rotten attended the Conference but took no part in it, perhaps because of her strong ties with Germany. She was born in Germany with Swiss parents and she studied at German universities and was awarded a PhD from Marburg for an outstanding study of Goethe. From 1913 she engaged in humanitarian work in Belgium and later under the auspices of the Quaker movement she helped prisoners of war in Germany and Germans overseas. She continued with a long career working in the interests of world peace and she became one of the Fellowship's outstanding figures along with being a strong link between the Fellowship and teachers in Germany.

²⁴ According to Boyd and Rawson (1965, p. 73), the name of the fellowship in English was officially give as the New Education Fellowship although the name apparently didn't strictly originate at the Conference. The Organising Secretary of the Conference, I A Hawliczek, was a theosophist who acted for the Theosophical Educational Trust, and in order to avoid linking the Trust with the Conference, he used the term 'The New Education Fellowship', and this phrase came to be the accepted name for the Fellowship in the communications relating to, and directly leading up to the Conference. The French section included an international focus to the name and used the title, *La Ligue Internationale pour l'Education Nouvelle* (The International League for New Education) as did the German section with the term,

Der Weltbund für Erneuerung der Erziehung (The Alliance for Renewal of Education).

²⁵ In the founding of the NEF one might normally use the term ‘constituted’ in this context but the organising committee agreed that there would be no formal constitution for the organisation.

²⁶ Beatrice Ensor’s report on the Conference in the 1921 issue of the *New Era* following the Conference; *The New Era*, 2, 8, 220.

²⁷ For example, see Brehony, K. (1997). ‘A Dedicated Spiritual Movement’: Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. Faiths and Education. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.

²⁸ Boyd and Rawson (1965, pp. 73-74) list the original principles as (translated from the French version): 1) The essential aim of all education is to prepare the child to seek and realise in his own life the supremacy of the spirit. Whatever other view the educator may take, education should aim at maintaining and increasing spiritual energy in the child. 2) Education should respect the child’s individuality. This individuality can only be developed by means of a discipline which sets free the spiritual powers within him. 3) The studies, indeed the whole training for life, should give free play to the child’s innate interests – the interest which awaken spontaneously in him and find their expression in various manual, intellectual, aesthetic, social and other activities. 4) [Each age has its own special character.] For this reason individual and corporate disciplines need to be organised by the children themselves in collaboration with their teachers. These disciplines should make for a deeper sense of individual and social responsibility. 5) Selfish competition must disappear from education and be replaced by the co-operation which teaches the child to put themselves at the service of his community. 6) Co-education – instruction and education in common – does not mean the identical treatment of the sexes, but a collaboration which allows each sex to exercise a salutary influence on the other. 7) The New Education fits the child to become not only a citizen capable of doing his duties to his neighbours, his nation and humanity at large, but also a human being conscious of his personal dignity.

²⁹ Campbell (1938, p. 496) listed the 1932 principles as: 1) Education should seek to produce men and women who are at home in the world as it is and who, while fully aware of its imperfections, are fitted to take an effective part in its daily life. At the same time it should have the deeper aim of developing ideals and purposes beyond personal advancement and security. 2) Education should accept its special responsibilities in the realisation of the main object of society, that of building a community in which each single member can achieve full and harmonious development through sharing in the common life. 3) Education should develop an understanding of the fundamental unity of mankind irrespective of all differences, and should prepare the way for a world organised on this basis. 4) In setting itself to achieve the objectives defined above, education should start from the child as he is. There should be no arbitrary imposition of rigidly prescribed content or method; curricula and procedure should take shape in terms of the nature and experience of the child. 5) Education should at every stage be concerned with the child as a complete human being and not only with particular aspects or faculties. 6) Education should be based on the belief that each child has a natural eagerness to learn and to perfect his innate capacities. One of the essential functions of education is, therefore, to provide an environment in which this eagerness can find full expression. 7) Education should

work for the gradual attainment of the inner discipline of freedom in place of the external discipline of compulsion. It should not only be tolerant towards individual differences, but should adapt its methods so as to utilise these differences in the interests both of the individual and the common good. 8) All educational institutions should give varied opportunities for experience in communal life so as to provide practical training in citizenship and develop the sense of responsibility of members towards one another and towards the various groups that make up the community. 9) The school should not be isolated from the wider world, but should establish contact with all surrounding life and lead its members towards a vital awareness of the mutual responsibilities of human beings throughout the world.

³⁰ Noted by Campbell (1938) and discussed by Boyd and Rawson (1965, p. 75).

³¹ Letter from Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education for New Zealand dated 6 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

³² (Campbell, 1938), p. 488.

³³ Letter from Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education for New Zealand dated 6 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Cited in Dixon (2001), p. 143. Dixon gave one example of Jessie Davis as early as 1912 who was worried about the way fellow theosophists dressed and behaved and another of George Orwell's statement in 1937 where he complained of 'the horrible – the really disquieting – prevalence of cranks wherever Socialists are gathering together'.

³⁶ Salter Davies, E. (1932). *The Reorganization of State Education in England*. In W. Rawson (Ed.), *Sixth World Conference New Education Fellowship: Full Report*. London: New Education Fellowship.

³⁷ Campbell (1938), pp. 292-293.

SECTION B

New Education in New Zealand in the Interwar Period (1919-1938)

Section B Introduction

The NEF Conference 1937 was not New Zealand's first exposure to new education perspectives. It can be argued that new education thought reached New Zealand shores sporadically late in the nineteenth century and subsequently developed and spread over the first forty years of the twentieth century. Consequently, there are two important issues relevant to this thesis overall that the chapters in Section B will examine: 1) to what extent did those progressive NEF Conference messages fall on fertile ground in 1937; and 2) were those viewpoints perceived as being revolutionary or evolutionary? To answer those questions, it is necessary to examine in some detail the state of new education in New Zealand during the entire interwar period (1919-1938).

This examination, while broad in its scope, cannot provide a comprehensive overview of *every* aspect of new education in New Zealand prior to the 1937 Conference. This would be a task well beyond the word limits of this thesis. Instead, the goal is to provide a *selective* examination of the extent to which new education ideals were already present in New Zealand's educational thinking before the NEF Conference 1937.

Therefore, this examination is structured into five areas in order to cover the range of pertinent new education influences prevailing in New Zealand society during the interwar years:

- a) *Progressive policy frameworks* – in particular, the policy environment that encouraged progressive teaching methods (Chapter Three);
- b) *Progressive teaching approaches* – the Dalton Plan and the Montessori Method (Chapter Three);
- c) *Progressive organisations* – the New Education Fellowship and the Theosophical Society in New Zealand (Chapter Three);
- d) *Progressive individuals* – these individuals comprise by far the largest component of the chapters in Section B, and are grouped into professors of education (Chapter Four), training college lecturers (Chapter Five), school principals and rectors (Chapter Six), teachers (Chapter Seven), educational administrators and inspectors (Chapter Eight), researchers at NZCER and New Zealand educators overseas (Chapter Nine); and,
- e) *Progressive overseas visitors* – trips to New Zealand by Theosophical Society leaders, Institute of Education directors and Carnegie Corporation representatives (Chapter Ten).

This approach is intended to demonstrate that the influence of new education in the interwar years had a significant impact on educational administrators and educational organisations as well as teachers' understandings of 'modern' teaching methods. What these progressive influences sought to overturn was the predominant practices of traditional large-group teaching methods, the exclusive focus on disciplines rather than children as individuals, and the conservatism of the highly centralised education system. Whilst rural schools sometimes coped with smaller numbers, classroom organisation often mirrored urban practice where overcrowding was prevalent as the two examples below illustrate.



Photograph SB-1 Wellington Primary Classroom
(Circa 1920)¹



Photograph SB-2 Wellington Primer Classroom
(Circa 1920)²

Notes

¹ The ATL listing for these two lantern slides noted that they were ‘discovered when tidying out the reception desk at the New Zealand Educational Institute. It is not known when or by whom they were deposited there’. The record also added that they were ‘taken by Sir Thomas Hunter’ in 1919; ATL-PA11-211. Another citation for one of the photographs gave the title as, ‘Wellington Primary School Class in 1919’; see Lee, G., & Lee, H. (2007). Schooling in New Zealand (pp. 133-192). In C. Campbell & G. Sherington (Eds.), *Going to school In Oceania*. Connecticut: Greenwood. NZCER also held the same set of lantern slides; AAVZ, Acc2598, File PR-02-01, Volume 4. If they were taken by Thomas Hunter circa 1919, then it would be likely that they were taken in Wellington.

² ATL-PA11-211.

Progressive Policy Frameworks, Teaching Approaches and Organisations

It is the aim of the new education to enable the pupil to build up by his own efforts a body of usable knowledge, not a mass of second-hand information most of which, though reproducible on an examination-paper, is ill-digested and, unserviceable.

(Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, T B Strong, 1920)¹

Introduction

Given traditional approaches to teaching, a centralised, bureaucratic education system, overcrowding in schools, and a subject-based, examination driven curriculum that characterised the early interwar years, the prospect of schools and teachers introducing progressive approaches appeared to be a difficult endeavour. However, as the material in this chapter, and in the other chapters of Section B will demonstrate, new education ideas and advocates had been arriving in Australasia from the late 1800s and gradually spreading in breadth and influence in the early part of the twentieth century.

One reason for this was that, by the early 1920s, the education policy environment in New Zealand was, in fact, more supportive of the new education and teachers experimenting with progressive approaches than would first appear. Information on progressive teaching methods was reaching the country via a number of routes and educators were beginning to attempt to implement these, especially the Montessori and Dalton approaches. Progressive organisations, such as the Theosophical Society and the New Education Fellowship, were also beginning to make their mark on the educational environment. In sum, the changing nature of the policy environment, the implementation of progressive teaching approaches and the dissemination of progressive ideals by progressive organisations were to make an important contribution to the development of new education in New Zealand in the interwar years as this chapter will demonstrate.

1) Progressive Policy Frameworks in the Interwar Period

The 1920s New Zealand educational policy environment was surprisingly sympathetic to moderate progressive reforms in theory, though understandably more cautious in practice. Particularly after the 1929 syllabus revisions, the 1930s saw a gradual increase in the encouragement of progressive teaching methods across the whole education system culminating in the NEF Conference 1937 that finally cemented new education as the official pedagogical paradigm.²

On 16 May 1922, the Minister of Education, the Hon C J Parr, gave a speech on post-primary and primary education to the Annual Conference of NZEI, appealing to teachers ‘to avail themselves of the elasticity of the syllabus, to experiment a little and develop their originality’.³ Parr argued that the current system where primary schooling ended at the age of fourteen could no longer be defended, and the Minister sought to trial the United States derived junior high school system. Parr emphasised that ‘he would like to see a little more experiment in New Zealand, a little more departure from the syllabus, a little more originality in methods’.⁴ In addition, he recommended that schools attempt more auto-education and self-government and to that he would give his ministerial approval. Parr added that he was planning to gradually reduce class sizes to help achieve these goals. These comments were met with the strong approval of NZEI members. What is fascinating about this speech, was that Parr, a minister in a government widely regarded as conservative politically, was sending a clear signal to teachers and the educational authorities that he strongly supported a shift to more progressive approaches.

Successive annual reports from the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools – T B Strong – also strongly supported the Minister’s views. Strong had previously taught in Waimate, Gisborne and Wanganui before being appointed to the inspectorate of the Wanganui District in 1904 under its progressive Chief Inspector, George Braik.⁵ The Wanganui District had been synonymous for new education experiments (including the Montessori method and agricultural education) especially since the appointment of John Smyth as Chief Inspector from 1900 to 1902 (Smyth and Braik had previously both been progressive teachers from Southland).⁶ In 1916, Strong was

appointed Chief Inspector of the Wanganui District after Braik died suddenly⁷ and in 1920, Strong was appointed to the newly created position of Chief Inspector of Primary Schools. In 1927 he was appointed Director of Education.⁸

From 1920, Strong advocated the adoption of more progressive practices. In the Chief Inspector's opinion,

Madame Montessori's system, the Dalton Laboratory plan, and such like methods of auto-education are but modern developments of the older heuristic methods, and mark a distinct break from the 'forced feeding' system which dominated the schools of our childhood and which is even yet are not quite banished from the land. According to the tradition of the past the more information a child absorbed the better he was educated. Hence the system of judging the extent of a child's education by measuring the amount of information he could reproduce.⁹

Strong believed that the traditional system had failed children. Instead, the educational focus needed to shift to the needs of the individual child together with a change in the methods that teachers used:

To be successful, every education system must take cognizance of those qualities, attributes, and powers that condition the mental, moral, and physical advancement of the race. It is the aim of the new education to do this; but it cannot succeed in its aim until the method of assessing the value of the teacher and his work is altered. It is the aim of the new education to enable the pupil to build up by his own efforts a body of usable knowledge, not a mass of second-hand information most of which, though reproducible on an examination-paper, is ill-digested and, unserviceable.¹⁰

Strong also tackled the issue of classroom discipline, arguing that discipline issues would decline if children were more seriously involved in their own learning:

And if the new education can secure the interest and whole-hearted co-operation of the pupil, the old-time troublesome problem of maintaining discipline will disappear, for the pupil will govern himself.¹¹

However, he warned that ‘the fundamentals’ still needed to be retained in this move towards a new system and concluded that they would not be compromised by a move to the new education and also that a pupil’s self-education would stand them in good stead throughout their whole education and life:

But the new education does not disregard the importance of the fundamentals, and the only difference between the old and the new in this respect is the manner in which the pupil attains a mastery of his tools. It has been impossible here to do more than indicate the significance of this difference; to the educationist it is everything. Trained in the infants’ department through, say, the Montessori method, and in the higher classes through some other form of self-education, the secondary pupil, the pupil-teacher, and the university student will not, as is now so frequently the case, show themselves unable to prosecute their studies on their own initiative; their training will have aimed to make them self-reliant and resourceful, able to take the best from their hours of leisure as well as from their hours of work.¹²

In effect, the Chief Inspector’s Report for 1920 set out a pedagogical platform for progressive reform for the decade and one on which later Reports build on.

Strong’s Report for 1921 was critical of teachers in some districts who had not read enough about implementing the new education.¹³ He feared that few teachers had studied Montessori, Armstrong, and other progressive educators. He also praised the work of the Wanganui District in trialling Miss Parkhurst’s Dalton Plan and the Montessori Method. Strong particularly counselled that ‘the teacher and the training-college student with “half-baked” ideas should not be met with ridicule and repression, but with encouragement and guidance, from both Inspectors and head teachers’. However, he did incorporate a warning that new education ideas should not

be adopted in haste without a full understanding of their underlying principles. In his view, the ideas needed to be implemented with ‘reason and common-sense’ and he warned that the adoption of new education approaches was hindered by the pressures of annual promotions, large class sizes, the difficulties in implementing self-government, and a lack of available experts.¹⁴

Strong’s 1922 Report¹⁵ incorporated a stronger attack on teachers who had failed to learn about new education approaches: ‘So stagnant has educational thought become in some quarters that one feels more inclined to welcome than to quell the revolutionary, who, with his “mad theories”, at least stimulates thought and challenges contradiction’. The Chief Inspector went on to elaborate on the differences between the ‘old’ passive forms of education and ‘new’ education where teachers secure ‘the co-operation of the pupil, mainly through the interest that certain subjects possess in themselves, or through the satisfaction gained in acquiring knowledge by self-effort’.¹⁶

His Reports for 1923 and 1924 followed a similar vein. In 1923, Strong noted that information on new education approaches was reaching New Zealand and being disseminated: ‘Though New Zealand is somewhat out of the main stream ... the modern educational movements are not passing unnoticed. The doctrine of freedom for the child is being preached in the colleges, and is to some extent at least entering the realm of actual teaching practice in schools’.¹⁷ Strong did point out some of the dangers of the Dalton Plan, including ‘pupils overworking themselves’, although he argued that the new ‘doctrine of freedom’ had been particularly useful in the area of teaching good citizenship principles, where senior pupils are given more responsibility for managing their own schools and through that coming to realise ‘the basic principles of good government’.¹⁸

The Report for 1924 posed a number of important questions for teachers related to whether the knowledge that pupils had learned was ‘usable’ and whether their characters had been developed.¹⁹ For example, ‘Has the teacher succeeded in touching the real life of the child, in broadening and deepening his interests? Is the child more refined and had he a deeper spirituality as the result of his contact with the teacher?’.

Strong's Report then went on to commend systems of partial self-government, the study of literature 'that touches the heart of the child and reveals beauties and delights to satisfy the soul', music and pictures, sport, handicrafts, and 'methods of teaching that will encourage self-achievement and so self-realisation'. Inspectors were encouraged to form 'reading and discussion circles' with teachers so that 'the seed of the "new education" may be sown and its growth fostered'. The Report added that Dr John Adams, the Director of the Institute of Education (University of London) had commented during his tour that the New Zealand education system was 'rigid' [see Chapter Ten] and Strong concluded that, 'Our schools are undoubtedly efficient in the narrower and more mechanical sense, but they need more of the new spirit, more of real life'.²⁰ Of interest, the Auckland Inspector of Schools commented that the Proficiency Examination was hindering the implementation of new education approaches and because of it,

little real initiative is displayed or experimentation attempted even in a large school. We have a syllabus that lays claim to the encouragement of initiative, and we have teachers more or less willing to experiment, but looming large at the end of the primary course is the Proficiency Examination.²¹

The Chief Inspector's Reports for 1925 and 1926 continued in a similar vein. The Reports criticised teachers heavily for not being more creative and original in their teaching:

The majority of teachers show much conservatism, the older ones from habit, and the younger ones from the example of the older ones. While it is recognised that the development of the individual to the fullest capacity along his own peculiar and particular lines is of paramount importance in the first instance to the pupil himself, and ultimately the State, few teachers modify their methods to meet this end.²²

One inspector (Dr J W McIlraith, later an important participant in the NEF Conference 1937) responded that it was not only teachers who were responsible for

this situation. Other problems included, 'our rigid syllabus, our rigid methods of inspection, and our rigid system of grading'. McIlraith proposed that 'the rights and needs of the individual child' required primary, secondary and technical education to differentiate in order to meet individual pupil's needs and future careers.²³ This, at least in one respect, incorporated both progressive ideas and an endorsement of a selective, differentiated school organisation to facilitate those ideals.

From 1927, the Minister of Education's Reports demonstrated a growing sense of frustration at the lack of progress towards the new education system that had been encouraged for several years by the leading policymakers in the Department of Education. He argued for an overhaul of both the education system's overall structure and syllabus. In a strongly worded report, the Minister noted that, 'it would be foolish to turn a blind eye to its [the education system's] imperfections and to neglect opportunities for improvements' and that it was time for a 'stocktake'.²⁴ Considering the links between the primary and post-primary system, the Minister argued that 'the secondary schools should provide a broader curriculum' and that 'It is for schools to provide equal opportunities for all' and that would be one of the chief aims of the reorganisation of the system.²⁵ It is significant that, at the time, the Lawson Committee was tasked with looking at both the structure of the whole system as well as the alignment of the syllabus across the system and these issues were to comprise an important part of the committee's work.²⁶

The overhaul of both the overall structure and syllabus of the education system formed a major part of the Minister's Report for 1928. The Minister noted that the new syllabus gave teachers 'a considerable measure of freedom to draw up their own schemes of instruction' and he urged teachers to 'avail themselves as fully as is wise and reasonable of the freedom thus offered them'.²⁷ The Minister continued that different types of post-primary schools should come closer together and he proposed that there was no reason why all branches of education should not come under one controlling body. He signalled the importance of secondary education in meeting the needs of individual children and hinted at the role of junior high schools as a 'trying out ground' for pupils before embarking on a particular type of secondary education.²⁸

The Chief Inspector's Reports for 1929 and 1930 summed up the situation for the system-wide implementation of new education in schools. The Chief Inspector noted that the new syllabus (the 'Red Book') had been in effect for a year and that it was unreasonable to expect radical change in the system. However, he reflected that the syllabus went considerably further than previously in 'extending to teachers freedom in the methods of teaching' and he argued that teachers had not generally 'availed themselves of the privilege thus offered, and that they had been content to follow the courses as outlined in the syllabus, instead of using their own initiative'.²⁹ While in 1930, the Chief Inspector again reiterated that radical changes were not expected from the new syllabus. However, what was expected for the new decade was 'the gradual growth of the spirit of liberty as far as methods of teaching and courses of work are concerned' and that the Inspectors would provide every encouragement to teachers who demonstrated initiative and creativity.³⁰

To sum up this section, the 'official' line with regard to new education in the 1920s was one of on-going support for those who attempted progressive teaching approaches. The rhetoric was clear from both the Minister of Education and the Chief Inspectors of Primary Schools although the Inspectors at the district level continued to comment that teachers were generally not taking up opportunities to experiment. The excuses raised by the teachers included the impact of the Proficiency Examination, the rigid methods of inspection, the rigid grading system and the rigid syllabus while officials also saw lack of experimentation as being a result of conservatism amongst the teaching force, especially the older teachers who were role models for the younger teachers. In 1929, a new syllabus was introduced that gave teachers considerably more freedom over teaching methods and teaching content and into the 1930s, the broad expectation was that the spirit of new education would finally be put into practice in classrooms nationwide.

2) Progressive Teaching Approaches in the Interwar Period

Broad progressive influences on New Zealand's educational organisations and educators in the interwar years came from overseas educational movements (such as the NEF and PEA) and popular progressive pedagogical approaches.³¹ New Zealand education historian and former school inspector John Ewing concluded that, after World War One, 'change and reform were much in the air' in New Zealand education. Teachers were officially encouraged to experiment with new teaching methods.³² While there were many progressive approaches that reached New Zealand shores, two of the most relevant ones for this thesis were the Dalton Plan and the Montessori Method.

(a) The Dalton Plan

Given official support for the Dalton Plan, Education Boards and schools were soon being reported in the media as advocating and implementing such approaches. In 1922, an address by Mr Purdie, the Secretary of the Auckland Education Board, highlighted the differences between 'education' and 'instruction'. Outlining the key elements of the Dalton Plan, Purdie defined it as a system where, 'the child is held responsible for doing work for himself, the teacher acting more or less as his guide than as his mentor'.³³ Also in 1922, the Wanganui Education Board circulated a 44-page pamphlet to teachers on the Dalton Plan in their *Leaflet* series (followed by further related information on areas such as new approaches to assignment work, self-government and the Project Method).³⁴ In 1923, however, the principal of Wellington College was reported as lamenting the difficulties in implementing the Dalton Plan in the school due to 'the pressure of examination requirements [that] acted as a continuous deterrent to experimentation'.³⁵

Notwithstanding this obstacle, by the mid-1920s the Dalton Plan was being widely supported in New Zealand and there were several substantial articles in the popular press reporting local and international initiatives in the area. In 1924, one article noted that, 'the Dalton system is gradually spreading, and the results are so amazing that it cannot be lightly discarded'.³⁶ In 1925, the principal of Whangarei High School (Mr

A B Charters), recounted that two or three years earlier when he was an Inspector of Schools, he trialled the Dalton Plan on Standards 4, 5 and 6 children in a two-teacher school and their end of year Proficiency Certificates test results were ‘quite beyond expectation’. He warned that the system needed competent teachers and well resourced schools but given those advantages, ‘a great deal could be done’.³⁷ There were also positive newspaper reports on the Dalton Plan from overseas commentators. Cyril Norwood, the English educationist who was to be a speaker at the NEF Conference in 1937, argued that the system promoted self-development and self-reliance in children.³⁸ The principal of a large Melbourne grammar school had recently undertaken an extended overseas tour and his observations of the Dalton Plan in action overseas were also reported in New Zealand.³⁹

Not all the reports on the Dalton Plan were as positive as these. For example, one well-written but educationally conservative article published in 1923 argued that ‘instruction’ shouldn’t be entirely replaced by ‘education’ approaches such as that espoused in the Dalton Plan. From an entirely different perspective, however, another article in 1924 cited a lecture on modern teaching methods given to a Taranaki Branch NZEI meeting by progressive educator, Mr H F McClune, headmaster of Moturoa Observation School, New Plymouth.⁴⁰ McClune had argued for more democratic approaches in schools where co-operation was highlighted as opposed to approaches where individualism was seen as more important. Here McClune critiqued the Dalton Plan – not for being too radical, but for being arguably less radical than it seemed.⁴¹

(b) The Montessori Method

While the Dalton Plan was being advocated for the teaching of older children during the interwar years, the Montessori Method was being promoted in New Zealand as an innovative progressive approach for younger children. In New Zealand from 1912 onward, the Montessori Method was used in several settings (including kindergartens, convents, state primary schools and private educational institutions).⁴²

Shuker has pointed out that the Montessori movement actually began in New Zealand at much the same time as the rest of the world. Articles on the Montessori Method had

reached New Zealand from at least 1910 while educators such as Margaret Newman (a Junior Class Teaching lecturer at Auckland Training College) and George Braik (Chief Inspector of Schools, Wanganui District) had studied the method overseas. In 1912, Sir James Allen, then Minister of Education in the conservative Reform Government, met the Australian lecturer, Margaret Simpson, who was en-route to visit Montessori in Italy. Allen altered his journey to the Imperial Defence Conference to accompany Simpson, to meet Montessori and to observe the Montessori Method in action. Allen became enthusiastic about the Montessori approach. On his return, he received a copy of Simpson's Report and George Hogben, then Inspector General of Education, was given permission to purchase 5,000 copies which the Department distributed to education boards in New Zealand and the four existing training colleges at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.⁴³

As a consequence, the Montessori Method was adopted, with a variety of local adaptations, in kindergartens and infant classrooms throughout New Zealand, with a larger scale experiment being conducted in infant schools in the Wanganui district. The Montessori phonetic method was also used at a Catholic primary school established in 1912 by Mother Aubert at the Wellington Foundling Home and Hospital. Also at about this time, Margaret Newman, inspired by her overseas study tour, set up a kindergarten class at Wellesley Street Normal School, Auckland to provide her trainee teachers with an environment in which they could see Montessori principles and methods in practice. Moreover, just as the Wanganui Education Board had later enthusiastically adopted the Dalton Plan, so too did the Board trial the Montessori Method in the district schools, especially at the Central Infant's School in Wanganui from around 1914 until the early 1920s. The latter school became a model school and received a number of visitors from other education boards. Wellington Training College also obtained a set of Montessori equipment in 1917 with the support of the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon W F Massey, while from 1915-1925 the Infant Department of Kelburn Normal School used the Montessori Method extensively in their programme; this initiative being heavily supported by Hogben himself.

By 1916, the Assistant-Director of Education was claiming that, ‘... there is a considerable number of schools where the Montessori system is being carried out ... the system is being very extensively tried in New Zealand’.⁴⁴ To reinforce the extent to which knowledge of the method had spread, McClune and Lord in their chapter on the Montessori Method (published in 1916) asserted that, ‘Most teachers have heard or read accounts of the Montessori Method’.⁴⁵ The authors argued that the method would help children to become ‘self-reliant and independent’. In line with the focus of their book, they also argued that, ‘It is really the beginning of self-government, which should be utilised to its fullest extent by the teacher’.⁴⁶ However, by the mid-1920s, with a small number of notable exceptions, the Montessori Method lost favour in New Zealand and internationally for a number of reasons. These included the method being ‘taken out of its original setting’ together with a number of ‘failures’ in adaption, training, implementation and resourcing’.⁴⁷

3) Progressive Organisations in the Interwar Period

In addition to the previous progressive policy directions and teaching approaches, there were a number of educational organisations and also organisations that included an education focus, that considered, advocated and disseminated progressive ideals to a greater or lesser degree in the interwar years.⁴⁸ Of particular relevance to this thesis, and this section, was the beginnings of the New Education Fellowship organisation in New Zealand in the interwar years along with the related work of the New Zealand branch of the Theosophical Society, which included a New Zealand Fraternity in Education group and the local Vasanta group. These two latter groups of progressive educators centred around the Vasanta Garden School that was established in Epsom in 1919. Hence, this section will demonstrate once again that there was considerable dove-tailing of the international and local progressive ideals and practices of these two organisations. However, whereas the progressive activities of the Theosophical Society started to wane from the 1930s, the profile and activities of the New Education Fellowship moved into the mainstream of New Zealand education after the successful NEF Conference of 1937.

(a) The First Local NEF Group at Stratford

Internationally, the grassroots structure of the NEF organisation comprised independent national ‘sections’ and local ‘groups’ with the latter also being able to join the NEF independently. Prior to the 1937 NEF Conference, however, New Zealand was not an official national section of the NEF organisation. This, along with several local *region*-based groups, was to be formed after the Conference.

It has been previously thought that the first local New Zealand group prior to the NEF Conference 1937 was the Vasanta Group formed in the early 1930s.⁴⁹ In fact, a small NEF group was set up in the 1920s in the central Taranaki town of Stratford by an enthusiastic young primary school teacher, Clarence Farnsworth Stratford (1901-1934).⁵⁰ Stratford went to teach at the Stratford Primary School in the mid-1920s and here he formed the first known local group of the NEF. Stratford was listed as the secretary for this group in the 1928 and 1929 issues of the *New Era*. In 1928, Stratford moved to Auckland to teach at the progressive Kowhai Intermediate School, so it is entirely possible that the Taranaki-based group was actually registered with the NEF perhaps between 1925-27.⁵¹

The innovative Kowhai Intermediate was a magnet for talented progressive teachers so it was not surprising that Stratford sought a position there.⁵² In 1928, he formed a school orchestra at Kowhai that was well received and which went on to support the rich musical and dramatic life of the school. In a photograph of the school staff from that same year, Stratford is seen standing next to K H O’Halloran⁵³ – O’Halloran was another progressive educationist who, as Beeby put it, ‘has a first-rate mind, and a persistently enquiring spirit, which drove him to carry out many researches even before the Council was founded [in 1933]’.⁵⁴ In the early 1930s, Stratford pioneered the use of visual aids in schools when he borrowed a 16mm projector from Kodak for experimental use at the school.⁵⁵ He was also the Secretary for the prestigious Auckland Educational Society.⁵⁶ The headmaster of Kowhai Intermediate School at the time, John F Wells,⁵⁷ stated that, Stratford ‘was such an obliging person and took such infinite pleasure in doing work for others, and he had such a wide range of interests, such as aviation, swimming, football, university work, theatricals, and

educational film work that heavy demands must have been made on his physical strength as well as his financial resources'.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, in 1931, Stratford needed an abdominal operation and this was followed by radium treatment and a further operation was needed at a later point. In addition, it was reported that he was having financial issues. His last day of teaching at Kowhai Intermediate was 17 September 1934 and on that day he appeared to be 'in his usual jovial mood'; as Wells put it, 'he was immensely popular with the scholars and was most loyal to me and the school'.⁵⁹ Tragically, the next day, Stratford was found dead with a rifle lying across his body at the summit of Mt Eden. The Coroner concluded that he had suffered from 'acute mental depression ... [and that] there were matters outside his work which caused him worry, and his condition of health also contributed to his mental state'.⁶⁰ The last paragraph of a letter by Stratford to the Commissioner of Police, found in his pocket at the time, gave an insight into the last hours of this young progressive educator:

I purpose a long talk with the Heavenly Father through the night, and when the dawn comes may it usher in peace to at least one harassed soul no longer concerned with mortal things. God bless you all, each and every one – and so on to the dawn.⁶¹

In some respects, Stratford's career and death epitomise the promise, challenges and frustrations faced by New Zealand's progressive educators. Innovative, but often working alone for long hours, and displaying an intermingling of educational and spiritual concepts.

(b) The Second Local NEF Group and the Vasanta Garden School

There were, however, support structures in place for progressive educators. In the same year that the founder of the first NEF group in New Zealand committed suicide, a second considerably larger fellowship of progressive educators based at the Vasanta Garden School sought to gain 'group' status with the NEF. The intriguing point about the Vasanta Garden School was that it already had strong historical links to Ensor's

Theosophical Fraternity in Education (which had contributed to the founding of the NEF in 1921) as well as the broader networks of the Theosophical Society.

At the February 1933 NEF Executive Board and Executive Committee meeting in London, Wyatt Rawson (the Assistant-Director of the NEF) advised that an application for group status had been received from ‘certain New Zealand friends of the Fellowship’ and that he recommended its acceptance.⁶² A number of teachers along with ‘others connected with the Vasanta Garden School’ then formed the group in 1933⁶³ and during the 1934 South African NEF Conference, the NEF Executive Board met⁶⁴ and formally approved the formation of the group.⁶⁵

The Vasanta⁶⁶ Garden School (1919-1959) was established by the New Zealand Theosophical Society in 1919 in Epsom, Auckland.⁶⁷ The international headquarters of the Theosophical Society at the time was based in Madras, India (Adyr) and some years earlier the importance of education had become a particular focus of the society.⁶⁸ In 1913 Annie Besant established the Theosophical Educational Trust in India to fund the educational enterprises of the Theosophical Society while similar trusts quickly developed internationally to support the establishment and organisation of schools based on theosophical principles. Along with the theosophical trusts that provided funding, an international network of educators was formed by Ensor in 1915 called the Theosophical Fraternity in Education that was devoted to theosophical education.⁶⁹

In New Zealand as early as 1915, education was a focal point of discussion at the Annual Convention of the New Zealand Theosophical Society. As a result, a committee of sixteen teachers in attendance was formed to ‘formulate some scheme for united effort’ in order to provide for ‘the education of children of a newer and higher type’. In January 1916, a country school teacher correspondent to the Society’s journal, *Theosophy in New Zealand (TiNZ)*, wondered whether members of the Society could start a Theosophical School where teachers could put into practice theosophical principles. In April 1916, another correspondent to *TiNZ* pointed out that while the Society had over a thousand members there was no theosophical school to meet their needs.⁷⁰

In 1917, the New Zealand Theosophical Educational Trust Board was established and at the 1917 Annual Convention it was agreed to locate a suitable property for a day and boarding school. In 1918 it was announced that a property had been found in Auckland and members were asked to contribute funds towards it and the establishment of a school. On 19 February 1919 the new school was officially opened to 26 day pupils and 11 boarders and named Vasanta College (this name was changed in 1924 to Vasanta School and in 1927 to Vasanta Garden School) with the motto: ‘Truth, Light and Fellowship’.⁷¹

In its early years the school struggled, particularly in finding and keeping a suitable principal, and in 1922 the school stopped taking boarders and become solely a day school.⁷² The College went through three principals in quick succession: Mr Sydney T Butler was appointed the first Acting Principal of the school (he had only offered his services *gratis* for the 1919 year); Miss M Hamilton was then Principal until the end of 1921; and, Mr E N Fernyhough became the new Principal from the start of 1922 (travelling out from England with his family over the 1921 Christmas period).⁷³ It is not clear exactly how long Fernyhough remained as Principal,⁷⁴ but the Trust had subsequently written to Ensor, then Director of the English Theosophical Educational Trust and who had by then co-founded the NEF, for advice on finding a suitable principal. She responded that, ‘the only way to have a successful school was to “first find the teacher”, the teacher with enthusiasm, the right attitude towards the problem and the devotion to make it a life work’. In 1923, Miss Bertha Darroch was appointed as Principal, being subsequently involved with the school for over thirty-two years.⁷⁵

This school’s early history highlights the early links locally and internationally between theosophy, the NEF and new education. One international visitor to the school in Auckland underscored this [as did others discussed in Chapter Ten].⁷⁶ On 22 December 1919, the year Vasanta College opened, the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society (Adyar, India), Curuppumullage Jinarajadasa⁷⁷ visited New Zealand after lecturing in Australia on topics such as ‘Educational Ideals of the Future’.⁷⁸ Jinarajadasa gave the opening address to the Annual Convention of the New Zealand Theosophical Society and also gave four public lectures in the Auckland

Town Hall Concert Chamber on democracy and child welfare.⁷⁹ Jinarajadasa's visit inspired the Theosophical Educational Trust Board to seek formal affiliation with the international Theosophical Fraternity in Education and it was recognised that the Fraternity espoused the 'new ideal in education'.⁸⁰

In 1919, the New Zealand Fraternity in Education group held their Annual Meeting. The Secretary, Miss A White, reported that membership had reached 89 though not much had been achieved. She noted that their officials were scattered around the country which hindered their work although individuals were 'working with devotion'. However, White was able to argue that, 'There is a marked improvement in their [the Inspectors] attitude towards Theosophical ideals, though not by that name, yet there are some inspectors now who can hear even that word without blinking'.⁸¹ A resolution was also carried unanimously that the Fraternity affiliate with the international Theosophical Educational Trust (and by affiliation, Ensor's Theosophical Fraternity in Education).⁸²

In 1921, the New Zealand Fraternity in Education group held a Conference. The membership was then at 100 and the main activity had been the formation of the SPCA Junior League in North Island schools. In addition, the *Education for the New Era* journal had been circulated throughout the Fraternity in 1920. These were the first issues of the *New Era* and were published before the NEF was formed in 1921.⁸³

At the 1922 Conference, it was reported that the Fraternity was 'now a certificated branch of the International Fraternity'.⁸⁴ The new educational aims of the Vasanta College were articulated by the President of the New Zealand Fraternity in Education, Mr J R Thomson:

We are really trying to fit ourselves to be custodians of the Wisdom for this Dominion. The ordinary school does not educate to any appreciable extent. Many educationalists are imbued with the old notion that the present system is all that it ought to be, though it has failed utterly to touch the noblest part of the child, for the simple reason that those at the head of it have no idea of the highest and best in the child. That is the

radical difference between a Theosophical school and an ordinary school. Our school is intended to be a place where the cream of the nation shall be educated. It is not the weak, inefficient souls we want, but the very best.⁸⁵

To some extent the statistics looked encouraging. From the early 1920s, the Theosophical Society (NZ) had a national membership of over 1,000 members while the Fraternity in Education had over 100 teachers and others interested in education matters. New education ideas quickly spread nationally through regular meetings, personal contacts, the sharing of education journals such as the *New Era*, and the example furnished by the new educational experiment that was the Vasanta College/School. In addition, The *Theosophy in New Zealand (TiNZ)* magazine was a particularly powerful vehicle for sharing both local and international material on new education and it often included extracts from experts and magazines from around the world. [See *Appendix 5* for examples of local and international material from *TiNZ* that illustrates this point.]

The design of the Vasanta school buildings and equipment, and its curriculum and pedagogy were from the start conceived along new education lines. The 1922 school brochure claimed:

The school stands for Co-education, believing that the mingling of boys and girls in play and study is the best way to fit them for wise fellowship in adult life ... It is in kindness that the child's faculties unfold naturally and it is a fixed policy that discipline shall be maintained without the use of corporal punishment ... The cultivation of a fine character is the main object of education, a character self-controlled, unselfish and helpful ... Prizes are not given, as the purpose is to cultivate a spirit of co-operation rather than that of competition and personal ascendancy ...

In religious matters the school stands for tolerance and sympathy, teaching the children to respect the faith of others and to value the spiritual elements in all religions ... Great importance is attached to the influence of beautiful sounds and colours in inducing beautiful thoughts and feelings.⁸⁶

The school buildings were also influenced by international ideas on open air classrooms and teaching. For example, the October 1916 issue of *TiNZ* contained extracts from an article by a Sheffield headmaster who argued that children should not be forced to sit in ill-designed classrooms and that many subjects could be taught in the open air. The *TiNZ* commented that such advice needed to be heeded ‘when we design our first Theosophical School’.⁸⁷ Judging by the photograph below, it was:



Photograph 3-1 Open Air Classroom at Vasanta College
(Circa early 1920s)⁸⁸

Vasanta’s curriculum followed the standard primary school subjects plus French for Standards V and VI. However, pedagogically, ‘everything is done to encourage the children in original research and to add to the knowledge given by the usual channels’. So that children’s interest was stimulated and ‘to call out the child’s own initiative’, the school followed a modified Dalton Plan. This method involved using a ‘Free Timetable’, where ‘a definite amount of work is set, but the children are allowed to take it in such order as they please, and they are encouraged to look up their own references and sources of information’. The children were also individually assessed ‘with the object of discovering in each case the mode by which the child’s own desire to know may be best set alight’.⁸⁹

The 1922 brochure also detailed a formal uniform dress code for boys and girls and an Arts and Crafts Guild. It was claimed that ‘special attention has been paid to the beauty of the grounds’. There were weekly evening music concerts given by visitors and regular excursions. The brochure listed visiting teachers for piano, violin, voice, painting, shorthand and eurhythmics.⁹⁰



Photograph 3-2 Eurhythmics Display at Vasanta College, 1919⁹¹

The 1922 school brochure particularly noted the importance of a healthy environment. A vegetarian diet was followed by the staff and boarders and deep breathing exercises and organised games were carried out daily. The Matron kept a detailed record of each child and ‘affectionate personal care is given ... that their life may approach as nearly as possible to happy home conditions’. The older boys used ‘an open-air sleeping porch’ and much of the school work was carried out outside.⁹²



Photograph 3-3 Mr Sydney T Butler (the first Acting Principal) Teaching in the Open Air, 1919⁹³

By 1927, it was reported that the school, now a day school only, endeavoured to provide a modern education using Montessori and Dalton Plan approaches. The school roll was listed as 33 students.⁹⁴

The school was regularly visited by Inspectors and the children underwent the Proficiency Examination in common with those in more conventional schools. In 1927, a visiting Inspector noted that, 'the efficiency of the school is good, and the discipline and tone are very good ... The buildings are new ... The grounds are almost ideal'.⁹⁵ Once again, we might note the general support for innovative educational practices by school inspectors. In 1931, the Trust Board wrote that the school was being run successfully by Miss Darroch and Miss Worthington and a recent Inspector's report was quoted:

The work of the school is being conducted in a very efficient manner the methods employed are on modern lines and are educationally sound, abundant opportunity is provided for the development of initiative and independence of thought and action; the order and control, the general

bearing of the pupils, their attitude to their work, and their willing response, are very good indeed, and reflect much credit upon the conduct of the school. Adequate provision is made for the development of social graces and the cultural and physical side of the children's natures.⁹⁶

By 1934, just after the Vasanta Group was officially approved by the NEF, the visiting Inspector (B N T. Blake) wrote that:

Organisation is sound and management capable. Instruction is based upon the principle of individual development, a modified Dalton plan being used by senior pupils. Every endeavour is made to lay the foundations for a sane and well-equipped adulthood, while cultivating individual interests to the full. As is to be expected, the standard of attainment varies considerably from fair to very good. Pleasing features are appreciation in literature and oral response, and interest in geography and history. Two open-air class-rooms, and a large room used for general instruction purposes, afford sufficient and suitable accommodation. The general efficiency and the tone are good.⁹⁷

In 1937, there was a record of the school's students undertaking a Revived Ancient Greek Dancing performance (possibly at a fund-raising fair or parent event). The Revived Greek Dance form was founded in 1913 by Ruby Ginner, a British dance exponent, who had studied the dance forms portrayed in Grecian artefacts. This dance form was an attempt to revive ancient Greek beliefs with a focus on 'opposition and symmetry and angular designs which are layered onto steps such as walks, skips and runs' and involved the use of props such as battle garb and musical percussion instruments.⁹⁸ Like Eurhythmics, Revived Greek Dancing had a modern history, was consistent with new educational ideals, and put a strong emphasis on 'health and beauty'.⁹⁹



Photograph 3-4 Revived Ancient Greek Dancing Performance, 1937¹⁰⁰

By 1937, the Vasanta NEF Group was still active with a membership of 40. The Group met regularly and in 1937 their subjects for study and discussion were: 1) This freedom! Exactly what does it mean?; 2) Sex Education; 3) Diet and health for our children; and, 4) a Parent-Teacher Friendly Club. The Group went on to form a Parent-Teacher Friendly Club after a parent-teacher evening of 55 parents at the school.¹⁰¹

After the NEF Conference in Auckland on 15 July 1937, it was reported that an Auckland Group of the NEF was formed with an elected committee comprising: Miss Darroch (from the Vasanta Group), Miss A Kennedy, Dr A B Fitt (Professor of Education at Auckland University College), Messrs A Bain, J W McGeehie, A J Gillies (secretary), and D M Rae. Professor Fitt outlined the sorts of educational problems the Group was to work on: more expressive and creative work in schools; the abolition of 'coercive measures in obtaining ordered freedom'; parent education; more physical education; and, the establishment of experimental schools. Fitt concluded, 'This is not another talk shop ... Mr Rae and I would refuse to back it if it becomes that'.¹⁰²

However, while Miss Darroch¹⁰³ was appointed to the Auckland NEF Group, the Vasanta NEF Group also wished to continue as a separate Group. The NEF files contain a written note from 1938 that this group ‘wishes to remain linked directly with Headquarters and pay its dues direct – although it is working in a general way with the other groups attached to the Auckland Branch’.¹⁰⁴

As Daphne Darroch explained in 1940, Vasanta started initially as a school in 1919 as an off-shoot of the New Zealand Theosophical Society. Over time the school became a focus for wider theosophical pursuits and went on to become part of the Vasanta Centre. As part of the nucleus of the Centre, twelve members of the Society lived on the Centre grounds in flats in the converted two-story house on the property (called Vasanta House), including Miss Bertha Darroch (the Principal of the School) and Miss E Hunt (General Secretary of the New Zealand Theosophical Society), while eighteen other members lived on properties either adjoining or close by.¹⁰⁵

Vasanta continued to operate until 1959 when it was finally closed due to the ill-health of the Principal and the difficulty in finding a suitable replacement who had theosophical ideals. The debt-free assets of the Theosophical Educational Trust Board were passed to the New Zealand Theosophical Society. Jack G Patterson, the President of the Trust Board at the time, reviewed the experimental school’s achievements:

To the last it filled a need in the community. The ability of the school and its beautiful surroundings to ‘bring out’ a sensitive child was amazing. All pupils gained a quality of character and initiative which is unique to Vasanta.¹⁰⁶

While the contribution of the Theosophical Society and the Vasanta community members to new education in New Zealand cannot be precisely quantified, it would be difficult to find a more enthusiastic community group in New Zealand pre-1937 who were prepared to engage in progressive enterprises. From before 1920 the Theosophical Society actively participated in progressive educational debates and Vasanta College was founded in 1919. Around the same time, the nation-wide New

Zealand Fraternity in Education was formed which had deep ties to the founders of theosophy and the NEF, and which promoted new education principles and teaching approaches. Only in 1933 did a smaller group of theosophical educators at Vasanta form the official Vasanta NEF Group and while it worked with the Auckland NEF Group after the 1937 Conference it continued to retain its own identity. These theosophists were connected to vigorous international networks and disseminated new education ideas throughout New Zealand through their internal personal and professional networks including the *TiNZ* journal. They were probably the most powerful progressive community-based force in New Zealand education before the Conference.

In contrast, the young primary teacher, Clarence Farnsworth Stratford, started the first (but fairly short-lived) New Zealand NEF group in Stratford in the 1920s. In 1928 he took up a position at the Kowhai Intermediate School in Auckland joining other progressive educators but tragically, personal problems led to his premature death in 1934. In terms of size, longevity and organisational resourcing, the Stratford and Vasanta Groups were poles apart. What did unite the two Groups was their passion for new education and that they were both inspired by the ideals of the New Education Fellowship.

Conclusion

The Vasanta School was one of the first schools to enthusiastically embrace ‘the new education’ at a time when the broader educational policy environment in New Zealand was surprisingly supportive of such initiatives. Many schools in the 1920s were also starting to experiment with progressive teaching approaches such as the Montessori Method and the Dalton Plan. By the 1930s, progressive organisations were attracting a growing number of new educators and the NEF was gaining more widespread support. The NEF Conference in 1937, then, helped to consolidate the Department’s policy directions, legitimatised progressive teaching endeavours in the classroom, and gave a new impetus to the progressive education organisations operating in the country.

Notes

¹ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1921 (for the Year ending 31 December 1920)*, Appendix A.

² The assertion that the 1920s policy environment was ‘surprisingly sympathetic’ to progressive reforms in both the primary and post-primary sectors is also supported by May’s analysis of the early childhood/early years sector that came to a broadly similar conclusion. See May, H. (2011). *I am five and I go to school. Early years schooling in New Zealand, 1900-2010*. Dunedin: Otago University Press; Chapters Two to Four in particular.

³ *The Evening Post*, 17 May 1922, p. 2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *The Evening Post*, 4 March 1927, p. 10.

⁶ In 1902, Smyth left Wanganui to take up the position of principal of Melbourne Training College.

⁷ *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 2 January 1915, p. 4.

⁸ *The Evening Post*, 4 March 1927, p. 10.

⁹ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1921 (for the Year ending 31 December 1920)*, Appendix A.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1922 (for the Year ending 31 December 1921)*, Appendix A.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1923 (for the Year ending 31 December 1922)*, Appendix A.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1924 (for the Year ending 31 December 1923)*, Appendix A.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1925 (for the Year ending 31 December 1924)*; p. 17.

²⁰ Ibid., p.17.

²¹ Ibid., p. 39.

²² AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1927 (for the Year ending 31 December 1926)*, Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*; p. 14.

²³ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1926 (for the Year ending 31 December 1925)*, Appendix A.

²⁴ AJHR, Session 11, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ending 31 December 1927*, p. 3.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ See H. Lee for an extended discussion of the contexts around the Lawson and Bodkin Committees and the moves towards the common-core post-primary curriculum: Lee, H. (2005). *The New Zealand District High School: A case study of*

the conservative politics of rural education. *Education Research & Perspectives*, 32, 1, 12-51.

²⁷ AJHR, Session 11, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ending 31 December 1928*, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁹ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1930 (for the Year Ending 31 December 1929)*. Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*.

³⁰ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1931 (for the Year ending 31 December 1930)*, Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*.

³¹ These and other progressive approaches are discussed in more depth in the first two chapters.

³² Ewing, J. L. (1970). *The development of the New Zealand primary school curriculum 1877-1970*. Wellington: NZCER; p. 154.

³³ Auckland Star, 21 August 1922, p. 6.

³⁴ Ewing, J. L. (1970). *The development of the New Zealand primary school curriculum 1877-1970*. Wellington: NZCER; pp. 154-5.

³⁵ Auckland Star, 18 May 1923, p. 7.

³⁶ Auckland Star, 14 June 1924, p. 11.

³⁷ Northern Advocate, 23 July 1925, p. 7.

³⁸ Ellesmere Guardian, 24 July 1925, p. 4.

³⁹ *The Evening Post*, 26 December 1924, p. 3.

⁴⁰ In 1917 (or thereabouts), McClune, when he was Acting Deputy Head Master of Auckland Normal School, published an influential book with G H Lord titled, *Democracy in the Schoolroom*, that included a chapter on the Montessori method: McClune, H. F., & Lord, G. H. (undated but the Preface was dated December 1916). *Democracy in the Schoolroom: A guide to primary school work*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs.

⁴¹ Hawera & Normanby Star, 28 July 1924, p. 5.

⁴² Shuker, M. J. (2004). The historical evolution and contemporary status of Montessori schooling in New Zealand, as an example of the adaptation of an alternative educational ideal to a particular national context. PhD Thesis. Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

⁴³ Source: Shuker, M. J. (2004). For a full account of the First Phase of the growth of the Montessori Method in New Zealand, see the second part of this thesis: Part Two: The Growth of Montessori in New Zealand – Past and Present; pp. 90-167.

⁴⁴ Source: Shuker, M. J. (2004); p. 110.

⁴⁵ McClune and Lord also noted that there were a number of issues in adopting it in schools, including knowledge of the Method and equipment and their chapter provided an account of how to make the apparatus as well as providing a philosophical framework for its implementation.

⁴⁶ McClune, H. F., & Lord, G. H. (undated but the Preface was dated December 1916). *Democracy in the schoolroom: A guide to primary school work*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs; p. 126.

⁴⁷ Source: Shuker, M. J. (2004).

⁴⁸ The New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER), the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), and universities and teachers' colleges are covered in other parts of this thesis.

⁴⁹ For example, see See Abbiss, J. (1998). The 'New Education Fellowship' in New Zealand: Its activity and influence in the 1930s and 1940s. *New Zealand Journal of*

Educational Studies, 33, 1, 81-93. Although, the Vasanta Group was the largest and most significant group in New Zealand prior to the Conference.

⁵⁰ Stratford was born in 1901 and in 1918 and 1919 in Blenheim, gained passes or partial passes in three groups for the Class D Teacher Certificate examinations. In 1925 it was reported that Stratford gained a Certificate of Proficiency in Education at the University of New Zealand along with Beryl Annie Jackson (botany) who also became an enthusiastic new education adherent. Sources: *Marlborough Express*, 28 February 1918, p. 4; *Marlborough Express*, 8 March 1919, p. 5; *The Evening Post*, 27 February 1925, p. 8.

⁵¹ No substantive information on this group was found in the NEF archives although this was not surprising as many of the early NEF records were lost in a fire during WW2.

⁵² Kowhai Intermediate was New Zealand's first intermediate school (initially called a Junior High School from 1922-1932 that offered four years of schooling for 11-15 year olds) and was purpose built and officially opened in 1922. Its opening was viewed by the Minister of Education at the time (Hon C J Parr) as 'an epoch in the educational history of New Zealand' and 'one of the most important events – if not the most important event – in the Dominion's educational progress' (See Kowhai Intermediate School (1972). *Golden jubilee 1972*. Auckland: Author, p. 3). This new type of co-educational school reflected the new 'scientific' approach to education and the teaching of early adolescents that had previously been studied by the Director of Education (Mr Caughley) and the President of the Auckland Branch of NZEI (Mr T U Wells) while on a world tour undertaken in 1920/21 (*ibid*, p. 3). According to Cumming (1959), Wells then joined the Auckland Education Board in 1923. A report of this trip was presented to the Department of Education and to the Auckland Education Board. Incidentally, Frank Milner also presented a report to the Minister of Education in October 1921 on the Junior High School movement in the United States (AJHR, 1921-22, E-11; cited in Cumming (1959), p. 454).

⁵³ Smith, D. T. (1997). *The Kowhai School 75th jubilee book*. Auckland: Kowhai School 75th Jubilee Committee.

⁵⁴ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 9 April 1936; AVZ, W4881, Box 18a. Beeby also wrote a testimonial for O'Halloran the previous year (28 November 1935) where he suggested that he combined 'the virtues of the research specialist with those of the broader educational thinker. His vision is in no sense bounded by the walls of the school or the laboratory'; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26. In 1938 O'Halloran went on to be appointed to the newly created position of Careers Teacher at the Kowhai Intermediate School and he published in the area of career guidance.

⁵⁵ Kowhai Intermediate School (1972). *Golden jubilee 1972*. Auckland: Author, p. 4 (this was confirmed by Paul Douglas, Principal, Kowhai Intermediate School, *Pers. Comm.* 30 June 2011). Also see, for information on other experimental work at the school, its testing methods and the politics of Junior High Schools, Waugh, L. O. (1954). *The historical development of Kowhai Intermediate School*. M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand.

⁵⁶ In June 1934, three months before his death, Stratford had been in communication with Professor Gould seeking the Council's recognition of the Society as a 'local unit' of NZCER.

⁵⁷ Wells received a Carnegie Visitor's Grant in 1937 and in 1938 travelled overseas to examine teaching methods in the United States and Europe. Beeby noted that Kandel had visited Kowhai Intermediate School, 'and thought it one of the two outstanding

schools in the whole country'; Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 1 September 1937; AVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

⁵⁸ *The Evening Post*, 6 October 1934, p. 7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Document 19 tabled at the February 1933 NEF Executive Board and Executive Committee Meeting; WEFIA1134.

⁶³ See Minutes of Committee Meetings 1929-1936 (WEFIA1134) and International Council - NZ Section (WEFIB11511).

⁶⁴ NEF Executive Board Meeting held in Cape Town on Tuesday 10 July 1934; WEFIA1134.

⁶⁵ In 1933 in the NEF files, the President of the group was listed as Miss Olive Foster (28 Upland Road, Remuera, Auckland) and the Secretary was Miss Daphne Vida Darroch (11 Belvedere Street, Epsom, Auckland. The group's secretary, Daphne Darroch was born on 28 May 1906 and joined the Vasanta Garden School in 1933, teaching there for nineteen years. She was Bertha Darroch's younger sister (Bertha was born on 7 February 1892). Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/bertha-darroch.html>

⁶⁶ Vasanta is the name of the Hindu god of spring, and is the Indian version of Annie Besant's surname. Besant used the name for the theosophical press she established in 1908 and the Vasanta College for Women that she founded in 1913 to promote women's education in India. Krishnamurti also named his religious study centre in Madras, Vasanta Vihar.

⁶⁷ I am grateful to Lara-May Thorne of the New Zealand Theosophical Society for the following information on the history of the Vasanta Garden School and to the informative web site devoted to the school – <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/>

⁶⁸ In 1912, George Arundale gave an address to the Society's Annual Convention on 'Education as Service' in relation to India while also in 1912, Jiddu Krishnamurti (whom the Society viewed as becoming a powerful 'World Teacher') published his text with the same title, *Education as Service*, that outlined his views on learning and teaching from a theosophical perspective. Education as Service was also the motto for the Fraternity in Education founded by Ensor in 1915.

⁶⁹ See Chapter Two for more information on the relationships between the Theosophical Society, the Theosophical Educational Trust, the Theosophical Fraternity in Education and Beatrice Ensor.

⁷⁰ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/pre-school-opening-articles.html>

⁷¹ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/preparing-for-a-school.html>

⁷² In Australia, the Morven Garden School was established two years earlier in Sydney in 1917 by keen theosophists but it closed only six years later in 1923.

⁷³ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/fairs-and-garden-parties.html>; Fernyhough had come from 'Archbishop Tenison's Church of England Secondary School' in London.

⁷⁴ The Theosophical Educational Trust Board's Report for 1922 noted that: 'The income and expenditure account showed a loss on the year of £271. In addition to this, the steamer fares from England of the Principal and his family, amounting to £172, were written off ... The contract with Mr and Mrs Fernyhough had terminated, and the Board proposed during 1923 to let the large house in flats, and to carry on a Junior day school only, taking children from five years of age up to and including

pupils in Standard III'; Source: <http://theosophy.katinkahesselink.net/dawn/Vol-2-9-DAWN.htm>

⁷⁵ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/a-new-era.html>

⁷⁶ Krishnamurti also visited the school and talked to a large crowd gathered there in March 1934.

⁷⁷ Jinarajadasa was born in Sri Lanka and was introduced to the Theosophical Society by one of its founders, C W Leadbeater. In 1896 he enrolled at St John's College, Cambridge and studied oriental languages and law. In 1916, he married the feminist Miss Dorothy M. Graham, who with Margaret Cousins co-founded the Women's Indian Association from the Theosophical Headquarters in Madras. While Vice-President of the Society he travelled extensively and later he became the fourth President of the Society. Source: www.ts-adyar.org/node/78

⁷⁸ Northern Advocate, 17 December 1919, p. 4; Auckland Star, 23 December 1919, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Auckland Star, 29 December 1919, p. 6.

⁸⁰ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/a-new-era.html>

⁸¹ Excerpt from the minutes the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand section of the Fraternity in Education in Auckland on 31 December 1919; *Theosophy in New Zealand*, January 1920.

⁸² Excerpt from the minutes the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand section of the Fraternity in Education in Auckland on 31 December 1919; *Theosophy in New Zealand*, January 1920. For 1920, the Fraternity members elected were: President, Mr O R Younghusband; Vice-presidents, Messrs D W Miller and W A Scott; Treasurer, Miss M Hamilton; and, Secretary, Miss A White.

⁸³ The source is cited as *The Theosophist*, March 1921 in:

<http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/a-new-era.html>; in 1921 Mr Thomson the President of the Theosophical Society was elected President of the Fraternity for the year while Messrs Carter and Lockett were Vice-presidents, and Miss A White was elected both Secretary and Treasurer.

⁸⁴ The source is cited as *The Theosophist*, January 1922 in:

<http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/a-new-era.html>; in 1922, Mr. Thomson was again elected President of the Fraternity for the year while Misses Montgomery and Mackellar were Vice-presidents, and Miss A White continued on as both Secretary and Treasurer.

⁸⁵ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/a-new-era.html>

⁸⁶ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/stationery.html>

⁸⁷ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com>

⁸⁸ Source: New Zealand Theosophical Society.

⁸⁹ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/stationery.html>

⁹⁰ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/stationery.html>. Eurhythmics was a form of dance expression designed primarily to promote the learning of musical elements such as rhythm.

⁹¹ Source: New Zealand Theosophical Society.

⁹² Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/stationery.html>

⁹³ Source: New Zealand Theosophical Society.

⁹⁴ Auckland Star, 29 December 1927, p. 15.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/a-new-era.html>

⁹⁷ This 22 June 1934 report was published in *TiNZ*, Oct-Dec 1934, and sourced from: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/school-teacher-articles.html>

⁹⁸ Source: www.dance-archives.ac.uk/about/bellairs

⁹⁹ Ley, G. (2007). *The theatricality of Greek tragedy: Playing space and chorus*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; p. 151.

¹⁰⁰ Source: New Zealand Theosophical Society.

¹⁰¹ From the President's Report read at the Annual Meeting held in Dunedin on 27 December, 1937; in the Minutes Book for 1937 of the N. Z. Theosophical Educational Trust Board, p. 149.

¹⁰² *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1937, p. 13.

¹⁰³ It's not clear which of the sisters it was, Bertha the Principal or Daphne.

¹⁰⁴ NEF General Papers 1932-1960; WEF/AIII/44. In 1938, the last mention in these NEF files of the Vasanta Group was that the President was Miss Bertha Hazel Darroch (Principal of Vasanta Garden School, 72 Williamson St, Epsom, Auckland) and the Secretary was Mrs K J Ward (9 Dilworth Ave, Auckland). The Vasanta Group in 1938 had a membership of 45 members.

¹⁰⁵ Source: This information was published in *TiNZ*, October 1940, and sourced from: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/school-teacher-articles.html>. The article also listed other members of the Centre: 'But as important to the growing life of the venture throughout the years was the presence of several of the fore-most workers of the Society who bought adjoining sections and built their homes thereon. One of these was the late Bishop John Ross Thomson, who was so loved by all and who was for many years the General Secretary for the Society in New Zealand. He built on his property the small Chapel of the Liberal Catholic Church which is the very heart of the Centre, and in which the Eucharist is celebrated each week-day morning. Then Bishop and Mrs. Crawford, with their son Sirius, made their home next door and Sirius matriculated from Vasanta Garden School. Quite near, too, is the home of Miss Hemus, President of the Educational Trust Board of the New Zealand Section; with her live her sister and two other members. Then we have Miss Stone, the Treasurer of the Section, and one of our oldest and most devoted workers; she has her flat close by. Within the radius of Vasanta Centre live Miss Lilian Edger, lately returned from India; she was the first General Secretary of the Society in New Zealand. For many years Mr H H Banks, Chief Knight of the Round Table, had his rooms at Vasanta House, but he has lately left to take up work as a travelling lecturer'.

¹⁰⁶ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/closing-of-the-school.html>

Progressive Professors of Education

His unique contribution was to coalesce the humane and liberal spirit of the Hadow Reports, and the teachings of Percy Nunn, with his own indigenous philosophy, and to give to a whole generation of teachers a new view of childhood and new aims for their teaching.

(Professor C L Bailey on Professor W H Gould, 1946)¹

Introduction

As this thesis progressed, I was surprised to discover many educators in New Zealand, both lesser-known and higher profile, who were interested in progressive ideas, considered experimental pedagogical approaches, attempted innovative curriculum initiatives, and read widely in the area during the interwar years. While many might have viewed themselves as progressive with a small ‘p’, others were ardent and professed progressive or new educators. These individuals were not limited to either public or private education institutions nor to any one sector of the wider education system, being involved in education from early childhood to the tertiary level as well as in the wider community.

Of note, and perhaps due to the very broad conceptions of what ‘progressive’ or ‘new’ education was, these individuals did not necessarily profess to being a part of a tightly defined social or educational movement called progressivism or new education. Instead, they often promoted their own frequently diverse and at times conflicting disciplinary, pedagogical and social reform agendas where the main threads that could be deemed to hold them together were a desire for change and an overcoming of old strictures.

This chapter – and the following five chapters – are necessarily selective with a focus in the main on progressive individuals that had a relationship at some point with either the New Education Fellowship and the NEF Conference 1937 or both during

the interwar years. As a consequence, these chapters will consider eight groupings of progressive individuals:

- *Chapter Four* – progressive professors of education;
- *Chapter Five* – progressive training college lecturers;
- *Chapter Six* – progressive school principals/ rectors;
- *Chapter Seven* – progressive teachers;
- *Chapter Eight* – progressive educational administrators and inspectors; and,
- *Chapter Nine* – progressive researchers at NZCER and New Zealand educators overseas.

Of necessity, the discussion will comprise broad, brief overviews of key individuals combined with more in-depth studies of interesting or particularly relevant progressive educators. A number of these individuals selected are either little known today or if they are of a higher profile, their progressive activities have been selected as they have not been widely acknowledged. Both groups of educators provide important insights into the depth and breadth of penetration of progressive ideas into the educational fabric of New Zealand society.

This chapter will consider the contribution of the four professors of education of university colleges – Fitt (Auckland), Gould (Wellington), Shelley (Canterbury) and Lawson (Otago) – who formed the mainstay of progressive reforms during the interwar years. Apart from NZEI, no other educational group *as an entity* supported, influenced and promoted such on-going educational change over this whole period. These four people were central to core progressive reforms and were magnets for other progressive educators and students of education. Moreover, these professors had the respect of successive governments, educational administrators in the Education Department and the Education Boards, their university and training college colleagues, and the teaching community at large.

While Professor James Shelley in particular has been well canvassed in the educational literature, Richard Lawson's role in the interwar years is generally lesser known and considerably less has been written about him. Lawson, however, enjoyed a high profile and influence in the interwar years and had a progressive background, influenced curriculum reforms, played an important role in the formation of NZCER and had a strong involvement in the NEF Conference 1937. After a relatively brief discussion of Fitt and Gould, and Shelley, there will be a larger focus on Richard Lawson's contribution to progressive education in New Zealand.

1) Professor Arthur B Fitt MA, PhD (Leipzig) (1887-1966)

Professor Fitt was a New Zealand progressive educator who studied psychology in Germany and then taught at the University of Melbourne before being appointed to the Chair in Education at the Auckland University College. He remained there during the interwar years making an important contribution to new education in the region and nationally.

Fitt was born in Invercargill, undertook his secondary education at Palmerston Boys' High School and gained an MA at Victoria University College in 1909. He left New Zealand in 1911 to study experimental psychology at the University of Leipzig with the now acknowledged 'father' of experimental psychology, Wilhelm Wundt (as did the New Zealanders, John Smyth and Thomas Hunter) and gained his PhD there in 1914 with a thesis in the area of dreams. Fitt then took up an appointment as Head of the Department of Education at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa from 1914-1916.²

Fitt was first appointed to the University of Melbourne in 1916 as a lecturer in experimental psychology and also taught experimental education at the Teachers' College from 1916 to 1919 (where Richard Lawson was a senior lecturer and later a Vice-Principal and where John Smyth was now principal).³ He was an advocate of the scientific measurement of intelligence and ability and he taught three courses in experimental education. The courses involved, 'an analysis of the methods and

findings of modern experimental psychology, the psychology of learning, work and fatigue, concepts of intelligence and the developing mind in relation to intellect'.⁴ Fitt had studied the relationship between mental ability and variations in birth seasons. In 1917, he intended to undertake a research project that periodically measured school children's weight, height and intelligence with Smyth but Frank Tate refused to release a graduate student to collect the data.⁵ In 1918, he was reported as arguing that crime was a matter of both inheritance and environment. Here he cited Homer Lane's 'Little Commonwealth' community in Dorset that had 'made' good citizens out of delinquent children using new education approaches such as encouraging self-expression, self-responsibility and freedom.⁶

In 1920, Fitt returned to New Zealand to take up an appointment as a lecturer in education at Auckland University College. In 1921, the Auckland Education Board appointed Fitt, then 33 years of age, as Vice-Principal of the Auckland Training College when Nelson T Lambourne resigned the position to return to the Inspectorate, later to become Director of Education.⁷ In 1923, Fitt won the position of foundation Chair of Education at Auckland University College from twenty-one applicants, the same year that Lawson won his similar position at Otago.⁸ Fitt went on to be a leader in progressive education in the Auckland region and nationwide.

In 1934, Fitt applied, along with the Australian progressive educator (and Executive Officer of the ACER), Ken Cunningham, for the dual position of Chair of Education at Melbourne University and Principal of the Melbourne Teachers' College but both lost out to G S Browne.⁹ From 1935 to 1946, Fitt served on the Council of NZCER and was heavily involved in helping organise the NEF Conference 1937. Fitt was the President of the Auckland Local Committee and at the end of the Conference, chaired a social gathering in the Auckland Town Hall attended by more than a thousand guests where he pointed out that, 'They had all passed through a profound experience, and the general public, which hitherto had not been educationally-minded, had been greatly influenced'.¹⁰

2) Professor William Horace (Nat) Gould MA (1877-1946)

Professor Gould was an English born New Zealand progressive educator who was an inspector of schools and then joined the Wellington Training College before becoming Professor of Education at Victoria University College. Through the 1930s he was heavily involved in progressive endeavours including being on the Council of NZCER and assisting in the organisation of the NEF Conference 1937.

Gould was born in London and educated in New Zealand, attending primary school in the Hutt Valley.¹¹ He went on directly to become a pupil-teacher for seven years while completing his training to be a teacher. After working in primary schools for approximately seventeen years he was appointed Director of Education for Tonga (1913-1914) (as well as Principal of the Tongan Boys' College) where he gained a reputation for his revolutionary approach to education there.¹² On his return to New Zealand he became an inspector of school for Wanganui and Wellington and studied at Victoria University College gaining an MA (1st class) in 1917. Gould went on to become a lecturer at Wellington Training College, becoming Principal from 1923 to 1926. He personified 'a liberal educational philosophy that was consciously felt by his students of the time'.¹³

In June 1926, Gould was appointed acting-Professor of Education at Victoria University College, becoming the university's first Professor of Education in 1927. At Victoria University he was once described as: 'a dynamic and, when aroused, awesome figure, small and swarthy ... sharp beaked and hawklike visage'.¹⁴ His lecturing focussed on 'the social forces that shaped education systems and the place of education in social reconstruction';¹⁵ and he was later joined, from 1930 to 1938, by A E Campbell who shared his sociological focus. Gould quickly became respected at the University and was later appointed a member of the College Council and Chairman of the Professorial Board.¹⁶

Gould used his position as Professor of Education to expound and support progressive education. He gave public addresses on progressive topics,¹⁷ he entertained and met visiting liberal educationists (including Frederick Keppel (CCNY) in early 1935, and

Fred Clarke (Institute of Education) in mid-1935), and like Fitt, became a founding member of the Council of NZCER in 1935 (staying on in that role until his retirement in 1946). In mid-1936, he was appointed NZCER's representative on the National Organising Committee for the NEF Conference 1937 (along with Beeby) and played an important role on it, while Hunter represented the University of New Zealand. For that Committee, Gould became a co-signatory on the bank account (along with Beeby and Ashbridge), a member of its Programme Committee (relating to which overseas speakers might be invited), attended meetings with ministers on NEF Conference business (e.g., such as the meeting with Fraser relating to the closure of schools for the Conference),¹⁸ and during the Conference presided at the lectures of speakers (e.g., Susan Isaac's session on Child Guidance on 20 July 1937). After the Conference he stayed on the National Organising Committee to wrap up outstanding Conference matters. In 1946, C. L. Bailey succeeded Gould as Professor of Education and in his Memoriam to Gould he eulogised about his progressive qualities:

His unique contribution was to coalesce the humane and liberal spirit of the Hadow Reports, and the teachings of Percy Nunn, with his own indigenous philosophy, and to give to a whole generation of teachers a new view of childhood and new aims for their teaching.¹⁹

3) Professor James Shelley MA DipEd (1884-1961)

Professor Shelley was widely regarded as perhaps the most influential progressive educator in New Zealand during the interwar years.²⁰ As Renwick aptly put it, Shelley was,

... the local embodiment of Renaissance man, so broadly did he interpret his subject, and so wide were his cultural interests. He presented education as a pervasive human experience that took place in all social and institutional settings, and which provided numerous opportunities for individuals to discover and nurture talents that would enrich their lives.

Under the spell of his teaching, his students were imbued with a mission to bring about the fullest personal development of children and teenagers and, as a corollary, the social and cultural progress of New Zealanders.²¹



Photograph 4-1 Professor James Shelley (1884-1961)
(Circa 29 July 1931)²²

James Shelley was born in Coventry, England in 1884 to artisan parents and educated at Christ's College Cambridge, graduating with an MA in modern and medieval languages in 1913. He taught at Heanor Technical College (1907–08), then was appointed crafts tutor and assistant master of method at Chester Diocesan Training College for men (1908–10). Shelley then was appointed an assistant lecturer in education at Manchester University (1910–13). During these last three formative years at Manchester University he became the protégé of renowned progressive educator, J J Findlay who had a profound influence on him. On Findlay's recommendation, Shelley won the position of Professor of Education and Philosophy at Hartley University College, Southampton from 1913 until 1919.²³

In July 1920, Shelley became the first Chair of Education in New Zealand as the Professor of Education at Canterbury University College, remaining there until 1936. The Chair was not advertised and a small committee was set up in London (including Sir Ernest Rutherford) to canvass nominations from four leading new educators: John

Adams (of the Institute of Education), Sir Michael Sadler (then vice-Chancellor at Leeds University), J J Findlay (Manchester University) and Alexander Daroch (Professor of Education at Edinburgh University). Findlay nominated two candidates with a preference for Shelley, writing that, he was ‘35 years of age, a Cambridge man, and in my opinion the most original and capable of the younger school of teachers of education in this country’.²⁴ Shelley won the position and it has been argued that he gave up his more prestigious Chair at Hartley University College for one at Canterbury University College in the belief that he would be able to control and radically reform teacher education in Canterbury as well as gaining Government support to exert a wider influence on New Zealand education.²⁵

Shelley also brought with him: a lifelong passion of drama, English literature and visual arts; a deep knowledge of the importance of progressive education; a large amounts of energy, enthusiasm and charisma for teaching and educational activities; and, a strong ambition to transform New Zealand education along progressive lines. At his inaugural lecture, he criticised current schooling approaches and set out a persuasive progressive agenda ‘for a liberal, child-centred education [which] cheered embattled local progressives, but terrified powerful individuals and institutions’.²⁶ Shelley, perhaps, may not have achieved all that he dreamed of in New Zealand education but he had a profound influence all the same.

A considerable amount has been written of Shelley and his educational and cultural activities, including Ian Carter’s thorough biography: *Gadfly: The life and times of James Shelley*.²⁷ A number of areas are worth briefly recounting as they directly relate to new education and the NEF Conference. He was a gifted orator and popular lecturer who enthralled many future leaders in education, including the Beebys, Crawford and Gwen Somerset (rural adult education), Geoffrey Alley (rural library services), Maxwell Keys (vocational guidance), Walter Harris (drama and film) and many lesser-known progressive educators such as Norman Jacobsen and Albert Perry [discussed in Chapters Five and Seven].²⁸

Besides lecturing to his College classes, he had been reported to have given over a thousand lectures around the country.²⁹ For example, Shelley gave a series of lectures

in Auckland on art and drama during June 1921 at the invitation of the Auckland Education Board. At the Auckland Training College, Shelley gave a lecture to 500 students and staff on the topic of Creative Education that caused a lot of excitement.³⁰ In another lecture during the same visit to Auckland, Shelley made a strong impression on the staff of the progressive Vasanta Theosophical Garden School [discussed in the previous chapter] on 9 June 1921. This lecture was a broader exposition of new education ideas and fell on very receptive ears.³¹

Besides giving many public addresses on progressive topics, he entertained and met visiting liberal educationists such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) representatives James Earl Russell (who visited in March 1928), Lotus Delta Coffman (who visited in November 1931), and Frederick Paul Keppel (who visited in January 1935), as well as Fred Clarke (Institute of Education) (who visited in mid-1935). Shelley had been very successful in gaining CCNY grants in their second wave of funding to New Zealand that started from 1927. Since October 1920 he had been director of extension work at Canterbury College and took full charge of all extension activities (including those of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA)) in 1926. His pioneering extension adult education work included supporting as well as initiating innovative schemes to take education into the wider community, particularly rural communities. His extension activities included the WEA 'Box Scheme', the CAR (Carnegie Adult Rural) scheme, writing and teaching WEA classes, running summer schools, teaching drama courses; variously under the umbrellas of the Canterbury University College, the Canterbury WEA, and the Association for Country Education.³² The larger schemes were funded by the CCNY and in a memo written in 1928, it was reported that the success of their work was, 'largely dependent upon Professor James Shelley of Canterbury College, who has taught classes without pay, and conducted six two-weeks summer schools, in which no instructor has been paid'.³³ [The CCNY activities in New Zealand are covered in more depth in Chapter Ten.]

Shelley also established an experimental psychological laboratory at Canterbury University College in 1923 where mental testing on children (educational and vocational), counselling and guidance, as well as research on industrial psychology

was carried out.³⁴ His assistant was C E Beeby who had just been appointed assistant lecturer in philosophy and education straight out of training college and his responsibility was to establish the laboratory under Shelley. Beeby recounted that he had never seen a psychological laboratory and he spent part of the long vacation with T A Hunter at Victoria University College who introduced Beeby to the sorts of practical work and equipment that he used there. Hunter didn't appear to have gained a particularly positive impression of what Shelley and Beeby were about to embark on at the time.³⁵

Later, Hunter came to acknowledge the important role that the new education professors and their departments played in the development of psychology as a separate discipline.³⁶ Beeby and Shelley built much of the required apparatus for the laboratory in the physics workshops and both worked in the laboratory. It was that introduction to psychological work that led to Beeby being granted leave without pay in 1925 to study for a PhD at University College, London under Spearman, with additional courses taught by Cyril Burt, Percy Nunn and Elliot Smith. When Beeby returned in 1927 he was promoted to a full lectureship and then appointed Director of the Psychology and Educational Laboratories, becoming Acting Professor of Philosophy in 1934.³⁷ It was these experiences that provided the prerequisites for his later appointment as Director of NZCER.

In 1931-32, Shelley was awarded a Carnegie travelling grant to visit the United States. While away, he published a book titled *Poetry, Speech and Drama*, which was a text aimed at the secondary school level that sought to teach the appreciation of English literature. Shelley also was inspired by the seminal sociological case studies of a small community that had been carried out in Muncie, Indiana by Robert and Helen Lynd in the 1920s and published in 1929 as *Middletown*. On his return he resolved to see a New Zealand study established and this led to Crawford Somerset's study of Oxford, North Canterbury in the 1930s and published by NZCER with the title, *Littledene*. Somerset was one of Shelley's former students.³⁸

Shelley, along with the other Professors of Education (Fitt, Gould and Lawson), became a founding member of the Council of NZCER in 1935, joining Hunter, Wells,

Rae, Milner and Gilray. Also in 1935 the First Labour Government was elected and in 1936, Shelley was appointed the first Director of Broadcasting (holding this position until 1949). When the National Organising Committee of the NEF Conference met with Peter Fraser late in December 1936, Fraser was most keen for Shelley to meet the visiting delegates, and he noted that 'Professor Shelley had ideas for broadcasting that transcended any ideas that had yet been enunciated. If 50 percent of what he had in mind could be achieved within a reasonable period it would mean quite a revolution and would give an opportunity to groups in the country districts to do things they had not thought possible'.³⁹ In 1937, Shelley played an important role in organising the Conference being invited to give a radio broadcast himself on the Conference,⁴⁰ helping organise a series of radio broadcasts for the delegates during the Conference, and even arranging for a last minute broadcast by Zilliacus at the Auckland 1YA radio station.⁴¹ During the Conference Shelley chaired lectures, including Boyd's evening public lecture on 23 July 1937 which was given to a packed Wellington Town Hall with Peter Fraser in attendance.⁴²

Shelley was as enthusiastic in his broadcasting role as he was in education. As Director of Broadcasting, with Peter Fraser's patronage, he established the *New Zealand Listener*, employed Bernard Beeby to expand drama on local radio, and established the National Orchestra in 1947. After his wife died in late 1948, Shelley resigned as Director in 1949 and returned to England. He was then awarded a KBE for his services to broadcasting and education.⁴³ While he did not play a particularly large role in shaping education policy at the national level, he did have a lasting and pervasive influence on education in Canterbury and nationally as well as on future educationists who became leaders in their field. Like the other professors of education, he was also an enduring magnet for progressive initiatives, students and teachers during the interwar period. As Beeby reflected, late in his own life:

I studied under Shelley for only one year, but I was his colleague for 11 years and his friend for 38. Whatever I did for education in New Zealand, for good or ill, during my 20 years as Director of Education, deep at the root of my thinking were basic ideas that I owed to Shelley. No one who came under his influence for any length of time would ever lose the mark of it.⁴⁴

4) Professor Richard Lawson MA DipEd LittD (1875–1971)

Professor Lawson, like his fellow professors of education, had the benefit of joining the educational establishment at a high level and was able to make a significant contribution to education throughout his career. Even though, as his more recent counterpart Professor David McKenzie once observed, Lawson was never to attain the same level of public profile that Professor James Shelley did at Canterbury University College,⁴⁵ he nonetheless was an ardent progressive educator who made an important contribution to progressive curriculum reform in the 1920s. He helped to initiate the formation of NZCER in the early 1930s (and was then appointed to the Council of NZCER). After the NEF Conference 1937, he was at the forefront of ground-breaking experimental schooling initiatives in New Zealand. He was also consistently outspoken locally and nationally on a number of matters of national significance.⁴⁶

(a) Early Years in Australia

Richard Lawson was born in 1875 and educated in Victoria, Australia. He taught in and also established private, usually single-sex, pioneering schools and in mid-1913, Lawson's teaching expertise and scholarship were rewarded with an appointment as a lecturer at Melbourne Teachers' Training College.⁴⁷ These early decades in the State of Victoria were ones of exciting progressive developments under the Directorship of Frank Tate⁴⁸ and similarly, Melbourne Teachers' College was at the forefront of progressive educational thinking. Tate had been principal of the newly re-opened College from February 1900 to the latter part of 1902 where he taught students 'the new programme' and when Tate was appointed Director of Education in 1902, the New Zealander John Smyth (MA, PhD) was chosen in his place serving from 1902-1927 [Smyth is discussed in Chapter Eight].⁴⁹ Lawson joined a number of other progressive educators who were at the Melbourne Teachers' College on his appointment (or joined later during his tenure) and whose contributions are directly relevant to this thesis and the NEF Conference. They included Ken Cunningham,⁵⁰ James McRae (as well as his son, Chris),⁵¹ G S Browne,⁵² and A B Fitt (discussed above).



Photograph 4-2 Dr Richard Lawson
Melbourne Teachers' College (circa 1920)⁵³

In mid-1913, Lawson was appointed as a lecturer and then was promoted to Senior Lecturer in Classics and Education conjointly lecturing at the Teachers' College and the University of Melbourne's School of Education.⁵⁴ In 1922, Lawson gained his Litt.D from the University of Melbourne⁵⁵ and in the same year, both McRae and Smyth recommended his appointment as Residential Vice-Principal of the College.⁵⁶ While at the College Lawson gave frequent talks, wrote a hymn for the College and did some publishing.

Towards the end of 1923, Lawson was offered the position of foundation Professor of Education at the University of Otago commencing in 1924.⁵⁷ Lawson brought to New Zealand education in the mid-1920s a strongly progressive outlook, scholarly expertise in the classics and literature (including the ability to read Greek and Latin fluently),⁵⁸ a robust set of religious and moral beliefs, and a legacy (rarely mentioned) of having worked with some of Australia's most progressive and up-and-coming educational leaders. In New Zealand, his progressive activities included contributing to curriculum reforms later in the 1920s, being heavily involved with NZCER in the 1930s, helping organise the NEF Conference in 1937, and instigating ground-breaking experimental schooling initiatives in the late 1930s.

(b) The Syllabus Revision Committee (1926-1928)

In 1925, the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools (T B Strong) signalled that the New Zealand syllabus was in need of revision.⁵⁹ He argued that subjects like English had

too much time devoted to the study of grammar and spelling and there needed to be a 'stronger bias' towards English literature. Arithmetic, he also suggested, was being 'overdone' ('It is, indeed, not too much to say that with many teachers it is the principal subject in the curriculum') and needed to be more closely aligned with real life and use real life situations.⁶⁰ This focus on education reflecting or being a part of 'real life' was a strong progressive theme throughout the interwar years.

Later in 1926, the Syllabus Revision Committee met. It comprised a committee of administrative officers and specialist teachers along with a number of invited educators who represented various sectors of the education field. The Committee was tasked with more closely aligning the syllabuses of the primary and secondary sectors with a view of possibly extending the recent experiments in junior high school provision.⁶¹ As the Minister broadly put it, the Committee was set up to 'provide a primary course suitable for pupils up to about the age of twelve years, and a post-primary course of two or three years in an intermediate school, followed by a further period in a senior high school'⁶² as well as to design 'a syllabus of instruction to suit the reorganized system'.⁶³ The Chief Inspector of Primary Schools (now William W Bird) adroitly pointed out that the task of the Committee required 'considerable thought and care, and cannot be accomplished in a limited time'. He implied that a major revision would have occurred in any case and noted that it would also require the 'very desirable' revision of the current school textbooks which, 'the most progressive teachers have moved away from'. Bird added, for example, that the enthusiastic teacher of the English curriculum, was 'strangled by the warping influence of ... [textbooks] which prescribes for every child not only the subject which he shall write, whether he likes it or not, but the very ways in which he is to think about it'.⁶⁴

The groups and their representatives on the Syllabus Revision Committee (which came to be known as the Lawson Committee) comprised a total of nineteen members.⁶⁵ A significant number were progressive in their views including Professor Lawson, Dr J W McIlraith (an inspector of schools), Mr F A Garry (a progressive primary headmaster and Vice-President of NZEI), Miss A Kennedy (an innovative primary school teacher and NZEI representative); Mr William Thomas (the

progressive principal of Timaru Boy's High School), and Mr T U Wells (a member of Auckland Education Board and former headmaster).⁶⁶

The Committee was provided with their Terms of Reference in November 1926 and were given several months to carry out their deliberations. Separate sub-committees were to be set up to examine the different areas of the syllabus and a final report was to be prepared for the Minister.⁶⁷



Photograph 4-3 Ministerial Committee on Primary School Syllabus

Assumed to be Members of the Syllabus Revision Committee 1926-28⁶⁸

The Committee began meeting on 9 December 1926 and at its inaugural meeting elected Lawson as its chair. In opening the proceedings, the Minister of Education (Hon R A Wright) gave the Committee free rein for its activities: 'You are absolutely unfettered and needn't take notice of the Minister or, the Department or anyone else'.⁶⁹ The Minister later reported that the Committee had met several times in 1927 to look at how to 'remodel' the syllabus for primary schools and how to best coordinate 'the articulation between the primary and post-primary schools'.⁷⁰ The Committee's work possibly took longer than expected and it was still to be found

sitting in Wellington almost a year later with Professor Lawson presiding over the Committee and J E Purchase (principal of the Dunedin Training College) acting as secretary.⁷¹ Ultimately, the full Committee sat for twenty-five days.⁷²

The Minister noted that when the Committee's report was received it would have the Government's careful attention.⁷³ The Chief Inspector of Primary Schools (W Bird) added that for the Department, the revision of the syllabus had been its primary concern for the 1927 year. Bird commented that the Committee had performed its duties with 'much care and enthusiasm' and its findings would be valuable for the Department.⁷⁴ Somewhat pre-emptively, he advised that he would hold over the 1927-28 summer break a full Conference of all the inspectors to review its recommendations and to revise the primary-school syllabus.⁷⁵ Dr McIlraith, then Senior Inspector of Schools in Hawke's Bay and a member of the Syllabus Revision Committee, gave a talk to the Wairoa Sub-Branch of NZEI and his comments were reported on 1 October 1927 before the Committee had completed their deliberations. It's not clear whether his comments relate to internal Department thinking or the Committee's thinking at the time when he rather ambitiously stated: 'It was intended that the primary school stage should end with Standard IV, or at the age of 12. Standards V and VI would be merged into the high school, under the junior high school system'.⁷⁶ In any case, the Syllabus Revision Committee finally completed its work on 24 February 1928 and then presented a final report that comprised two well argued sections: a Majority Report of most of the members and a Minority Report from Lawrence (one of two members representing Outside Interests), London (one of two members representing Education Boards), and Sando (the sole representative of the School Committees Associations of New Zealand), with the conflict in the committee around the Junior High School notion. McKenzie suggested that Lawson wrote most of the report and that when it was tabled in Parliament in 1928, Peter Fraser described it as, 'the most authoritative document on education ever to be placed before the House'.⁷⁷

Early in 1928, a draft of the newly revised syllabus, 'prepared partly by a special committee of educationists and business men, but mainly by the Department's own Inspectors of Schools' was issued to teachers for their information and comment.⁷⁸ This draft was based on the Department's own work during the 1927 year, the

following 1927-28 summer school Inspectors' Conference, and presumably drafts or the final report of the Syllabus Revision Committee that was presented after the Committee's work was completed in late February 1928.

The relevance for this thesis is that the new draft syllabus was a very progressive document for its time with its emphasis on teacher freedom, individual progress, real life contexts, and a richer cultural curriculum. The Minister opined in 1928 that the new syllabus: was enriched to give pupils more opportunity to study English literature, music and drawing; encouraged teachers to plan to make their teaching 'of living interest to the pupils' and to relate to the 'actual life' of the pupils; allowed brighter pupils to start studying subjects that were normally the preserve of post-primary schools; and, extended to teachers 'a considerable measure of freedom to draw upon their own schemes of instruction with due regard to the interest of the pupils and to the environment in which they live'.⁷⁹ The Chief Inspector of Primary Schools (W Bird) reported that the draft revised syllabus had generally been well received by teachers and that it had formed the primary work of the Department's professional officers for the year. Bird thanked NZEI for their assistance who had, by the middle of the 1928 year, spent considerable time gathering, collating and analysing feedback from its branch membership in order to make a number of recommendations to the Department; most of which were accepted.⁸⁰ Overall, the NZEI committee that carried out the task strongly supported the progressive features of the new syllabus, including: 'its promise of freedom for teacher and pupil, its elasticity in fitting the curriculum to the pupil instead of, as of old, the pupil to the curriculum, [and] its disregard of some of the fetishes that used to be regarded with reverence'.⁸¹

Bird also stated that the revision constituted a very important phase for primary education in New Zealand. The Chief Inspector concluded that:

It has been designed to meet the conditions of the New Zealand child, and an attempt has been made ... to bring the contents of the syllabus into relation with the actual experiences of life. At the same time it offers to the teacher a large measure of freedom to chose and to put into execution those methods which his own experience and craftsmanship lead him to consider the most suited to his pupils and their environment.⁸²

In 1929, the revised syllabus was finalised and formally adopted. Titled the Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools, it also became known as the 'Red Book' due to its red cover.⁸³ It was a large document over 220 pages long though not a prescriptive one. As a senior inspector of schools explained, the new syllabus 'was fuller and more detailed so as to give the assistance necessary to young and inexperienced teachers, and people must not gather merely from its appearance that the syllabus was overloaded'. He noted that teachers were provided with a wide range of choices and was 'more suggestive than conclusive'; hence it gave teachers more freedom and trusted them more. For pupils, it provided an education for life, not just earning a living, and allowed for the provision of individual methods to suit faster or slower learners.⁸⁴

To conclude, the Syllabus Revision Committee represented a groundswell of progressive educational support in the educational community with regard to syllabus and pedagogical revision and the desire for wider educational reorganisation. The Committee's deliberations from the start in 1926 in relation to Junior High Schools and their curricula, as Lawson later wrote, had moved to a set of findings similar to the later Hadow Report in England which proposed that at the age of 11 years, pupils were to be selected into different schools (or streams within schools) based on inclination and ability.⁸⁵ The report, and its recommendation to end primary education at Standard IV, also kept open the debate around the broader need for educational reorganisation in New Zealand and in 1929, despite a change of government and ministers of education from Wright to Atmore, such change was still deemed necessary.⁸⁶ Also, in 1929, the desirability and structure of such a reorganisation became a much debated topic. For example, the Wellington Branch of NZEI reported: that 'The times are auspicious and the signs favourable' for a reorganisation; that Professor Gould had given an address on 'Freedom' after which the Branch had passed a motion stating that it supported the Department's desire to 'give a greatly increased measure of freedom to teachers in their task of endeavouring to meet the educational needs of their pupils'; and, that Mr D A Strachan (a senior inspector) had later given an address on, 'The Spirit of the New Syllabus'.⁸⁷ New education was indeed starting to thrive by the end of the 1920s.

The Lawson Committee's progressive recommendations also had an impact on the development and implementation of the new primary school syllabus in the latter part of the 1920s. With regard to increasing the access and quality of secondary education, as McKenzie concluded, the Committee's recommendations foreshadowed: those of the Atmore Report soon after in 1930, Fraser's commissioning of Beeby and NZEI to undertake further research on intermediate schooling in the 1930s, and, the deliberations of the Thomas Committee and their report in the early 1940s that led to watershed changes to secondary education provision in New Zealand.⁸⁸

(c) NZCER (1931, 1935-46)

It appears little known that Lawson in 1931 had a significant role in promoting the idea of an independent research organisation in New Zealand and later, after the establishment of NZCER in late 1933, he went on to serve on its Council from 1935 to 1946. The founding of NZCER, like ACER in Australia, was a seminal moment for progressive education in New Zealand and it not only attracted the most talented progressive educators, it disseminated new ideals and organised, with NZEI, the NEF Conference in 1937. Lawson's part in its origins are therefore important to discuss here.

Various representatives from the Carnegie Corporation of New York had visited New Zealand in the interwar years. Arguably the most influential from a progressive perspective were James Earl Russell (February 27 to March 16, 1928), Lotus Delta Coffman (November 1 to November 17, 1931), Frederick Paul Keppel (January 25 to February 22, 1935) and not representing but funded by CCNY, Fred Clarke (July 8 to July 23, 1935). [These visits are covered in more depth in Chapter Ten.] Lawson, as Professor of Education at the University of Otago, regularly met and promoted the visits of educational dignitaries as part of his professorial responsibilities. With regard to these CCNY visitors, he met in Dunedin with Russell in 1928, Keppel in 1935 as well as Clarke in 1935 on the evenings of July 16 for dinner and July 17 for an informal meeting at his house.⁸⁹

However, in relation to the founding of NZCER, Coffman's meeting with Lawson in late 1931 was the most significant. During his visit Coffman had discussed the advisability and feasibility of setting up a research institute in New Zealand. When in Dunedin, he also discussed this with Lawson and, presumably impressed by the professor, asked him as soon as possible 'to draw up a scheme for a co-ordinating bureau'.⁹⁰ Lawson hastily drafted some ideas and wrote to Coffman while he was still in Dunedin, or immediately after, outlining the importance of establishing a national research institute and he included a two page plan for it.⁹¹ In his plan, Lawson contended that each regional centre was currently working independently, that there was little money for publications, and that national issues such as rural education, retardation, and correspondence tuition were not being adequately addressed.

In his quickly drafted 'Scheme for Bureau of Education' written in November 1931, Lawson made a number of recommendations. For example, he asserted that the 'Bureau' should work on national issues and coordinate local efforts to that end, that it should receive and consider applications for research projects from each centre, that it be located in Wellington, that a strong academic be appointed to lead the 'Bureau' who had an international outlook, and that it should be independent, and 'freed from political and departmental (Govt.) control'.⁹²

Lawson's hastily put together Scheme for a 'Bureau of Education' was surprisingly close to the eventual structure and function of NZCER. Three days later the Chairman of the Professorial Board of the University of Otago also wrote to Coffman commending 'your suggestion of the establishment of a Bureau of Education in New Zealand on similar lines to that already in operation in Melbourne' and he put forward Lawson's name as someone who might be able to lead the new Bureau, especially in light of Government funding being withdrawn for his Professor of Education position, and that Cunningham at ACER had been an old student of his.⁹³ Coffman, in his subsequent report to the CCNY, included a concise two-page discussion of a research institute along the lines that Lawson had suggested.⁹⁴ Lawson went on to represent the Otago region as an NZCER Council member from 1935 to 1946.⁹⁵

(d) The NEF Conference 1937

Richard Lawson was heavily involved in organising the NEF Conference 1937 and was a member of the Dunedin Local Committee.⁹⁶ At the civic reception in the Concert Chamber, Lawson welcomed the speakers, praised their 'wider conceptions' of education, and took the opportunity to argue for an extension of adult education in New Zealand.⁹⁷ The Lawsons also extended hospitality to the visiting speakers, and the Norwoods, especially, spent a lot of time with them.⁹⁸

To a considerable amount of amusement, and some consternation, the Canadian speaker and artist Arthur Lismer would draw impromptu comedic sketches during the Conference of those around him, particularly the speakers in the South Island group. The following caricature is attributed as being of Richard Lawson.⁹⁹



Figure 4-1 Attributed as Professor Richard Lawson by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁰⁰

Following the progressive fervour generated by the NEF Conference 1937, Dunedin educationists, like other educationists around the country, quickly formed a group of the NEF with Lawson as its president. This NEF group promptly embarked on a campaign to establish an experimental school and to carry out a series of experiments in schools in Dunedin. [See *Appendix 6* for an outline of these remarkable experimental schooling initiatives from 1937 to 1939 and Lawson's role in them.]

Lawson remained president of the Otago branch of the New Education Fellowship until 1944. He retired from the University of Otago at the end of 1945.¹⁰¹ He continued writing, including a series titled *Fragmenta Animi* which were selections of his own talks, writings and verse that included progressive material on such topics as innate creativity, theosophy and spiritualism as well as critical reflections on evolution, philosophical and moral theory and international reconstruction.¹⁰²

Conclusion

As a group, these four professors were a powerful force who promoted progressive reforms during the interwar years. Fitt (Auckland), Gould (Wellington), Shelley (Canterbury) and Lawson (Otago) became leaders of groups and experiments which attracted many of the most progressive educators in the country. They also introduced teachers to progressive ideals during their university education who then went on to become prominent educators and administrators. These professors also gained the respect of Ministers of Education, influential staff in the Education Department and the wider educational community allowing them to raise the profile of progressive ideals and this ensured that progressive reforms were on the agenda throughout the interwar years and beyond.

Notes

¹ Bailey, C. L. (1946). In memoriam – Professor Gould. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], p. 7.

² Sources: Rogers, C. A. (1966). Obituary – Emeritus Professor Arthur B. Fitt. *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, 19(62), 44-47. Simons, J. (2001). *A civilising mission? Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools System*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; p. 322. Sinclair, K. (1983). *A history of the University of Auckland, 1883-1983*. Auckland: Auckland University Press & Oxford University Press; p. 135.

³ University of Melbourne *Calendar*, 1916.

⁴ Williams (1994), p. 107.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *The Daily News*, 6 August 1918, p. 2.

⁷ Sources: Cummings (1959), p. 486. Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education, 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; p. 58. AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1925 (for the Year ending 31 December 1924)*; p. 72.

⁸ Cummings (1959), p. 486; Rogers, C. A. (1966). Obituary – Emeritus Professor Arthur B. Fitt. *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, 19(62), 44-47. The four foundation Chairs of Education were created in 1923 by the then Minister of Education, James Parr, and these were funded by the Department of Education; Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education, 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; p. 64 & p. 58. Fitt's vice-principal position was taken by D. M. Rae (then Rector of Riverton District High School in Southland) and in the same year, Mr H. Binsted from the Kowhai Street Junior high School was appointed as Lecturer in Psychology; AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1925 (for the Year ending 31 December 1924)*; p. 72.

⁹ Williams (1994), p. 217.

¹⁰ *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1937, p. 13.

¹¹ Sources for Gould: Bailey, C. L. (1946). In memoriam – Professor Gould. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], pp. 6-7; Barrowman, R. (1999). *Victoria University of Wellington, 1899-1999*. Wellington: Victoria University Press; Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.) (1932). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (3rd ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press; entry for William Horace Gould.

¹² Gould also examined the schools of Rarotonga and reported how they might be reorganised; *Educational Research in New Zealand, Report of Committee set up by the Carnegie Corporation, New York (1933)*. Wellington: NZCER; p. 31.

¹³ Bailey, C. L. (1946). In memoriam – Professor Gould. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], p. 7.

¹⁴ Barrowman, R. (1999). *Victoria University of Wellington, 1899-1999*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, p. 65.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 65-66.

¹⁶ In that role, in the early 1930s, he was asked by Hunter to investigate allegations by the *Truth* newspaper that staff had been exposing students to subversive influences (including communism and the challenging of religion, morality and patriotism). In a confidential report, Gould wrote, defending the actions of the staff and students, that

‘Where there is no ferment there is no life ... [A] University ceases to be a University if it fails to provide for that clash of mind with mind out of which character and conviction emerge’; Barrowman, R. (1999). *Victoria University of Wellington, 1899-1999*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, p. 94.

¹⁷ For example, he gave an address on ‘Freedom’ to the Wellington Branch of NZEI in 1929, after which the Branch passed a motion stating that it supported the Department’s desire to ‘give a greatly increased measure of freedom to teachers in their task of endeavouring to meet the educational needs of their pupils’; *National Education*, 1 April 1929, p. 115.

¹⁸ Verbatim Record of Meeting between Minister of Education (Hon. P. Fraser) and the National Organising Committee (represented by Beeby, Gould, Ashbridge and Lambourne), dated 19 December 1936; E, Series 2, Box 19381c, Record 411026.

¹⁹ Bailey, C. L. (1946). In memoriam – Professor Gould. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], p. 7.

²⁰ The key sources for this section on Shelley were: Carter, I. (1993). *Gadfly: The life and times of James Shelley*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; McLintock, A. H. (1966). An encyclopedia of New Zealand 1966: Entry for SHELLEY, Sir James, K.B.E. (1884–1961). <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/shelley-sir-james-kbe>; Renwick, W. L. (1998a). Clarence Edward Beeby (1902–1992). *Prospects*, 28(2), 335-48; Shelley’s entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23/shelley-james

²¹ Renwick, W. L. (1998a). Clarence Edward Beeby (1902–1992). *Prospects*, 28(2), 335-48; p. 1.

²² Alexander Turnbull Library, PAColl-6388-20. Photographer: William George Weigel. Description: Professor James Shelley (later Sir) (1884-1961) University professor, educationalist, lecturer, critic, director of broadcasting. Professor of Education at Canterbury University College, 1920-1936, and first Director of Broadcasting, 1936-1949. Involved in acting and theatrical productions. Also an amateur artist, and art restorer who worked on some of the art collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library in the late 1930s.

²³ Shelley also volunteered to serve during the war gaining the rank of second lieutenant in the Royal Field Artillery. He was wounded at Passchendaele in 1917 and invalided back to Britain.

²⁴ Carter, I. (1993). *Gadfly: The life and times of James Shelley*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; p. 83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; pp. 85-86.

²⁶ Shelley’s entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23/shelley-james.

²⁷ Carter, I. (1993). *Gadfly: The life and times of James Shelley*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

²⁸ There is some enlightening material on Shelley’s lectures in, Small, J. (2000). *Almost a century – Educational studies at the University of Canterbury 1904-1999*. Christchurch: University of Canterbury.

²⁹ Shelley’s entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23/shelley-james.

³⁰ Apparently, ‘not least the ping-pong match he played against Herbert Cousins in the college tournament’; Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education, 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; p. 80.

³¹ In notes from the lecture delivered by Shelley in Auckland on 9 June 1921 (and reported in the *Theosophy in New Zealand* magazine, June 1921), Shelley was reported as stating:

‘In order to teach a child in a modern city to-day we confine him to four walls and a desk; making him surrender his whole efforts to these particular conditions, reading and writing ...

The whole of the physical body of the child must be given the right amount of activity. I maintain that a child who is sitting for the best part of every day of every year, in a desk that is made for silence and not for movement, is not developing himself physically as a human being ... Not only is the child’s body reduced to passivity, but his mind also. Then we give him little intellectual peep-holes, the peep-hole of geography, the peep-hole of history, etc.

The child is fully alive to begin with. As soon as he is hungry he is ready to understand something about the evolution of agriculture. We should be alive to using the child’s experience thus and in amplifying it. Every child wants to work hard at the purposes it feels to be its own. Surely it is bad to set on one side all that energy and then try to get something out of that child for which he does not feel inclined’.

³² Shelley’s entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23/shelley-james.

³³ Memorandum on file titled Workers’ Education Association, dated 23 October 1928; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 374, Folder 6 – WEA of NZ.

³⁴ Gardner, W. J., Beardsley, E., & Carter, T. (1973). *A history of the University of Canterbury 1873-1973*. Christchurch: University of Canterbury; p. 260.

³⁵ In this blistering critique, Hunter argued that: ‘You will be interested to hear that experimental work in psychology is to begin next session at Canterbury College. Unfortunately it will be under the professor of education and I am afraid will be ‘applied’ in the worst sense. The professor of Philosophy there is strongly opposed to experimental psychology and has done his best to prevent the university from recognising the experimental work here. You will realise the value that it is proposed to place on scientific training when I tell you that all the preliminary work to be done by the instructor [Beeby] will be that obtained in working (largely by himself) in our laboratory during the vacation when there are no students here’; Letter Hunter to Titchener dated 27 November 1923; Victoria University, JC Beaglehole Room, Unit ID-Hunt00002 - Letters Hunter-Titchener (Loose).

³⁶ For example, see Hunter, T. A. (1952). The development of psychology in New Zealand. *Bulletin*, 3, 118, 101-111.

³⁷ Beeby, C. E. (1979). Psychology in New Zealand fifty years ago. In R. St George (Ed.), *The Beginnings of psychology in New Zealand: A collection of historical documents and recollections. Delta Research Monograph*, 2, 1-6; see pp. 3-4.

³⁸ Shelley’s entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23/shelley-james.

³⁹ Verbatim Record of Meeting between Minister of Education (Hon. P. Fraser) and the National Organising Committee (represented by Beeby, Gould, Ashbridge and Lambourne), dated 19 December 1936; E, Series 2, Box 193811c, Record 4110126.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the 18 February 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁴¹ Minutes of the 29 July 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁴² On the last day of the Christchurch Conference, Sir Percy Meadon gave an interview to *The Press* where he praised Shelley: 'New Zealand is very fortunate indeed in having a noted educationist such as Professor Shelley as Director of Broadcasting ... I believe him to be a man of wide sympathies and imagination, who will be fully alive to the possibilities and various needs and social aspirations of the people, not only supplying them with their requirements, but leading them to ask for more'; *The Press*, 17 July, 1937, p. 14.

⁴³ Shelley's entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23/shelley-james.

⁴⁴ Talk written by Beeby in the 1980s titled, Sir James Shelley; ATL - MS-Papers-5183-12; p. 4.

⁴⁵ McKenzie, D. (n.d.). Lawson, Richard. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4l7/lawson-richard>

⁴⁶ For more personal biographical material, also consult: McKenzie, D. (n.d.). Lawson, Richard. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4l7/lawson-richard>; The Australian Literature Resource entry for Richard Lawson, www.austlit.edu.au/.

⁴⁷ *The Argus*, 21 July 1913, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Tate (1864-1939) was widely recognised at the turn of the 20th century as the leading educationist in Victoria and he had been advocating for the Teachers' College to re-open in Melbourne after the retrenchment in teacher training caused by the 1890s depression. Tate argued around the turn of the century that, 'Teaching ought to be ranked as a profession, based on the science and art of education ... [and teachers] must know why they teach, how to teach, and what to teach'; and he also pointed out that the College should be tasked with promoting 'the newest and best methods'. On 5 February 1900, the Melbourne Teachers' College was re-opened and Tate (albeit briefly) was appointed principal (1900-1902) and then became Director of Education from 1902 to 1928; see Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 98. Lawson would have observed during Tate's administration a powerful programme of progressive reforms, including improved teacher training, a stronger presence of education as a subject at the University of Melbourne, the extension of public education to the secondary sector, and the continual push for educators to keep up with educational trends overseas. Tate himself had been abroad on a number of occasions and in 1908 he published the findings of a trip to Europe and America which provided impetus to his progressive reforms (see, Tate, F. (1908). *Preliminary report of the director of education upon observations made during an official visit to Europe and America*. Melbourne: Department of Education). Tate was also invited to New Zealand and wrote a report on post-primary education (Tate, F. (1925). *Investigation into certain aspects of post-primary education in New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Education). Tate then went on to become President of ACER (1930-1939) and played a critical role in the organisation of the NEF Conference in 1937. How well Lawson knew Tate was unclear; however, Tate wrote the introduction to a book that he published while at the training college in 1919, titled *Classical Gold in English Renderings* which was a 196 page volume for students of extracts from Greek and Latin classics. (Lawson, R. (1919). *Classical gold in English renderings (with an introduction by Frank Tate)*. Melbourne: MacMillan).

⁴⁹ During 1900, Frank Tate invited the New Zealand educationist Dr John Smyth (1864-1927) to give a talk to the students and staff at the College and one lecturer recalled Smyth recounting the best of methods and lessons from his personal observations of Scottish and German schools, and that he left a favourable impression as a person with ‘impressive and vitalising thoughts – the product of intellectual strength and magnetic personality’; Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers’ College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 105.

⁵⁰ Ken Cunningham initially started teaching at the age of 19 years in outpost one-teacher country schools from 1909-1912 and he already was a free-thinking progressive educator. In 1912, he attended the Teachers’ College first as a primary student before swapping to the secondary course in 1913. He displayed a particular interest in studying philosophy and experimental psychology, gaining the attention of Smyth, before finishing at the end of 1914. In 1915 he taught at a special school for a time before enrolling in the Australian Imperial Force at the age of 25 and was sent to fight overseas. After the war, Cunningham was appointed a lecturer at the College in 1920 and became a party-time lecturer at the University assisting Smyth (now, Professor of Education since 1918) in his experimental education and educational psychology courses. Cunningham went on to become Executive Officer of ACER and the initiator of the Australasian NEF Conference 1937 and he may well have been taught by and/ or worked with Lawson. Sources: Anchen (1956); Selleck (1982); Williams (1994).

⁵¹ In 1901, James McRae (1871-1939) first came to the attention of Frank Tate (then principal of Melbourne Teachers’ College) when a clergyman had written to him telling him of a ‘stimulating young teacher ... who was bringing adventurous ideas to a small school at Glenpatrick’ (Williams (1994)). Some three years later, McRae had shifted schools and found himself teaching some of the children of Frank Tate (by then Director of Education). Tate over the next years worked with McRae on a number of projects and McRae became a lecturer at the College and in 1910 also joined the inspectorate. McRae taught in the ‘Education Part 1’ paper which involved such areas as learning about intelligence testing and the Herbartian steps along with practical work. McRae taught a module on Psychology which Cunningham took in 1912 and which had a strong influence on him (and Cunningham also left a lasting impression on McRae). By 1914, McRae was Vice-Principal (Primary) of the college and in that year he instigated a small correspondence programme that led to the founding of the Correspondence School in Victoria in 1916 (In 1914, a second Vice-Principal position was created and McRae became Vice-Principal (Primary) and Sharman Vice-Principal (Secondary); see Garden, D. (1982). *The Melbourne teacher training colleges: From training institution to Melbourne State College, 1870-1982*. Victoria: Heinemann).

McRae, however, while condoning the teaching of intelligence / aptitude measurement and testing at the College, was not a strong supporter of it unlike Smyth and Fitt. An address of his in 1917, titled ‘Experiment in Education’, that Lawson may well have found some sympathy with, is quoted as stating: ‘Interesting as are many of the laboratory experiments, those that concern us most are experiments carried out in school itself, with individual pupils or groups ... In no such subject is the ‘misleading accuracy of an average’ so likely to lead astray as in experiments with an elusive entity like the human mind. Then, too, education is essentially a touching

of spirit by spirit, and its finest fruits cannot be wholly expressed within the limits of a graph or mathematical formula' (Cited in Williams (1994), pp. 107-8).

Later, sometime in 1922, McRae left the College to take up the position of Assistant Chief Inspector of Primary Schools in the Education Department becoming Chief Inspector in 1925; his position of Vice-Principal (Primary) was then taken by G. S. Browne (see Garden, D. (1982). *The Melbourne teacher training colleges: From training institution to Melbourne State College, 1870-1982*. Victoria: Heinemann; p. 109).

McRae also visited Cunningham while he was studying at Teachers' College, Columbia University in 1927. He provided him with a 'glowing testimonial' for his application for Executive Officer at ACER in 1930 (other applicants included the New Zealander A. G. Butchers, and Hugh Fowler, George Browne and McRae's son, Chris).

McRae was appointed Director of Education from 1932 to 1936. In 1936, he wrote to Cunningham to support moves by the State Directors to lobby their ministers to continue the funding for ACER after CCNY funding finished. From 1935-37, McRae was a member of the NEF Conference Organising Committee chaired by Tate which he and his Department supported. James McRae died in June 1939 of cancer (and two weeks later, so too did Tate). Sources: Anchen (1956); Connell (1980); Garden (1982); Selleck (1982); Spaul (1990); Sweetman (1939); Williams (1994); and, The Education Department of Victoria. (1922). *A history of State education in Victoria*. Melbourne: The Education Department of Victoria.

⁵² Lawson may or may not have known George Stephenson Browne (1890–1970) that well, but he was one of the most important progressives teaching at the Melbourne Teachers' College at the time. G. S. Browne was born in Melbourne and attended the Teachers' College as a student in 1910 and gaining his Trained Teachers Certificate in 1911 (winning the Gladman and the Teaching prizes) and studying part-time at Melbourne University, obtained a BA and DipEd in 1913. He went teaching at a outpost country school in 1912 then taught at an elementary (1912-14) and a high school (1915-16) before enlisting in April 1916 in the Australian Imperial Force, ultimately becoming lieutenant. Fighting in France from March 1917 in charge of mortar batteries, he was awarded the Military Cross (at Messines) and was badly wounded in November 1917 (at Warneton). He gained an Imperial Overseas Scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford at the end of the war and completed an honours degree (Arts) topping the Education courses and also completed a Diploma of Education at the University of London (in 1919). In 1920, he was appointed to a lecturer in method (secondary) position at Melbourne Teachers' College but deferred this to enable him to work as Vice-Principal of Lancaster Teachers' College in Lancaster (England) and to take up a five month Oxford Travelling Scholarship that he had been previously awarded, travelling to American and Germany in 1922.

In 1922, at the age of 32 years, Browne returned to Melbourne and took up his lecturing position at the College, and then with the support of Smyth was appointed to one of the three vice-principal positions in 1923, the Vice-Principal (Primary). He brought with him strong progressive ideas on teaching and curriculum and enthusiastically promoted the Dalton Plan (that he had seen in America and England) and Dewey's Project Method and he also had considerable expertise and interests in experimental education, mathematics, statistics and modern teaching aids. In early 1930, Browne (then aged thirty-nine years) applied for the Executive Officer position at ACER and lost out to Cunningham.

In 1931, Browne was one of the first Australians to be awarded a Carnegie Travel Grant and he spent most of the year as a visiting professor at the University of California and it is likely that he worked with Frank Hart, later to come to Australasia as a NEF Conference speaker. In early 1934, he took up the dual position of Principal of Melbourne Teachers' College and Professor of Education at Melbourne and when Beeby made his first NZCER visit to Melbourne in August 1934, he met with Browne to discuss educational research. Browne was apparently enthused by the NEF Conference 1937 and took up an exchange professorship with Professor Hart to the University of California that year. Sources: Connell (1980); Selleck (1982); Sweetman (1939); Williams (1994); and, Connell, W. F. (1993). *Biography of George Stephenson Browne (1890–1970)*. Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/browne-george-stephenson-9604/text16933>.

⁵³ Photograph of Dr Richard Lawson while an officer of the Melbourne Teachers' College. Source: The Education Department of Victoria. (1922). *A history of State education in Victoria*. Melbourne: The Education Department of Victoria; p. 128.

⁵⁴ Sources: Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 9; McKenzie, D. (n.d.). Lawson, Richard. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/417/lawson-richard>. In Lawson's publication of classical translations (Lawson, R. (1919). *Classical gold in English renderings (with an introduction by Frank Tate)*. Melbourne : MacMillan). He lists his teaching positions in 1919 as: Lecturer in Method of Language Teaching for the Diploma of Education in the University of Melbourne, and Senior Lecturer and Classical Tutor, Teachers' Training College, Melbourne.

⁵⁵ *West Gippsland Gazette*, 29 August 1922, p. 2. His thesis was titled, Classical Translation into English, 1550-1750 which covered from Chaucer to Pope. The title and award date are as listed on his student card, courtesy of the Education Librarian, University of Melbourne.

⁵⁶ At that point there were two other vice-principal positions in the College, one for primary and one for secondary; see Garden, D. (1982). *The Melbourne teacher training colleges: From training institution to Melbourne State College, 1870-1982*. Victoria: Heinemann; p. 135.

⁵⁷ *The Argus*, 28 November 1923, page 22.

⁵⁸ McKenzie, D. (n.d.). Lawson, Richard. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/417/lawson-richard>.

⁵⁹ This view was not entirely new. In 1921, Mr T. U. Wells' report on his overseas visit recommended an overhaul of the syllabus (and also proposed Junior High Schools). In 1923, Sir James Parr (then Minister of Education) suggested a syllabus review. In 1924, NZEI wrote to the Director of Education stating that, 'We have in New Zealand an out of date syllabus in the primary schools and no specifically defined curriculum in the secondary schools. Hence the existence of two systems of education in watertight compartments without any co-ordination whatever', and NZEI advised against the setting up Junior High Schools until that issue was resolved. *National Education*, 1 December 1926, p. 418.

⁶⁰ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1926 (for the Year ending 31 December 1925)*, Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*; p. 16.

⁶¹ *The Evening Post*, 16 November 1926, p. 10.

⁶² AJHR, Session 11, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ending 31 December 1926*; p. 3.

⁶³ *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer; p. 3.

⁶⁴ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1927 (for the Year Ending 31 December 1926)*, Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*; p. 15.

⁶⁵ The full membership and who they represented was: *Professors of Education* – Professor Lawson (Professor of Education at Otago University); *Training Colleges* – Mr J. E. Purchase (Christchurch); *Inspectors of Schools* – Dr J. W. McIlraith (by then senior inspector at Napier) and Mr M. McLeod (senior inspector at Christchurch); *Primary School Teachers/ NZEI* – Mr B. N. T. Blake (Thorndon Normal School, Wellington), Miss B. Carnachan (Auckland teacher, president of the Women Teachers’ Association and member of Council of Education), and Miss A. Kennedy (Auckland Normal School); *Secondary School Teachers* – Mr W. Thomas (principal of Timaru Boy’s High School); *Technical School Teachers* – Mr Angus Marshall (late head of the Technical College, Dunedin); *Headmasters, Primary Schools* – Mr L. F. Pegler (Waimate) and Mr F. A. Garry (Auckland; then also Vice-President of NZEI); *Senior Assistants* – Miss L. Sullivan (Dunedin); *Country Schools* – Miss E. Sampson (Wanganui); *Junior High Schools* – Mr W. J. Wernham; *Education Boards* – Mr T. U. Wells (member of Auckland Education Board and former headmaster) and Mr G. T. London (Wellington); *School Committees* – Mr A. Sando (Wellington); and, *Outside Interests [Business]* – Mr W. Dinwiddie (Napier) and Mr A. E. Lawrence (editor of *Timaru Herald*).

⁶⁶ NZEI criticised the composition of the Committee on the grounds that it did not include representatives of ‘professional, commercial, and industrial interests, which have to handle the product of our education system’; *National Education*, 1 December 1926, p. 419. The group was expanded to nineteen members: *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer; p. 5. *The Evening Post*, 9 December 1926, p. 9.

⁶⁷ *The Evening Post*, 16 November 1926, p. 10; *National Education*, 1 December 1926, p. 419; *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer; p. 4.

⁶⁸ This photograph, clearly with Lawson in the middle of the front row, is in the Hocken Library’s (Dunedin) records of the Caversham Primary School, Dunedin. It has the title of Ministerial Committee on Primary School Syllabus. The assumption taken is that this photograph depicts the full membership of the Syllabus Revision Committee 1926-28. However, this may not be correct. According to the report of the Syllabus Revision Committee there were nineteen official members and if this photograph represents the full committee, it’s not quite clear who the additional two members are here. There was also a Dunedin sub-committee of the main committee and the photograph may include or, in fact, be of that group instead. Or, alternatively, this photograph may be of another committee altogether. No names are provided on the photograph. Hocken, S13-560 – Caversham School Records, ‘Ministerial Committee on Primary School Syllabus’, AG-652-009/022.

⁶⁹ *The Evening Post*, 10 December 1926, p. 10.

⁷⁰ AJHR, Session 11, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ending 31 December 1927*, p. 2.

⁷¹ *The Evening Post*, 7 September 1927, p. 11.

⁷² *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer; p. 4. Its Executive Committee sat on fourteen days, and there were sub-committees that sat in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. There were also general meetings and over seventy witnesses provided oral or written evidence on a range of topics.

⁷³ AJHR, Session 11, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ending 31 December 1927*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ In the Minister's Prefatory Note to Lawson's report, he portrayed the Committee as working with the 'greatest zeal', an 'earnest intention', and how it 'devoted so much time and energy' to the task; perhaps cynically this could be construed as also implying that the Committee possibly took too long on the task (and perhaps went beyond their Terms of Reference), as the Department's timeline for the draft syllabus revision appeared to be shorter than the Committee's.

⁷⁵ AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1928 (for the Year Ending 31 December 1927)*. Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*; p. 20.

⁷⁶ *National Education*, 1 October 1927, p. 380.

⁷⁷ McKenzie, D. (n.d.). Lawson, Richard. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/417/lawson-richard>.

⁷⁸ AJHR, Session 11, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ending 31 December 1928*, p. 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Letter from Director of Education dated 30 June 1928 to NZEI; *National Education*, 1 August 1928, p. 300.

⁸¹ *National Education*, 2 July 1928, p. 263; NZEI. (1929). *Report of the Forty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Institute*. Wellington: NZEI; p. 26.

⁸² AJHR, Session 11, E-02, *Education: Primary Education 1929 (for the Year Ending 31 December 1928)*. Appendix A. *Report of the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools*; p. 18.

⁸³ Education Department. (1928). *Syllabus of instruction for public schools*. Wellington: Government Printer.

⁸⁴ *National Education*, 1 September 1928, p. 344.

⁸⁵ Lawson, R. (1928). Social curricula in relation to social needs. In R. Lawson (Ed.), *Public Lectures on social adjustment*. Dunedin: University of Otago; pp. 8-9.

⁸⁶ *Report of the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Institute (1929)*. Wellington: NZEI; pp. 23-24.

⁸⁷ *National Education*, 1 April 1929, p. 115.

⁸⁸ McKenzie, D. (n.d.). Lawson, Richard. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/417/lawson-richard>.

⁸⁹ IOE, FC/78.

⁹⁰ Letter from Lawson to Hunter dated 16 March 1933; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b. Lawson also noted that he then heard nothing back from Coffman until he had seen the news of the formation of Hunter's committee at the behest of the CCNY. He added that the choice of executive officer was critical: 'We must have a man who carries weight throughout New Zealand, and who moreover inspires confidence'.

Lawson then went on to outline some ideas with regards to the nature of a constitution and council membership.

⁹¹ Letter from Lawson to Coffman dated 13 November 1931; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3. Lawson also added that he would like to apply for a travel grant and that he as the only professor in Otago who taught courses in comparative education, sociology and the international mind.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Letter Chairman of the Professorial Board of the University of Otago to Coffman dated 16 November 1931; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3. In pencil at the top of the letter is written, 'LDC says "No"'.

⁹⁴ Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D. Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4; p. 3. Coffman also argued later that local effort needed to be stimulated as, 'The people of New Zealand have come to rely on the Government for everything' (p. 14).

⁹⁵ Arguably, Lawson's hastily written up scheme helped shape Coffman's views and strengthen the resolve of the Corporation to progress to the next step – approaching Professor Hunter to form a small New Zealand-based committee to further investigate and develop a more detailed and concrete proposal for an independent research bureau just over a year later in early 1933.

⁹⁶ Source: Dunedin Local Committee NEF Conference Programme; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

⁹⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 20 July, p. 5.

⁹⁸ See Mrs Norwood's dairy entries. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/10/7.

⁹⁹ After some research, it was suggested by the Emeritus Professor of Education at the University of Otago, Professor David McKenzie, that this drawing may be of Richard Lawson and that it resembled a photograph of him in the University history at a similar age. Personal communication with Professor David McKenzie (31 January, 2010) who pointed out the resemblance to Lawson's photo on page 146 of Morrell, W. P. (1969). *The University of Otago: A centennial history*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

¹⁰⁰ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismore Collection; File 279.

¹⁰¹ *The Evening Post*, 21 March 1945, p. 6. Lawson was replaced by another Australian, Frank Wyndham Mitchell from Adelaide, who interestingly went on to write a biography of the Director of the Institute of Education, Sir Fred Clarke.

¹⁰² Lawson, R. (1942). *Fragmenta Animi, 1894-1941* (First Series). Dunedin: Whitcombe & Tombs. Lawson, R. (1948). *Fragmenta Animi* (Second Series). Dunedin: Whitcombe & Tombs.

Progressive Training College Lecturers

...I have seen enough in written and photographic records to convince me that he is something very closely akin to an educational genius.

(Dr C E Beeby on Norman R Jacobsen, 1935)¹

Introduction

Working closely with the education professors of the four university colleges were a number of ardent progressive lecturers in the training colleges.² The training colleges attracted talented teachers from the primary service and elsewhere and with the close relationship between the training colleges and the inspectorates, the training colleges were seen as part of a career path to higher positions in the Department of Education.³ Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, many progressive educators followed that route to the Department and also into the universities, while others remained in the colleges. Progressive training college lecturers, then, played an important role in the spread of the new education in the interwar years and many were involved in organising the NEF Conference 1937.

With the official policy rhetoric of support for more progressive teaching approaches in the 1920s came an accompanying acceptance of such teaching in the training colleges. Accompanying this teaching, as Renwick noted, were a number of seminal progressive texts that were prescribed reading for the trainees; the first being John Dewey's *School and Society* (1899/1915) that considered the function of schooling in a democratic society and Percy Nunn's *Education: Its Data and First Principles* (1920) with its focus on supporting and highlighting the development of the individual.⁴ By the early 1920s, there were many other progressive texts available in New Zealand.⁵ For example, Beeby's personal library also included Dewey's *Democracy and Education* and J J Findlay's *The School*.⁶ By the 1930s, progressive teaching approaches were more accepted and teachers by then worked under the considerably more progressive Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools (the 'Red

Book') that included a thirteen page bibliography of texts sorted by subject area. Many works by progressive authors were listed, including those by John Adams, John Dewey, J J Findlay, Percy Nunn, and Michael Sadler.⁷

While progressive ideas in the 1920s and 1930s may not have been fully accepted everywhere by the teaching profession (or the Department, Education Boards and the Inspectorate), such ideas were at the forefront of a growing wave of educational change. Training college lecturers were an intrinsic part of these reforms. While there were a number of progressive educators at the training colleges, two of them only can be discussed here.⁸ Duncan Rae was a high profile progressive training college lecturer and then influential principal at Auckland Training College. In contrast, Norman Jacobsen was a nearly unknown training college lecturer without significant influence even though he was a remarkable progressive educator and theorist who arguably had an important influence on Beeby's views on new education in the 1930s.

1) Duncan McFadyen Rae MA (Hons) DipEd (1888-1964)

Duncan Rae was arguably the most influential long-serving progressive training college lecturer during the interwar years. He served at the Auckland Training College for twenty-two years in total, first as Vice-Principal (1924-29) and then Principal (1929-46).⁹ Rae was born in Southland, educated in the Invercargill area, studied at the University of Otago and then taught in schools in Southland.¹⁰

In 1924, Rae shifted to Auckland when he was appointed Vice-Principal of Auckland Training College (1924-29). Without delay Rae sought to introduce the project method for the teaching of history, although this was somewhat hindered by the lack of resources in the College library and the need for students to access city and university libraries for their projects.¹¹ The project method was an academic interest of Rae's, and while studying for his Diploma in Education, he had completed a thesis titled, *An Investigation into the Project Method of History Teaching in Training Colleges*.¹² Rae later argued that the project method could also transform the teaching of other subject areas, including nature study, geography and history.¹³

When Rae was appointed Principal in 1929 on Cousins' retirement, he was involved in supporting a number of innovative educational areas. Although Rae could be viewed as fundamentally a conservative progressive, he 'latched on enthusiastically to new ideas and developments', especially in the area of new technologies, including film and radio broadcasting.¹⁴ In 1930, Rae presumably took Cousin's place on the progressive, influential government-funded advisory body, the General Council of Education.¹⁵ In his role as principal he was also a lecturer in education at Auckland University College, and was also an active member of NZEI (Auckland branch) and the Auckland Headmasters' Association.¹⁶

(a) Founding of NZCER

In 1933, Rae was part of the group of three eminent educationists (Hunter, Milner, Rae) invited by CCNY to develop concrete proposals for an educational research institute in New Zealand, to be convened by Hunter (that was to become New Zealand's most influential progressive research organisation, NZCER).¹⁷ Rae wrote to Hunter on 1 March 1933 advising that he had already appealed to CCNY in September 1932 to explore such a possibility and was very pleased to work with Hunter and Milner on the project. It was actually in October 1932 that Rae had written to CCNY on behalf of a group of educationists in support of Coffman's proposal for a research institute and he had proposed that Tate and Cunningham help set one up in New Zealand – Rae signed the letter on behalf of a high powered group of forward thinking New Zealand principals/ rectors and professors: A B Fitt, G H Uttley (Rector, Southland Boy's High School),¹⁸ James Shelley, Frank Milner (Rector, Waitaki Boy's High School), W Fraser (Headmaster, Hamilton Technical College), L J Wild (Principal, Feilding Agricultural High School), J Polson (Principal, Christchurch Training College), and W A Armour (Principal, Wellington College).¹⁹ A month later, Coffman wrote to Keppel advising that he had been in contact with Tate and Cunningham who had agreed with him that a small committee of three should be formed to investigate the proposal and that at least Rae, Milner as well as Hunter should be on it.²⁰

Rae warned Hunter that the Education Department might not be keen on the idea but that they may be persuaded if presented with a 'well reasoned scheme'. He also added that he had also seen Tate and Cunningham of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) en route to New York on the previous September and they were eager for New Zealand to follow ACER's example, although possibly under ACER's umbrella.²¹ Hunter quickly responded with an invitation to both Rae and Milner to meet as soon as practicable in Wellington and that he had written to Tate (and Lovell in Sydney) for further information concerning ACER.²² Hunter also wrote to Fitt who responded later in March that he was very keen on the idea and that he had been 'one of the prime movers (with Mr Rae) in the whole matter'.²³ Quite what he meant is not clear, but presumably he had discussed the matter with Coffman during his visit in 1931 (as did Lawson),²⁴ perhaps he was a part of the informal discussions with education officials on the matter in 1932, and he possibly joined Rae in his September 1932 meeting with Tate and Cunningham.

Rae travelled down to Wellington for the first meeting of the three educationists on 10 March 1933. Present were also Mr Lambourne and the Director of Education who reassured those present that they would receive the fullest cooperation of the Department. The group agreed to contact the major educational organisations about the proposal and Rae contacted Hunter again in late April with a long list of contacts to which circular letters could be distributed.²⁵ At the next meeting, Hunter reported that he had received many favourable responses to the circular letter and they agreed to hold a Conference in June with the purpose of considering, '(a) the constitution and organization of the new body, (b) to make suggestions in regard to lines of investigation'. It was intended to invite Professors Lawson, Shelley, Gould, Fitt, and Hight, and other educational representatives including Mr F Garry, Mr J H Howell, Miss Magill, Mr Tomlinson, and the Director of Education. It was also agreed that after the Conference, Hunter and Rae would draft the report to send to CCNY.²⁶ The next meeting of the Committee was in July 1933 and here it was agreed that Hunter would complete the redrafting.²⁷ Rae wrote to Hunter with some final suggestions and praised his draft report on the 'Research Council'.²⁸ Later he concluded that, 'I believe it will convince the Carnegie people'.²⁹ Clearly it did, and on 29 November 1933, after receiving approval to proceed to set up a research institute from CCNY,

Hunter invited Rae, Gould, Shelley, Lawson, Milner, Gilray, and Wells to form the first Council of NZCER. Rae served on the Council from 1934-1946.

(b) Overseas Trip, 1934

In 1934, while the Auckland Training College was closed due to the Depression, Rae received a Carnegie travellers' grant to investigate educational research in England (including visiting the Board of Education, Nunn and Field at the Institute of Education, and Sir Michael Sadler),³⁰ Scotland (including visiting Sir Godfrey Thomson that Hunter visited in 1931), Canada and the United States (including visiting Coffman at Minnesota University and Keppel, Russell, Lester and Learned at the Carnegie Corporation and Teachers' College, Columbia University).³¹ He visited many different types of educational establishment on the trip and on his return gave an 'extensive' series of public lectures on what he had encountered, how the systems differed from education in New Zealand, and what might be learned.³²

Rae observed, for example, rural education in a number of schools in East Suffolk where the Local Education authority was attempting to put into practice 'the new spirit of the Education of the Adolescent'. The authority sought to strengthen character (individual and national), provide opportunities for pupils to 'delight in pursuits and rejoice in accomplishments' that will contribute to their leisure in adult life, and guide their practical intelligence. It was an education where the focus was not on vocational education but a sound and broad general education.³³ Rae noted that this reorganisation of rural schooling had been carried out by Dr W K Spencer (who later in the 1930s carried out a survey of the technical school system in New Zealand for the CCNY). According to Rae, Spencer had designed a system that met the public's demand for a good standard of 3 R's, and then gave teachers 'a large measure of freedom' from there.³⁴

In another talk he outlined some thoughts and observations regarding education from his trip to the United States in mid-1934. He noted that the policy of post-primary education appeared to be based on the principle that,

their full responsibility is discharged only when their students are taught to be free-thinking, free-acting, independent persons and that every movement calculated to indoctrinate youth with special social theories or with a special kind of political philosophy is subversive of the needs of a democratic society.³⁵

Writing as many of the new educators did in the 1930s, Rae in 1935 argued that such an education was an antidote for anti-democratic movements such as totalitarianism:

In a world turning black through the spread of dictatorships and other forms of militant nationalism, liberty and human rights are in danger. Civilisation advances only when the search for truth is unhampered and when human action is based on cooperation rather than compulsion.³⁶

He further proposed that New Zealand needed to invest much more in youth who may not succeed in the examination-driven post-primary education system to ensure that they also had ‘an education for full citizenship’. He argued that the ‘controls of democracy’ were not attained through the coercion of armies, emperors or dictators, but in intelligently administered popular government which depended upon the broad education of young people. He concluded that the challenge for democratic leaders today was summed up by H G Well’s quote – ‘In the salvaging of civilization, education is racing against catastrophe’.³⁷

In his final report to NZCER, Rae argued that the America model could not be reproduced in New Zealand. He argued that the techniques and methods they used would not be able to be replicated in New Zealand and that the best path would be to continue to keep track of such overseas research. Instead, he recommended that New Zealand could fruitfully follow the more practical work being undertaken in Canada, Scotland and Australia which he suggested was not strictly educational research but comprised ‘a series of surveys of education progress and practices made under the most scientific guidance; but always with carefully thought being given to making the result of the investigation bear upon the national or provincial body of teachers

concerned'.³⁸ Rae added that NZCER could fruitfully build its library of educational books and share these with researchers and teachers.

In the report, Rae observed that the 'New Era or New Education Fellowship' approach to educational research problems was through Aristotelian channels and that they preferred 'the forum to the laboratory' but added that there were signs that this was changing. Rae appears to support the questioning of the 'old' system of education but is far more conservative towards and cautious about what might replace it:

The old education system which was based upon a conservative theory of instruction and tested by similarly conservative standards is everywhere today being challenged. Prominent educators everywhere seem to be engaged primarily upon a fearless investigation of the results of their respective educational methods and results, and wherever this new scientific analysis may lead – and it is leading to unsuspected places – the investigator is so far doggedly following.³⁹

(c) The NEF Conference 1937

Rae also was heavily involved in organising the NEF Conference 1937 as a Council member of NZCER as well as an executive member of the Auckland Organising Committee. On the latter committee, he chaired the Finance sub-committee as well as being on the publicity sub-committee.⁴⁰ During the Conference, Rae performed various tasks including organising an evening reunion service of the Training College at St George's Church, Epsom, that was attended College staff, Conference speakers and many students.

After the Conference, Rae's progressive views appeared to be 'crystallised' by his contact with the visiting delegates. He gave a talk the following month where he argued that the traditional system of education needed a major reorganisation and made a number of forecasts:

The new syllabus would emphasise the development of the individual according to his innate qualities and character ... Success or failure in life dependent upon one examination ... must go. Secondary education was for all, without academic barriers ... [There would be] a preponderance of those things that made for a cultured individual ... libraries available to all would develop self-education at all ages and stages ...⁴¹

Three days later he was reported as saying that the main lesson taught by the NEF Conference was that New Zealand needed to develop its own solutions to the problems facing society. He argued that ‘the school is the greatest institution ever devised by man. It is a preventative and an antidote against social evils’ and that teachers had a large responsibility with regard to ‘the future of democracy and the future of the Empire’, and that ‘the problems of the community would find their solution in the schools, not in Parliament’.⁴²

On 15 July 1937, an Auckland Group of the NEF was formed and Rae and Fitt were on the Executive. The Committee intended to work on educational problems such as fostering more creative and expressive work in schools, parent education, and the establishment of experimental schools. Fitt was reported as saying that the Group would not be ‘another talk shop’ and that both he and Rae would not support it if it was to become that.⁴³

Three months later, in October 1937, Rae wrote to Cunningham at ACER thanking him for instigating the NEF Conference 1937 in both Australia and New Zealand. He pointed out that previously progressive educationists in New Zealand had been ‘voices crying in the wilderness’ and that it had taken a Conference of overseas ‘prophets’, to state with surety ‘what we could not manage to prove to our own people’.⁴⁴

Rae resigned from the Auckland Training College and the NZCER Council in 1946 (though he continued on as a member of the Auckland University College Council until 1957). In 1946, he then embarked on a major change of career as a National

Party Member of Parliament.⁴⁵ During his early years in Parliament he generally supported the Labour Government's progressive education reforms but became 'uneasy at the pace of change'.⁴⁶

2) Norman R Jacobsen (1889-1950)

Norman Jacobsen, unlike Duncan Rae, was one of the least well-known of the interwar progressive educators although he was an extraordinarily passionate new educator and progressive theorist who had been a senior lecturer at Wellington Teachers' Training College in the 1920s, and an international traveller and progressive evangelist in the 1930s. It is also likely that Jacobsen had some influence on Beeby in the mid-1930s as they had many meetings and corresponded on Jacobsen's conceptions of progressive education, such that Beeby sincerely wrote in January 1935, that 'he is something very closely akin to an educational genius'.⁴⁷ As such, Jacobsen's career paints an illustrative contrast to Rae's and clearly demonstrates the almost religious fervour for the new education by some educators in this country and globally.

Norman Jacobsen was a high achieving student (and sportsman)⁴⁸ who initially attended Auckland Grammar School before going to university and focussing on science as well as law, languages and education. At Auckland University College he studied chemistry, mathematics and physics and gained an MSc in 1912. His interests were, and remained, broadly-based.⁴⁹ Later, at Victoria University College he studied law and agriculture (as well as mycology, entomology and bacteriology) as well as various education courses to honours level under Professors Gould and Tennant and experimental pedagogics with E K Lomas⁵⁰ (later Principal of Wellington Teachers' Training College).⁵¹ Jacobsen's teaching experience was primarily in secondary education, including positions at Sacred Heart College, Auckland, Dannevirke High School,⁵² Hamilton High School (1912-1916)⁵³ and vice-principal at Napier Boy's High School (1916-1923) under the progressive leader, Mr W A Armour.⁵⁴

(a) Wellington Teachers' Training College Years

From 1923 to 1930, Jacobsen was a senior lecturer at Wellington Teachers' Training College where he lectured on general science and agriculture subjects, wrote a short book on heat, gave a number of radio broadcasts on science and athletics topics, and corresponded on scientific matters.⁵⁵ Jacobsen continued to apply for principal positions without success.⁵⁶



Photograph 5-1 Staff of Wellington Teachers' Training College 1925⁵⁷

[M] Gould, O N Sheppard, B Log, J W Aitken, M E Joyce, F Irvine-Smith, J Livingstone, N J Waghorn, E K Lomas, R J Thomas, T Kane, P J Watkin, Norman R Jacobsen

[The staff have signed their names on the reverse of the photograph but in no particular order. E K Lomas is on the bottom right while Jacobsen is probably on the top row, 2nd from the left]

While teaching, Jacobsen published two works for teachers and students in the science field. The first publication was titled, *Physical Science for Public Entrance Exams* and there is no known surviving copy of this book.⁵⁸ Jacobsen's second publication is also somewhat elusive. Copies of this progressive publication are rare and do not include publisher or publication date (though presumed to be late 1920s) and had a first public mention in 1932.⁵⁹ The large format book was titled, *Heat: A*

Great Traveller and was part of a Studies in Science series distributed by Gordon and Gotch. While the text worked through science information and included experiments relating to heat, the overall wording and pedagogical approach was progressive and very accessible for students and included New Zealand examples. [See *Appendix 7(a)* for further information and illustrations.]

While at the training college, Jacobsen had attempted to introduce new education approaches. He also sought to encourage his students to ‘integrate’ both curriculum and method to a high level. However, he found that he had insufficient instruction time available and had to work within an ‘overcrowded syllabus’.⁶⁰

(b) Overseas Study and Travel, 1930-1933

In 1930, Jacobsen set off on a nearly three year overseas trip – actually a combination of educational pilgrimage and *Boys’ Own* adventure. Jacobsen’s educational goal was to meet leading progressive educational authorities and have the opportunity to discuss his progressive research with them, and study progressive schools around the world. He travelled to America, Canada and the Indian sub-continent and observed that, ‘Progressive schools are springing up everywhere, owing to growing dissatisfaction with the national form of education’.⁶¹

While in America, Jacobsen studied for a PhD at Teachers’ College, Columbia University (gaining two fellowships) and noted that there were students studying there from seventy different nationalities, each with an interest in educational reconstruction in their own countries. He undertook the full course for a PhD and sat and passed the examinations for the post-graduate papers. He studied sociology, education, philosophy and educational research methods (with Professor William A McCall (1891–1982)). However, Jacobsen wrote that, ‘I neither had the time nor the money to publish a dissertation, though I attended many meetings for the constructive help and criticism of those presenting dissertations’. Consequently, he did not gain a PhD.⁶²

He arrived in America just at the beginning of the Great Depression and found that amongst educationists there was a general view that if the depression lasted a

significant length of time the population would come to see that education would also need to be reconstructed in order to prepare people for ‘ever more rapidly changing conditions’.⁶³ Jacobsen argued that educated people were the ‘real capital’ of a country and that educationists were then arguing that the traditional methods of education were not now proving adequate for developing a truly intelligent population.⁶⁴

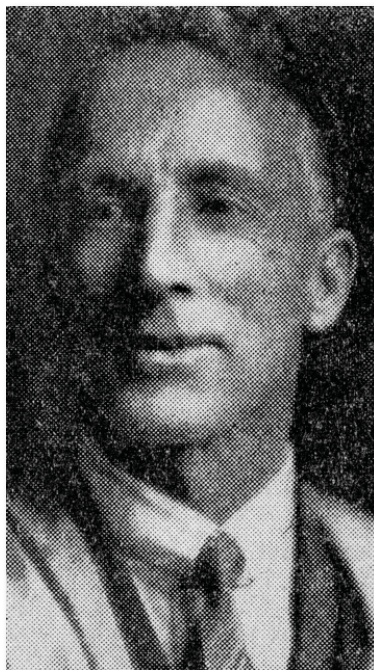
Jacobsen also travelled through Canada. He motored for hundreds of kilometres throughout Saskatchewan with a group from the Canadian National Railways led by the first President of the University of Saskatchewan, Dr Walter Charles Murray (1866-1945) who was also one of the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching from 1919-38. The purpose of their tour was to study immigrant communities that had not yet assimilated, such as those from Iceland, Germany, Poland, Russia and Scandinavia.⁶⁵ He also attended two religious conferences of the Student Christian Movement (SCM): in Vancouver he attended a pan-Pacific Conference of the Student Christian Movement and he attended a six week co-educational Christian student seminar that was held every summer by the theologian Dr Henry Burton Sharman at the wilderness retreat lodge he had purchased in 1930 – Camp Minesing on Burnt Island Lake in Algonquin Park.⁶⁶ There, as Kinnear (2004) put it, members of the SCM were urged to ‘engage with the bible in an atmosphere of intellectual freedom with democratic methods’.⁶⁷

After studying at Columbia University, Jacobsen travelled throughout India meeting with leading progressive educationists, theosophists and Indian independence leaders. He met with the social reformer, theosophist and Indian independence leader Annie Besant, the founder of the Central Hindu College and the Theosophical Educational Trust, presumably at the Theosophical Society Headquarters in Adyar.⁶⁸ He met with the independence leader Madan Mohan Malaviya who was then President of the Benares Hindu University to which Besant’s Central Hindu College was attached.⁶⁹ Jacobsen was also appointed a professor at Rabindranath Tagore’s new education community at Santiniketan.⁷⁰ Approximately five years later, after the New Zealand NEF Conference in 1937, a number of the international delegates (including Zilliacus, Bovet and Salter Davies) visited Santiniketan on their way home and Zilliacus wrote

that in the village life at Santiniketan, ‘is the kind of thing we have been dreaming about in New Education’.⁷¹ Tagore also invited Jacobsen to visit Gandhi on the occasion of him breaking his fast.⁷² Jacobsen declared that Gandhi, Tagore and Malaviya were the three most important leaders of the Indian people.⁷³

After Santiniketan, Jacobsen taught at Dacca University in (then) Bengal. There, Jacobsen was offered the opportunity to undertake a new education experiment and was permitted ‘a free hand to introduce new methods, new subject matter, etc.’. This apparently proved so successful that he was strongly encouraged to return.⁷⁴ While Jacobsen’s trip included many progressive educational experiences such as this, it also appeared to be satisfying his desire for outdoor adventure and physical challenge.⁷⁵

On his return later in 1933, Jacobsen concluded that his progressive educational research and the principles that he was working from had been corroborated on the trip. He argued that his trip focused on how different societies solved the key problems of education, and he offered his services in any way to assist in the reconstruction of education in New Zealand. He publically concluded, that what was being advocated by the highest education authorities in New Zealand, ‘was diametrically opposed to that which was practised in most parts of the world’.⁷⁶



Photograph 5-2 Mr Norman R Jacobsen⁷⁷

(c) Application for Executive Officer Position, NZCER, 1934

Somewhat fortuitously, on 23 January 1934 advertisements were placed in major New Zealand newspapers for the position of Executive Officer of the newly formed New Zealand Council for Educational Research. At that time it appears that Jacobsen was without permanent employment, was 45 years of age, married and had three children.⁷⁸ Jacobsen applied for the position information in late February and submitted an application in mid-March.⁷⁹ Of note, somewhat in advance of the formal appointments process, the M P for Otago, A E Ansell, wrote to Hunter in December 1933 imploring him (to no avail) to appoint Jacobsen: ‘He is well known to me as a good type of man, scientific and highly educated’.⁸⁰

Jacobsen’s formal application for the position provides a clearer picture of his progressive views by early 1934. His covering letter asserted that: 1) ‘I have worked my way through the traditional method of education (the old orthodoxy) – through the method suggested by the so called ‘Science of Education’ which has side tracked education for the past twenty years, and left it in the muddle where it stands today, to the science of the NEW EDUCATION’; and, 2) ‘I have the results of years of experimenting in the New Education and so can give a lead, the prerequisite to any attempt at inspiration for real (not academic) research in N.Z. Without such results, the position would be like that of a shopkeeper setting up shop without any wares for the new season’.⁸¹

In answering the research focus question on the application form, Jacobsen wrote that for the last twenty years he had been ‘conducting a research on the reconstruction of education in N.Z. ... I have constantly reconstructed my own practice and philosophy of education as I gained more insight with increasing experience’. His overall aim was, ‘the complete reconstruction of education in practice’. Jacobsen also added that he did not have either the time or the inclination to publish his research work over the last twenty years until he had come to a more complete picture of it: ‘There seemed no point in doing so save personal conceit or puffery, until it was in a more integrated and better form’.⁸²

Jacobsen testimonials were from some of the most influential progressive educators. There were international testimonials from Professor John Dewey, Rabindranath Tagore, and Dr William Setchel Learned (1876-1950) of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. New Zealand testimonials comprised T A Hunter, James Shelley, E K Lomas, W H Gould, Mr Caughley (former Director of Education) and W A Armour.⁸³

Jacobsen also attached comments from leading progressive educators about his teaching and educational views.⁸⁴ Jacobsen wrote that he had spent many hours in 'intimate discussion' with John Dewey, who told him, 'Jacobsen, you have brought more to education in practice than I have ever written'. He recounted that W Hill (the late chief inspector of schools for Hawkes Bay) had observed that, 'A more ardent worker with wider educational views I do not know nor have ever met'. F G A Stuckey (senior inspector of schools) wrote that, 'The Director knows from the report of my visit to the Wellington Training College last year, the very high opinion I formed of your ability and your work'. Finally, the progressive South Island rector, Frank Milner, after he had attended the NEF Conference in Elsinore in August 1929, 'came right out to my home to see some of the results and records of research work done ... He was most enthusiastic over the work and assured me of a great reception abroad'. Milner had spent four hours discussing actual examples of Jacobsen's work.⁸⁵

Jacobsen summed his application with the statement that, along with Professor Kilpatrick and the overseas graduates at Teachers' College, Columbia University, 'I have worked out a philosophy of education in keeping with my practice'. He provided with the application a small book of his research work (not now in the file) and offered to present a manuscript of his research results if required. Jacobsen concluded:

I aimed at a complete reconstruction of education in practice and not mere tinkering in aspects of education which I early recognised as having merely a temporary value and destined to be swept aside by the far reaching reform which was long overdue.⁸⁶

Unfortunately for Jacobsen there was a very high level of interest in the Executive Officer position from a number of prominent local (and international) educationists.⁸⁷ Ultimately, Dr C E Beeby was appointed to the position in June 1934, and his first day at NZCER was 1 November 1934.⁸⁸

(d) Meetings Between Beeby and Jacobsen, 1934-35

Before Beeby had even taken up his position at NZCER in November 1934 he had already received three substantive letters from Jacobsen. Jacobsen's letters written during September 1934 outline his new education theories and this was to be the start of an extended correspondence between the two educationists [See *Appendix 7(b)* for an overview of the September 1934 letters outlining his theories]. By the end of that year, Beeby had already met with Jacobsen to discuss his views on progressive education and study his progressive research in detail.⁸⁹ In a glowing testimonial for Jacobsen written in early 1935, Beeby wrote that:

I am convinced that he has a profound understanding of educational principles. But his particular ability lies not so much in the origination of principles as in the devising of means for putting them into practice ... and [he] has worked out an original technique of teaching which combines a deep knowledge of subject-matter with an unusual understanding of the child mind. I believe that Mr Jacobsen has hit upon a very big idea ... I have seen enough in written and photographic records to convince me that he is something very closely akin to an educational genius.⁹⁰

Beeby clearly was impressed by Jacobsen's progressive theories and research. In the early months of 1935, Beeby met with Jacobsen 'for one to two hours a week for many weeks'. During these meetings, Beeby examined records of Jacobsen's progressive teaching practices, including photographs, diagrams and syntheses of teaching experiences. He also worked through examples of Jacobsen's philosophy and principles of education in the form of diagrams, syntheses, and whole chapters of

work. Additionally, Beeby encouraged Jacobsen to frame up the material in the form of a dissertation on a four year course of teacher training.⁹¹

By March 1935, Beeby was also encouraging Jacobsen to develop a master plan of progressive education change; a 'Conspectus of Educational Reconstruction' that encompassed the complete reconstruction of the education system in New Zealand. This was very timely given that the First Labour Government with its progressive educational reform agenda was not elected until November 1935.

Beeby set the conditions for the Conspectus: what was good in the system should be improved, progressive initiatives needed to be added, and there should be no period where there was chaos or disorganisation. The nature of this educational change was described as, like 'a larva to a butterfly, a tadpole to a frog'. Jacobsen reflected at the time that Beeby 'has drawn out the best in me'.⁹² However, the problem that unfortunately (and somewhat tragically for new education in New Zealand) unfolded was that Jacobsen was continually developing and working on a myriad of diverse plans and ideas that competed with one another for his time and energy. He also struggled with mundane organisational matters such as using correct processes and meeting deadlines and this hindered NZCER's ability to assist him with his research. In addition, his lack of regular employment and family circumstances were now forcing him to seek work outside the system as he had 'burned his boats' in the state education area.⁹³

Ultimately, it appeared that economic necessity (and other interests) had diminished his enthusiasm towards his educational reconstruction work which had now been put on the back burner. One wonders if his educational fate might have been somewhat different had he completed his doctorate at Teachers' College, Columbia University and met Beeby when he and NZCER were considerably more established by say mid-1936. Then, the new education and the New Education Fellowship Conference were becoming the exciting buzz words in the educational community and his expertise might have been more appropriately harnessed. Unfortunately, by then, Jacobsen had had to move on to other pursuits to support his family.

Conclusion

Progressive training college lecturers were central to the adoption of new education practices in New Zealand. In the interwar years, these lecturers were supported by a sympathetic policy framework, the expanding activities of progressive organisations, a revised progressive school syllabus, and a growing number of progressive texts.

The two progressive lecturers chosen for this chapter could not have been more different. Norman Jacobsen was an unknown Wellington Teachers' Training College lecturer who had little influence beyond his teaching sphere. However, he had embraced progressive education with a fervour and had studied and worked overseas with leading progressive educators. He was relentlessly working on developing his own progressive theory and was fortunate to come under the influence of Beeby at NZCER. Given Beeby's mainly psychological background, Jacobsen may well have had an important influence on Beeby's views on new education in the 1930s. In stark contrast, Duncan Rae was an influential training college lecturer and principal whose long service gave him many opportunities for supporting progressive endeavours, including assisting in the setting up of NZCER and organising the NEF Conference 1937.

Both training college lecturers, however, represented the broad spectrum of progressive activities that provided the foundations for the long-term educational reforms that followed the NEF Conference 1937.

Notes

¹ Letter Beeby to Jacobsen dated 21 January 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

² In New Zealand, the training colleges in each of the four main centres were brought under the regulated control of the Education Department in 1904 to provide more formal training of teachers for the State school system. Previously, training colleges had been funded and controlled mainly by the local Education Boards while moreover, with the Education Act 1914, the Department tightened its grip over the Boards as well. However, the training colleges at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin in the first decades of the twentieth century were not well resourced and each had student numbers only in the hundreds with a select group of teaching staff (e.g., see the 1925 photograph of the staff of Wellington Teachers' Training College later in this section).

³ The training college syllabuses were under the control of the Education Department and they were regularly inspected, although their administration was still the responsibility of the Education Boards. To avoid unnecessary duplication between universities and training colleges, trainees could take some courses at university and lecturers from the training colleges could lecture at the university – especially the principals.

⁴ Renwick, W. L. (1998a). Clarence Edward Beeby (1902–1992). *Prospects*, 28(2), 335-48.

⁵ Training college libraries were described as 'meagre' and even in the 1930s the colleges were struggling to increase their holdings. For example, from 1930 to 1937, the only new books added to the Auckland Training College library were those purchased by the staff (and there were no recent journals); see Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, p. 98.

⁶ Both were signed and dated July 1921 and contained substantial margin annotations from when he was a student at Canterbury University College (where he was taught by Shelley; ATL, Beeby's Library Books & Publications, 92-190-Box 1).

⁷ Education Department. (1928). *Syllabus of instruction for public schools*. Wellington: Government Printer.

⁸ There were many other progressive educators at the four training colleges, as this brief summary illustrates. *Auckland Training College* appointed Herbert G. Cousins as principal in 1919. The experimental educational psychologist A. B. Fitt was appointed Vice-Principal in 1921 with the progressive Duncan Rae taking over that role in 1924 when Fitt became Professor of Education at the Auckland University College. Rae took over as principal when Cousins retired in 1929 and remained until 1946. In 1929 Francis (Frank) Lopdell took over Rae's Vice-Principal position for six years. In 1936, the College appointed progressive John Murdoch to a specifically post-primary training position; Murdoch had an impressive teaching career and academic record, having gained a PhD from the University of London and studied with Nunn, Spearman and Burt (he failed to win the Executive Officer position in 1934 at NZCER). Rae served on the Auckland NEF Conference Organising Committee 1937 that was chaired by Professor Fitt. *Wellington Training College* appointed J S Tennant as principal in 1912. When Tennant retired William Gould (see separate section above) was appointed principal from 1923 to 1926 when he was

appointed acting-Professor of Education at Victoria University College and confirmed as full professor in 1927. E. K. Lomas became acting Principal in 1926 and the Training College's full principal in 1929. Norman Jacobsen was senior lecturer there from 1923 to 1930 (Lomas had taught Jacobsen experimental pedagogics at Victoria University College – see separate section on Jacobsen later in this chapter). In 1936, Francis (Frank) Lopdell was appointed principal. Gould served on the NEF Conference National Organising Committee 1937 that was chaired by Professor Hunter when he was lecturer in education at Victoria University College. A. E. Campbell (who was lecturer at Victoria University College from 1930 to 1938 until he took Beeby's place at NZCER), was the chair of the Wellington NEF Conference Organising Committee 1937. *Christchurch Training College* appointed Thomas Scholfield Foster as principal in 1912 and when he resigned in 1918, J E Purchase became principal from 1919 to 1931. Purchase also sat on Lawson's Syllabus Revision Committee later in the 1920s. He was followed by J G Polson who also signed his name to Rae's letter to CCNY in 1932 in support of the establishment of a research institute in New Zealand. The latter two principals served on the Christchurch NEF Conference Organising Committee 1937 that was chaired by Professor J Hight *Dunedin Training College* already had D R White as principal in 1904 and he was progressive in his views. As his Vice-Principal wrote in 1912, the year before he retired: White 'was never traditional ... At a time when individuality in the teacher was decidedly *not* encouraged by the syllabus, or by the authorities, [he] was not afraid to experiment' (Johnston & Morton, 1976, p. 52). White was followed by Edward W Pinder who retired in 1923. He was followed by J A Moore who retired in 1941. None of these principals served on the Dunedin NEF Conference Organising Committee 1937, although progressive educators were well represented including Professor Lawson and Frank Milner.

⁹ Sources for this section: Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; Rae's Curriculum Vitae for the Executive Officer position at NZCER, dated 8 March 1934, AAVZ, W3418, Box 27; Rae's entry by William Renwick in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5r1/rae-duncan-mcfadyen.

¹⁰ His teaching career began as a pupil-teacher in 1905 (East Gore School), then a senior teacher by 1912 (Invercargill Middle School), rising to first assistant in 1914 (Invercargill South School). He enlisted in 1915 and served with the Otago Infantry Regiment in France rising to the rank of lieutenant. He was wounded at the Somme in 1916 and Messines in 1917 and after a period in hospital, was discharged in 1918. Rae returned to Otago and enrolled in 1919 as a full-time student at the University of Otago graduating with an MA in history (1st class honours). He won a position as first assistant at Invercargill Middle School, and in 1920 was president of NZEI's Southland branch before being appointed in 1922 as head teacher at Riverton School (the following year it became Riverton District High School). In 1923, he had published a series of historical articles on the history of Southland in the *Riverton Western Star* which contributed to him being elected as a fellow of the Royal Historical Society. Also in 1923, he organised a teachers' summer school in Riverton and then helped found and was president of the New Zealand Teachers' Summer School Society (the Society continued to run national summer schools for a number of years).

¹¹ Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, p. 68.

¹² Rae's Curriculum Vitae for the Executive Officer position at NZCER, dated 8 March 1934, AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

¹³ Shaw noted Rae's comments on the approach: 'Not only does it throw on the individual the onus of studying personally the matter in hand, but it makes demands on his creative instincts, gives free play to his imagination, and challenges him to produce something of value ...'; see Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, p. 68; citing the *New Zealand Education Gazette*, 1 August 1929.

¹⁴ In 1932, the Auckland Training College pioneered school broadcasting and from March 1933 produced an hourly broadcast to Auckland schools each week that was played on the local 1YA radio station. This rapidly expanded and in 1935, was accompanied by illustrated booklets. By 1938, 22,000 booklets were used in 109 local schools and the subject areas included history, geography, music, nature study, school drama and speech training. When Colin Gillies was appointed to the College in 1932, he introduced the use of film strips and educational films that he had seen during a study trip to California in 1929. Rae encouraged this pioneering work and even made a film strip of the College to use in outside talks. Gillies was to play an important role in the setting up of the local Auckland NEF group after the NEF Conference 1937 and he remembered the Conference as 'one of the highlights of his career'. See Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, pp. 97-98.

¹⁵ Its members had variously included H G Cousins (Principal, Auckland Training College), Frank Milner, T U Wells, and J E Purchase (Principal, Christchurch Training College).

¹⁶ Rae had also been a WEA lecturer in history and international relations for five years.

¹⁷ This early correspondence indicated that each member was separately invited by CCNY to join the group and were advised that Hunter was to be the convener (their letters would have arrived in the latter part of February 1933).

¹⁸ George Harry Uttley MA, DSc CMG (1879-1960) was an influential educational leader during the interwar years. He was born in Dunedin and educated at Otago Boys' High School (1894-96) before studying at the University of Otago where he gained an MA (Hons) in Mental Science in 1903 and a D.Sc (geological sciences) in 1922. He was appointed Third Assistant Master at Waitaki Boys' High School, Oamaru and taught there from 1903-13. He won the position of Principal of the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Melbourne and taught there from 1913 to 1915 before being appointed the founding Principal of Scots College, Wellington (1916-22). After Scots College, Uttley became Principal of Wairarapa High School (1923-29) where he represented the Headmasters' Association and was vice-president of the Masterton Branch of the Association for the Advancement of Education. His final post was as Rector of Southland Boys' High School, Invercargill (1930-45). Uttley was known for his 'modest and well balanced personality' and his hard work ethic both academically and on the playing field; he had 'a power of infusing into his boys a resolve to do or die'. He was a good all-round cricketer and rugby footballer and represented provinces in both sports. Uttley was also one of the select group of educators who in 1932 signed their names to Rae's letter to CCNY in support of the proposal to establish NZCER (this led directly to Coffman recommending that

Hunter, Rae and Milner form a committee to provide a plan of action for the establishment of a research institute). Uttley also later supported NZEI's call for a better pay scale for teachers and served as President of the New Zealand Secondary Teachers' Association (1926-27). In 1939, he was central in forming the Southland Branch of the Royal Society of New Zealand, and was awarded with a CMG in 1947 for his services to education. Sources: New Zealand University Graduates 1870-1961 website: <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/university24.html>; Prentis, M. D. (2008). Minister and dominie – Creating an Australasian Scottish world? *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 33, 7-36; *National Education*, July 2, 1928, p. 272; *National Education*, December 1, 1928, p. 486; Letter Rae (and others) to Keppel dated 14 October 1932; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3, NZCER. Letter Coffman to Keppel dated 3 November 1932; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3, NZCER; George Harry Uttley's Obituary in the 1961 *Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 89(2), 93-94; Dunlop, A. R., & Dakin, A. E. (1958). *Southland Boys' High School – Old boys' register*. Invercargill: Southland High School Old Boys' Association; Personal communication with Lynley Dear, Archivist, Southland Boys' High School, Invercargill.

¹⁹ Letter Rae (and others) to Keppel dated 14 October 1932; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3, NZCER.

²⁰ Letter Coffman to Keppel dated 3 November 1932; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3, NZCER.

²¹ Letter Rae to Hunter dated 1 March 1933, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²² Letter Hunter to Rae dated 3 March 1933, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b; Letter Hunter to Milner dated 3 March 1933, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

²³ Letter Fitt to Hunter dated 21 March 1933; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²⁴ Coffman included two pages on the need for a research institute in his report: Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D. Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4.

²⁵ Letter Rae to Hunter dated 24 April 1933, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²⁶ It was also intended to confidentially submit the report to Tate and Cunningham first; Minutes of 18 May 1933 Committee Meeting, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²⁷ Minutes of 14 July 1933 Committee Meeting, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²⁸ Letter Rae to Hunter dated 20 July 1933, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²⁹ Letter Rae to Hunter dated 1 August 1933, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

³⁰ During his visit to Oxford in 1934, Rae also recounted to Sir Michael Sadler of the impact that Professor Adams' trip had had on education in New Zealand in 1924: '... the lectures which John Adams gave in New Zealand in 1924 are regarded by students as a landmark in the history of education in the Dominion. And, not his lectures only, but his talk and his personality ... [and] how deeply impressed he and his friends had been by Adams' humanity, penetration, scholarship, patience, and humour'; Sadler, M. (1935). *John Adams – A lecture in his memory*. London: University of London Institute of Education; pp. 6-7.

³¹ Rae observed that, 'wherever I came into touch in the USA or in Canada with groups or individuals carrying out research work in education and in education conceived in its widest sense, the Carnegie Corporation was always somewhere in the background'; Rae, D. M. (1935). Report on Tour to the United States and Britain in 1934; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26, p. 4.

³² As Rae wrote in the cover letter to NZCER to accompany the report of his trip: 'Since my return to New Zealand I have been very busily engaged in my College

work connected with the re-opening of Auckland Training College, with the Teachers' Summer School, and with a very extensive course of public lectures on educational matters in other lands'. Cover letter from Rae to Hunter dated 30 July 1935; Rae, D. M. (1935). Report on Tour to the United States and Britain in 1934; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26.

³³ Duncan Rae: Talk to Education Board, Wednesday 19 June 1935 – An Experiment in Rural Education – East Suffolk; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Duncan Rae: Talk – Youth and Tomorrow; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26, p. 2.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁸ Rae, D. M. (1935). Report on Tour to the United States and Britain in 1934; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26, pp. 2-3.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

⁴⁰ Source: Auckland Local Committee NEF Conference Programme; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

⁴¹ The New Zealand Herald, 19 July 1937, p. 14.

⁴² The New Zealand Herald, 22 July 1937, p. 3.

⁴³ *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1937, p. 13.

⁴⁴ Letter Rae to Cunningham dated 9 September 1937; ACER, Box 4923, Folder 92.

⁴⁵ For Parnell (1946-1954) and then Eden (1954-1960).

⁴⁶ Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, p. 112. Later he shifted his attentions to foreign affairs. From 1961 to 1963 he served as New Zealand's first consular representative to Indonesia and in 1963 was bestowed with the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG). He died in February 1964. See Rae's entry by William Renwick in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5r1/rae-duncan-mcfadyen.

⁴⁷ Letter Beeby to Jacobsen dated 21 January 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁴⁸ Jacobsen had been an avid and highly talented athlete and sportsman and had represented provinces and New Zealand in a number of different codes. For example, in 1926 while lecturing at Wellington Teachers' Training College, he was a selector, the team coach and key player for the New Zealand squad in the Indian Army Hockey tour during April and May 1926. The great (many argue the greatest field hockey player of all time) Major Dhyan Chand played against Jacobsen during this tour and he recounted that, 'No account of my first New Zealand tour would be complete if I fail to mention the grand play of New Zealand's captain Norman Jacobsen ... Norman was a fine fellow and a great player, and had he been in India, he would surely have played in better company' (see Chand, D. (1952). *Autobiography of hockey wizard Dhyan Chand*. Chennai, India: Sport & Pastime; p. 4. The Indian Army team played two test matches against the New Zealand, and they won the first but narrowly lost the second.). He had also served in varying roles on a number of sporting committees, including the Auckland Hockey Association, the Auckland Lawn Tennis Association, the Hawke's Bay Rugby executive, and had been secretary of the Hawke's Bay Cricket Association. When he died in 1950, his obituary noted that he was on the committee of the Manor Park Golf Club and had been working for the last five years as a Sports Centre Manager. Sources: Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for

Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27; Norman R. Jacobsen, Obituary, *The Evening Post*, 8 May 1950, p. 8.

⁴⁹ He was also awarded the Sir George Grey Science Scholarship (in 1910) and was nominated for the Rhodes Scholarship.

⁵⁰ Lomas was an interesting educationist who also had strong progressive leanings. He studied at Otago University and was President of the Otago University Students' Association before going teaching. At the end of 1909 he (and A. G. Johnson) travelled to America for five months at their own expense to study the latest educational developments there in primary, secondary and normal schools. Lomas gave an address on 19 August 1910 to the Otago Educational Institute on the visit. He was appointed as an Assistant at the Wellington Training College in 1911 becoming Vice-Principal in 1923 when Gould was promoted to Principal. When Gould was appointed acting-Professor of Education at Victoria University College in June 1926, Lomas became Acting-Principal. However, when the Wellington Education Board sought to appoint him as Principal (with strong recommendations from both Professors Gould and Tennant), the Education Department vetoed the appointment on the grounds that Lomas didn't have sufficient primary school teaching experience, had insufficient skill as a teacher, was a single man, and 'a more efficient principal was required'. After a lengthy and public controversy, Atmore (the Minister of Education at the time) in 1929 over-ruled the Department and appointed Lomas as Principal. Sources: *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 15 December 1909, p. 5; *Otago Daily Times*, 20 August 1910, p.11; *Auckland Star*, 28 April 1923, p. 11; *The Evening Post*, 21 June 1928, p. 12; *The Evening Post*, 2 February 1929, p. 10.

⁵¹ Sources: *Auckland Star*, 19 April 1910, p. 6; Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁵² Norman R. Jacobsen, Obituary, *The Evening Post*, 8 May 1950, p. 8.

⁵³ It was reported in early 1914 that he had been appointed to the position of Science Master at Marlborough High School, although it is unclear whether he took up this position; *Marlborough Express*, 10 February 1914, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Armour later went on to become principal of Wellington College and was heavily involved in organising the NEF Conference 1937; Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 28 December 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁵⁵ For example, in 1924 Jacobsen corresponded with the well-known New Zealand astronomer Algernon Charles Gifford (1862-1948) who at the time was teaching in the science department at Wellington College. Gifford had recently published a paper where he argued that the mountains of the moon were caused by meteor impacts and not volcanic activity, which was the explanation at the time. Jacobsen wrote that his new theory had caused him, '... a complete change in attitude and let in a flood of light that has altered everything. I cannot but compliment you on the ruthless way you have overturned my old idea of things.'; letter Jacobsen to Gifford dated 23 June 1924; ATL, MS-Papers-0259-015 – Gifford papers. Also see Gifford's entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4g8/gifford-algernon-charles. Incidentally, Gifford and T. A. Hunter had been regular tramping partners and Hunter had given him a set of photographic slides of back country scenes.

⁵⁶ Jacobsen wrote that he was 'unanimously recommended' for the principal position at Feilding Agricultural College by the Wanganui Education Board (presumably ultimately being unsuccessful), that he had been appointed headmaster of Wairarapa High School (but that was overturned on appeal), and in 1927 had been in the final

selection for the principal position at Wellington Boys' College. Sources: Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27; Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 28 December 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁵⁷ Staff of Wellington Teachers' Training College. Wells, Robert E, 1905-2006: Photographic negatives, prints and transparencies of the Mokau and other rural North Island districts, and scenic views of New Zealand. Ref: PAColl-0001-2-2-150. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23160047>

⁵⁸ Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.) (1924). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific 1925* (2nd ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press; entry for Norman R. Jacobsen. Jacobsen's second book was not mentioned so presumably had not been published at this point.

⁵⁹ Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.) (1932). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (3rd ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press; entry for Norman R. Jacobsen.

⁶⁰ Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 14 September 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁶¹ *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁶² Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁶³ *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Coincidentally, Lismer and other artists of the Group of Seven painted in this area; *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁶⁷ Kinnear, M. (2004). *Woman of the world: Mary McGeachy and international cooperation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; p. 35.

⁶⁸ *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; also see Tagore's fulsome comments about Jacobsen below.

⁷¹ Rector Laurin Zilliacus on Santiniketan, *The Modern Review*, February, 1938; p. 228.

⁷² Possibly this was the six day 'fast unto death' started on September 1932 while Gandhi was in jail to pressure the British authorities to improve the social conditions of the Untouchable caste, although in May 1933 Gandhi again fasted for 21 days in support of the same cause. It is not known if Jacobsen actually visited Gandhi's location at either time.

⁷³ *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ In Canada and America, Jacobsen: went trapping with a famous Indian trapper named Jack Whiteduck; flew over many of the great lakes in Canada; worked in a dining-car to gain his passage to Winnipeg; travelled by train for hundreds of kilometres around the northern shores of Lake Superior; 'Stoked his way in a goods engine'; motored across the state of New York; worked with Norwegian fishermen in the Salmon fisheries at Puget Sound, Washington state; visited glass and steel works (and went down coal mines) to observe the working conditions of the workers; went under Niagara Falls; and, 'many a night fell asleep in his Indian canoe after long watching of the Aurora Borealis and its wondrous curtain of light'. In India, Jacobsen found himself in the middle of a riot between Hindus and Muslims in Bombay; went

turtle hunting in Karachi; and, was invited to hunt Bengal tigers in India and Burma by two famous big game hunters or shikars. *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁷⁶ *The Evening Post*, 5 October 1933, p. 13.

⁷⁷ Norman R. Jacobsen, Obituary, *The Evening Post*, 8 May 1950, p. 8; ATL-N-P-1774-8.

⁷⁸ From accounts of Jacobsen's nearly three year overseas tour it does not appear that his family accompanied him.

⁷⁹ Letter Jacobsen to Gould dated 28 February 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27; Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁸⁰ Letter Ansell to Hunter dated 8 December 1933; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁸¹ Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27; underlining and caps in the original text.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ None of the testimonials for the applicants were to be found in the files and presumably they had been removed and perhaps destroyed, or filed elsewhere as yet uncovered.

⁸⁴ Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27; without the actual supporting testimonials these statements are uncorroborated.

⁸⁵ Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 17 September 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁸⁶ Norman R. Jacobsen's Application for Executive Officer Position with NZCER 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁸⁷ The applicants included: G T Alley (Canterbury College), A G Butchers, P S de Q Cabot (William Boyd's son-in-law and he used Boyd as a referee), George Hill (Southland Technical College), H C McQueen (King Edward Technical College), J H Murdoch (Whakatane District High School), K H O'Halloran, and D M Rae (Acting Inspector of Schools at the time). Several of these educationists went on to have a close relationship with NZCER.

⁸⁸ In comparison, NZCER's summary of Beeby's application included: Age: 31; Qualifications: PhD (Manchester); Education Experience: Lecturer Experimental Psychology, Director of the Education and Psychology Laboratory, Locum for Professor Shelley; Present position: Acting Professor of Philosophy; Published research: extensive. Jacobsen's comments were: Age: 45; Qualifications: MSc; Education Experience: Teaching for 17 years; Present position: Unemployed; Published research: nothing complete published. Source: Untitled document, AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁸⁹ Letters Jacobsen to Beeby dated 28 December 1934 and 21 January 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁹⁰ Letter Beeby to Jacobsen dated 21 January 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁹¹ Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 29 March 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ In May 1935, Major Dhyhan Chand (the great Indian field hockey player who made special mention of Jacobsen's captaincy and playing during the Indian Army hockey tour of New Zealand in 1926) again met Jacobsen in Wellington and wrote that he was not a hockey player but a radio commentator and journalist. Sources: Chand, D. (1952). *Autobiography of hockey wizard Dhyhan Chand*. Chennai, India: Sport & Pastime; p. 4. *The Evening Post*, 25 May 1935, p. 7.

6

Progressive School Principals/ Rectors

[A teacher] should reduce to a minimum the exercise of his authority, he should let appear the natural traits of the child, he should bring out the abilities of his pupils, not by stern authority ... but by tolerance, understanding and a knowledge of modern methods of education.

(Pupil at Feilding Agricultural High School, 1920s)¹

Introduction

During the interwar years there were many school principals and rectors who were prepared to initiate and support progressive initiatives in New Zealand schools and communities. These individuals were a diverse group of primary and secondary school leaders who implemented a variety of progressive approaches to meet the specific needs of their schools and communities, and notably, were also driven by their own particular progressive interests. Many of these principals and rectors were additionally known as trailblazers within the wider educational community and came to influence policy and practice at the national level.

Of the many progressive school leaders, only four can be selected in this chapter to provide an illustration of the *diversity* of their practices, school type and national location, as well as their links to other progressive educators and organisations.² William Thomas (Timaru Boys' High School), as a well-known national figure from the 1940s, will be briefly considered to reveal his progressive background during the interwar years. Leonard John Wild (Feilding Agricultural High School) and his South Island mentor, James Strachan (Rangiora High School) will be examined in order to illustrate the importance of progressive thinking for rural education and rural communities in the country. Finally, Francis Garry (Parkvale School, Mt Roskill School, Northcote District High School), in contrast, is appraised for his progressive teaching but particularly for his progressive work for the NZEI and the teaching profession in New Zealand. Collectively, their breadth of progressive approaches reflects the diversity of the new education both in New Zealand and globally.

1) William Thomas MA LLB (1879–1945)

William Thomas is today well known for his chairing of a consultative committee in the early 1940s on the post-primary school curriculum and for its report, known as the Thomas Report, that included the recommendation of a common core curriculum for all secondary pupils.³ However, he is lesser known for his work as a progressive educator in the 1920s and 1930s. Thomas had been a pupil at Waimate District High School and was befriended by its principal, the new educator Dr John Smyth, who encouraged him to go teaching. In 1895, backed by Smyth, Thomas was appointed a pupil-teacher at the school for four years.⁴

After teaching at a number of schools, Thomas was appointed principal of Timaru Boys' High School in 1912 and started work there in 1913. Thomas was viewed as an inspirational educator and embarked on a number of progressive reforms, and, 'within months he had broadened the school curriculum to include agriculture, art, drama, music, woodwork and wool-classing'.⁵ This broadening of the curriculum reflected his wider views on the traditional narrowness of the school curriculum in general and the overemphasis on the examination system. As he put it in 1921, 'I am certain we are too much cribbed and confined by the examination syllabus – we must more and more emphasise the fact that education aims at developing the emotional and spiritual side of a boy's life and that the fruit of a wise education is seen in his enquiring attitude to life, his breadth of view, as well as his store of knowledge'.⁶ In the early 1920s, Thomas proposed using the Dalton Plan in the school – a method that he had studied extensively, and 'it appealed to his own pedagogical philosophy'.⁷ The school attempted it in 1923 but ran into difficulties; partly due to the Plan's need for the availability of plentiful library resources, sufficient time for teacher preparation and marking, and the 'total commitment from teachers'.⁸

In 1926 he was appointed to Richard Lawson's Syllabus Revision Committee representing secondary school teachers and their progressive recommendations were reported in 1928 influencing the radical reform of the school curriculum.⁹ Thomas retired in 1935 and did not appear to be heavily involved in the NEF Conference 1937 (other than, presumably, as an attendee). In 1939, he published with Dr Beeby and M

H Oram (a statistician) a text on university entrance and he wrote two key sections: the History of the Entrance Examination and Changing Attitudes Towards the Examination.¹⁰ In 1942, Thomas was appointed chairman of a consultative committee on the post-primary school curriculum and the Thomas Report provided the framework for the reorganisation of secondary education in New Zealand.

2) James Ernest Strachan BSc MA (Hons) (1883–1973)

James Strachan's contribution to progressive education in New Zealand during the interwar years was remarkable. He was born in Dunedin and attended Otago Boy's High School, becoming a pupil-teacher in Dunedin at the age of 15.¹¹ He attended the Dunedin Training College in 1903, gained an MA (Hons) in Mental Science from the University of Otago in 1905, and later, a BSc from Canterbury University College in 1921. His teaching career began as an assistant master (secondary) at Lawrence District High School (1906-1910) followed by science master at Gore High School (1911-1917).¹² Like many progressive educators, science was his passion.

In 1917, at the relatively young age of 34, Strachan was appointed principal of Rangiora High School, a rural co-educational secondary school in north Canterbury. Here, he embarked on one of the most incredible and enduring progressive educational experiments of the interwar years. Rangiora High School was a small non-residential secondary school established in 1884 and set in the rural township of Rangiora.¹³ The school's roll traditionally had been reasonably small – in 1917 it was between 90-100 pupils and even in the 1930s ranged from 200 and 400 pupils. The school had a small number of buildings (some in poor repair), a modest amount of school furnishings (including a piano, laboratory equipment, two or three typewriters, and a sewing machine), and an attached school farm.¹⁴

Strachan later wrote that he had gained the impression that the school staff and authorities had been struggling 'to give expression to fine ideals' and that fortunately the timing was 'favourable' for a new experimental approach at the school.¹⁵ He admitted that he was inexperienced, though very ambitious and he proposed a major

reorganisation of the curriculum to the school's Board of Governors. The Board approved of the idea and on the publication of a new prospectus, the school gained a record enrolment for the 1918 school year. Strachan proposed that the time had come for a new approach to education and he suggested that the lesson of World War One was that much of the old type of education was 'futile'; in sum: 'The old schooling was not good enough for children of the new era'.¹⁶

Strachan reflected that the social experiment at the school that he had started in 1917 was *not* the consequence of 'a progressive argument from first principles'; instead, it was 'an incomplete sociological experiment being conducted under conditions that are continually changing'.¹⁷ However, like the progressive educators overseas before 1917 and after, Strachan's primary concern was with developing an educational environment 'with a single eye to the good of the child throughout life' with the longer-term aim of helping children to lead fulfilling and successful lives in their natural and social environments.¹⁸ To achieve this, Strachan developed a curriculum model that included a broad general education coupled with 'functional developments' where he had sought to resolve the perennial tension in secondary education between vocational ('education for work') and cultural ('education for leisure') aims.¹⁹ Complementing this curriculum model was the development of democratic values within the organisation of the school.²⁰ Drawing on his background in science and other educational influences, Strachan described the model as an 'organic curriculum' that, like any simple organism (such as a tree), follows an 'organic course' of 'a series of objective community-life studies of progressively widening scope'.²¹

Arguing that the 'real' school for pupils as well as for their parents was 'the living world itself', Strachan viewed Rangiora High School as the 'interpreter' of that world.²² In that role, Strachan used the resources of the rural school to best effect. The school farm was not seen as a tool to teach a few boys farming techniques, but he saw it as part of the school's 'ecology' including providing an opportunity for scientific and technological work, as well as other educational benefits such as engineering, building, arts and crafts, and links to the community; in sum, 'an extensive open-air classroom, workshop, laboratory, and studio'.²³ The school workshops were used for

engineering and building work and supporting other activities in the curriculum. The commerce department was seen as the vehicle for the school which was ‘a productive, processing, and trading concern’ that had a ‘constant exchange of goods and services’ within and beyond the school gate.²⁴ The use of community surveys was a strategy to get the pupils to undertake systematic studies of the activities and institutions in their local community.

The ‘organic life course’ that formed the basis of Rangiora High School’s ‘integrated curriculum’ took the form of two principles that allowed for systematic educational studies as well as the linking of material with children’s own experiences: the biological principle and the concentric principle.²⁵ Strachan’s biological principle involved the study of five areas of human society (along with their biological analogy): a) the external conditions of communities such as geology and natural environment (the environment – ecology), b) the history of civilisations (ancestral life history – phylogeny), c) the history of society today (individual life history – ontogeny), d) the study of social institutions (structure – morphology), and e) the functional activities of society including science, technology and the arts (function – physiology).²⁶ The concentric principle was based on the notion that in practice education should start with children’s own experiences, and was better to proceed ‘from the better known to the less known, from what is accessible and knowable to what is less accessible and less knowable’.²⁷ Strachan suggested this might be achieved in an educational setting in two ways: a) provide a curriculum that is seriously based on community life study, and conversely, b) provide for the continuous survey of the school district and its community life.²⁸

These two principles in practice involved a curriculum structured into four parts or strands – science, technology, sociology, and the fine arts. Strachan noted that what made this structure different from other schools’ was delineated by five features: each group of subjects was a unified course; that the course was studied by all students (though with differences in treatment and content); there was constant reference to the real world; that the studies are problem based; and, that pupils were encouraged to set up hobby clubs to continue to pursue their interests and longer-term lines of enquiry.²⁹

These aspects reflected the ‘spontaneous outgrowths’ of the school organism – the ‘budding, branching, and flowering of a living plant’.³⁰

Strachan’s new approach to the post-primary curriculum was a radical departure for the early 1900s and initially the Department of Education ‘was antagonistic ... mainly due to misunderstandings’.³¹ Gradually, in the 1920s, the school gained official support. In 1920 the Prime Minister (William Massey) visited the school and favourably commented on its activities.³² The Department’s school inspectors were sympathetic to the experiment – they did not rigidly apply regulations, they accepted candidates from the school for senior free places, they backed the school’s appeals for financial support, and generally took a liberal approach with the school.³³ In part their support was based on wider approval of the experiment from the Reichel-Tate Commission in 1925 and the Minister’s support in 1926. Strachan wrote that Frank Tate had commented that the experiment ‘pointed the way to the new development’ in rural education and recommended that the Department assist Strachan in developing his work.³⁴ In 1926, the Minister of Education (James Parr) visited the school and was ‘converted to its ideals, and became an enthusiastic supporter of the School policy’.³⁵ In the late 1920s and 1930s, the Department continued to support Strachan’s work. Within the local community, most parents and pupils also supported the experiment, including the school’s Board of Governors, the Parents’ Association, the teachers and the wider community.³⁶

While the ‘organic curriculum’ was arguably the higher profile part of the social experiment carried out by Strachan at Rangiora High School, the development of democratic values within the organisation of the school was also an important part of the experiment. In 1921, a school Council was established in order to give pupils a greater role in the affairs of the school.³⁷ This initiative in self-government was as radical as the ‘organic curriculum’ in New Zealand at the time. The school Council controlled all the activities within the school and comprised representatives from the staff, parents and elected students. The standing committees of the Council included judicial, hobbies, sports, publications, grounds, indoor improvements, library, entertainment, trading, and projects planning committees. The Council was an independent administrative and executive body and was affiliated to the Board of

Governors through the Principal.³⁸ The Council was a strategy to assist the whole school community to work co-operatively, and the atmosphere of the school (especially between teachers and pupils) was frequently observed to be very positive and friendly. There was no corporal punishment and the prefect system and prize system were abolished. As one of the staff later noted, the school had developed a strong democratic vision:

We of Rangiora High School are honestly trying to make the world a better place to live in. We are young and enthusiastic and our teachers have not lost their vision of youth: further, we live in the Country and are a Democracy – a Self-government School.³⁹

When Strachan retired from the school in 1948, the new principal had different views and much of his work was dismantled. However, as Smart and Knight concluded, knowledge of Strachan's work had become very well known in New Zealand and internationally and the Thomas Committee in the 1940s resolved to use key elements of Strachan's organic curriculum 'as the basis for the post-primary curricula for all New Zealand schools'.⁴⁰

By the time of the NEF Conference 1937, Strachan was well known in educational circles nationally and internationally for his social experiment at Rangiora High School. He did not appear to be involved in helping organise the Conference and was not on the Christchurch Organising Committee. Earlier in the year, the Christchurch Chamber of Commerce invited him to be their representative on the Organising Committee but Strachan argued that he would prefer a non-pedagogical member to represent the organisation as it was important that interest in educational matters be demonstrated by industry.⁴¹ Strachan, not surprisingly, did attend the Conference and was on stage at the Civic Theatre for the civic welcome by the Mayor on July 13, 1937.⁴² After the Conference a whole issue of *New Era* was devoted to education in New Zealand.⁴³ Strachan was chosen by the guest editor (H C D Somerset) to write a piece on his work at Rangiora High School.

Also in 1937, Strachan gained a Carnegie Travel Grant to observe educational institutions in America. Strachan visited the United States in February and March 1938 and he wrote of the visit in a series of letters that were published by Columbia University Press some two years later where he recounted meetings with Frank Hart, Harold Rugg and Dr Chang of the NEF as well as visits to experimental schools.⁴⁴ Strachan reflected at the end of his trip that, in general, ‘never before has there been such searching, such bold experiments, and such generous support for new educational adventures.’⁴⁵ He had also heard many times during his travels in the United States, in schools and conferences, that education and democracy needed to go ‘hand in hand’ and that education protected democratic societies against totalitarian regimes. Strachan recalled that several speakers at the NEF Conference in New Zealand the year before had conveyed much the same message.

In 1947 Strachan was awarded with an OBE for services to education and he retired in 1948. The progressive rector, Frank Milner, concluded of Strachan and his social experiment:

His gift to his fellow teachers is, above all courage ... He has faced up to great odds – the static weight of conventions, local prejudice of Boards, parental snobbery, disfavour or at least apathy of the educational hierarchy, and finally the inexorable glacial pressure of the examination system.⁴⁶

3) Leonard John Wild BSc MA (1889–1970)

Leonard John Wild stated that one of his most important educational inspirations was J E Strachan and his progressive experiment at Rangiora High School: ‘he was the greatest living exponent of the principles of rural education – a man of vision, verily, a prophet’.⁴⁷ Strachan’s pioneering work was to influence his own innovative experiments while principal at Feilding Agricultural High School.⁴⁸

Wild, like Strachan, had a strong background and interest in science. He was born and initially educated in Southland before attending the University of Otago where he was awarded a BSc (1917) and an MA (1921). By 1920 he had already published several papers on geology and his early career path reflected his somewhat divergent interests between teaching science and being an earth scientist. In 1911, Wild was appointed science master at Marlborough High School, taking up a similar role at Wanganui Collegiate School from 1914-15. He became a chemistry lecturer at Canterbury Agricultural College, Lincoln in 1915 and developed a life-long interest in utilizing scientific principles and knowledge for the benefit of agriculture. In 1921, Wild was appointed science lecturer at Christchurch Training College and in 1922, was selected as the foundation headmaster for Feilding Agricultural High School; a pioneering agricultural high school designed to provide rural education to boys and girls from country areas.

Wild was headmaster at Feilding Agricultural High School from 1922 to 1946 and with strong support from the local community he embarked on an educational experiment in the North Island with the same vigour and equivalent uniqueness as Strachan's in the South Island. However, while Feilding Agricultural High School broadly sought to achieve the same goals as Rangiora High School, Wild argued – just as Strachan did – that educational reforms needed to be developed through meeting the needs of the particular school's community. At the school, Wild managed to realise a sound curriculum balance between implementing a rich and broad general education for the pupils while providing the thorough agricultural education that the community expected. Feilding Agricultural High School was a technical college that had two objectives: to provide the standard types of post-primary education for the district, and 'to develop a specialized course of farm training along practical lines' (which would require the purchase, development and resourcing of a farm).⁴⁹ The school's pupils comprised two groups, one taking an academic course leading to University Matriculation and either an agricultural course for boys and a home science or commercial course for girls with both groups taking some common core subjects. The school's roll on opening was 119 pupils (52 girls and 67 boys) with Wild and four assistants on the staff (by 1938 this had grown to 300 pupils and fourteen staff in total).

Wild, like Strachan, had the full support of the school's Board and was given 'ample freedom' within Department regulations to develop an experimental agricultural course. Wild argued that the conditions at the school 'were favourable for experimenting in other directions' and that he had been able to appoint staff who were not only enthusiastic but were 'willing to try new ideas'.⁵⁰ One particular progressive idea that Wild documented was an experiment in self-government at the school that he initiated in 1922. He had previously visited Rangiora High School and heard about the self-government experiment there and set about introducing the broad idea at Feilding Agricultural High School – not by copying Strachan's model but by developing a model that suited his own school and the community.⁵¹ Wild started by instructing his teachers 'not to worry about discipline as an end in itself' and he recommended that, 'if they made their teaching interesting and energetic, the problem of discipline would not arise'; he continued that, 'we would see if we could lead the pupils to interest themselves in the matter'.⁵² From these beginnings gradually developed a more formal system of form meetings, sub-committees and a School Council to run many aspects of the school, including pupil discipline that was handled by the Judicial Committee. Wild regularly reviewed the experiment and one group of fifth and sixth form pupils recommended that the system be continued and gave several reasons: it promoted 'greater interest on the part of the pupils in the school'; 'self-government is an ideal of all nations'; it encouraged 'unity of effort of pupils and teachers'; it encouraged 'one to let one's originality have play'; it promoted 'a better notion of self-dependency'; and, that pupils 'learn to give way to the greatest good for the greatest number'.⁵³

By the 1930s, Wild was well known in New Zealand as a progressive and influential educator and had developed strong links to NZCER and CCNY and through these, further extended his progressive initiatives in Feilding. In 1932, he was a signatory to Rae's letter to CCNY to request the setting up of a research institute in New Zealand.⁵⁴ At the end of 1933, NZCER was formally constituted and Beeby took up his Executive Officer position late in 1934. One of Beeby's first duties in the position was to host the President of CCNY, Frederick P Keppel, for four weeks in the early part of 1935. Beeby included in Keppel's itinerary a visit to Feilding, presumably to meet Wild at the Feilding Agricultural High School.⁵⁵ Soon after that visit Beeby wrote to Keppel to request support for a further experiment to create a 'Village

College' centred around Feilding Agricultural High School.⁵⁶ Beeby explained that the proposal aimed to make the school 'as great a force in the cultural sphere as it has already become in the agricultural'.⁵⁷

The plan was to appoint the progressive educator, H C D Somerset as a liaison officer between the community and the school and the school's technical building would be converted into a 'Village College' for the Feilding district (along the lines of similar initiatives in England). It was proposed that the new cultural centre would house the Carnegie Fine Arts sets, the borough library, the WEA and its activities, and other community groups, such as the play-reading group. In early 1935, Wild explained Somerset's role in the plan:

Somerset ... should be a sort of agent of the School in the community – an active and direct agent of the school in diffusing culture in the community. Now that ... would be an 'educational experiment' in itself; perhaps not a new one in that Somerset already serves in this way in the Oxford district. But the field here is larger, in that the equipment of this school, ranging from agriculture to the Fine Arts, is wider and the community ... offers more scope.⁵⁸

Beeby also argued to Keppel that the Council's support for the scheme was not based on its local significance but its role as an experiment that if it succeeded, 'might influence the whole future of rural and adult education in New Zealand'.⁵⁹ In addition, Beeby noted that support for this plan would also support the Council's proposed endeavours which included using Somerset as the 'core' for a series of investigations in rural education over the following two to three years. Beeby concluded that he had personally visited the school and the proposed facilities, talked with both Wild and Somerset, and encouraged them to put in the application for CCNY support.⁶⁰ Beeby's visit to Feilding clearly went well, as he later advised Wild: 'I look back on my couple of days with you as an oasis in a desert of desks and correspondence'.⁶¹

In the same letter to Keppel of April 1935, Beeby also provided full support for Carnegie Travellers' Grants for both Wild and Somerset.⁶² For Wild, Beeby noted that

Keppel already knew his record personally though he added that Wild had agreed to write a book on the development of the rural education experiment at Feilding Agricultural High School. This, Beeby added, would be a useful addition to educational theory in New Zealand and a trip overseas would give him the opportunity and motivation to achieve this.⁶³ Ultimately, Strachan was to write a full account of the Rangiora High School's experiment in rural education while Wild focussed more narrowly on the area of self-government.⁶⁴

With regard to Somerset's Travellers' Grant application, Beeby advised Keppel that Somerset was, at the time, the head teacher of the Secondary Department of the Oxford District High School, North Canterbury. At Oxford, he had had an outstanding success with his WEA class work and his work had ensured that the school had become the 'cultural hub' of the district. Beeby added that he was 'a most cultured person', a good author, and had many other qualities that Keppel had already personally judged.⁶⁵ Beeby concluded that, 'the Council believes that no one in New Zealand is more worthy of a Travellers' Grant than Mr Somerset'.⁶⁶ Unlike Wild, Somerset's Travellers' Grant was approved relatively quickly. Indeed, his trip in 1936 included visits to progressive schools, and he attended the Seventh World NEF Conference in Cheltenham, England. There he met with NEF members and that proved most useful with regard to supporting the organisation of the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937.

In April 1936, Keppel wrote to Wild to advise that his application to create a 'Village College' extension scheme at Feilding Agricultural High School had been declined due to lack of funds. However, his Travellers' Grant application to visit Britain, Canada and the United States in order to study agricultural education, the fine arts, and post-primary education had been approved and \$2,000 had been allocated for that purpose.⁶⁷ Wild was very disappointed, having waited a full year to hear the result of the extension scheme application (and knowing that Beeby and the Council had supported the plan to the fullest extent), though the approval of the Travellers' Grant 'softened' the decision a little.⁶⁸ Beeby was also very disappointed and wrote wryly to Wild that in his own case, 'there is no \$2000 to soften the blow'.⁶⁹

Wild's overseas trip in 1937 was at least the second he had made abroad to observe educational developments. In 1926, he visited the United States and observed the young farmers' clubs there that inspired him to establish a similar club at Feilding Agricultural High School which was open to pupils, former pupils, and adults.⁷⁰ He also met and became good friends with Professor John Harrison Kolb, the eminent rural sociologist, who was a colleague of Edmund de S Brunner, a delegate at the NEF Conference 1937. Later, Kolb was to visit New Zealand in 1938 under the auspices of CCNY and NZCER and Wild then provided background information on Kolb to Beeby.⁷¹

Leaving with his wife in April 1937, Wild travelled to England, Scandinavia and the United States visiting progressive schools wherever he went. He carried a letter of introduction from the Minister of Education (Peter Fraser) and a recommendation to the High Commissioner in London.⁷² Wild wrote regular letters to the school during the trip which were read at morning assembly and later published in a small volume for private distribution funded by 200 subscribers.⁷³ Wild recounted visits to progressive education institutions and those linked to the NEF/ PEA. In England he visited Dauntsey's School,⁷⁴ Oundle School⁷⁵ and Dartington Hall.⁷⁶ Wild also visited Welling Boys' Central School to see Mr Mansfield who taught bookbinding and made mention of the exhibition that Hankin had brought to the NEF Conference 1937 in New Zealand.⁷⁷ Wild then visited two Scandinavian countries and observed schools there including folk high schools and agricultural schools.⁷⁸ In New York, Wild visited the Carnegie Corporation and then spent a week at Teachers' College, Columbia University consulting and being consulted by experts in adult education, high school education and rural education.⁷⁹

Wild and his wife returned to New Zealand early in 1938 and due to the delays in getting his Travellers' Grant approved, he had missed the NEF Conference 1937. However, Somerset had been appointed editor of the *New Era* issue devoted to New Zealand education that was to serve as a follow-up to the NEF Conference 1937.⁸⁰ Somerset asked Wild to contribute one of the eleven articles and Wild wrote a general article on his progressive work at the school, simply titled, Feilding Agricultural High

School. Other articles in the issue (published in June 1938) included the experimental work of Strachan, H C D Somerset, Gwendolen Somerset and John Johnson.

Coming as somewhat of a surprise just after Wild's return to New Zealand, the Minister of Education announced that Feilding Agricultural High School would be the site of a state-funded experiment in adult and community education. Fraser argued that if the experiment was successful it would be 'extended elsewhere'. Fraser discussed the importance and relevance of the recent overseas visits of Strachan, Somerset and Wild and that he would soon be discussing with the Director of Education (N T Lambourne) the Government's experiment at Feilding. Fraser then went on to outline a scheme very similar to that which Wild and Beeby had proposed to CCNY in 1935.⁸¹

It was evident that Beeby had had a hand in persuading Fraser to adopt the scheme. He and Wild had finally managed to get the Community Centre off the ground after three years of planning and various attempts to attract sufficient funding.⁸² By this time, it was clear that Wild and Beeby had become good friends. When Wild wrote to Beeby later in 1938 congratulating him on his appointment as Deputy Director of Education, Beeby confided in Wild that he was very apprehensive about the position:

I felt pretty depressed about it for two or three days because I suddenly realised the appalling gaps in my knowledge and experience; however, I hope a natural bumptiousness will re-assert itself in time, but don't for heavens sake expect too much because I hate living up to expectations. I am going to sit down and say nothing for a considerable time until I have learnt the job.⁸³

In 1946, Wild retired from Feilding Agricultural High School and in that year was awarded an OBE.⁸⁴ Renwick succinctly summed up Wild's distinguished life by referring back to his dual interests of agriculture and teaching:

As an agriculturalist he helped farmers to become better farmers by developing their understanding of scientific principles. As a teacher and headmaster he opened educational pathways that enabled rural people to lead lives that were personally fulfilling.⁸⁵

4) Francis Albert Garry (1880-1965)

Francis Garry was a progressive educator who was somewhat different from the other school leaders discussed in this chapter. As a primary school principal, he was a long-time New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI) stalwart who was very vocal on issues relating to teachers' welfare and their professional conditions, and he sought to reform the grading and promotion systems, salary and leave entitlements, removal expenses, teacher superannuation, the employment of married teachers, and helping unemployed young teachers. On the other hand, coming from a Presbyterian background, he was more conservative with regards to other areas such as censorship in films, the role of universities in teacher training and some of the more radical progressive teaching practices.

In the early 1900s, Garry attended Victoria University College and studied English language and literature and political economy and history.⁸⁶ Garry went on to have a long and successful teaching career spanning 45 years in the teaching service. The first fifteen or so years of his teaching was in the Hawkes Bay area before becoming headmaster of Otane School, Hastings East School, and Parkvale School in the early 1920s.⁸⁷ It was reported that while at Parkvale School, Garry had improved the school grounds based on his view that pleasant environments had a wholesome influence on young people and that the school had become a show place for the Hastings region.⁸⁸ In 1924, Garry was appointed Headmaster of Mt Roskill School, Auckland.⁸⁹

Garry was a committed long-term member of NZEI, becoming seriously involved in the organisation from early in his teaching career.⁹⁰ He became a member of the National Executive from 1920⁹¹ and he went on to hold the offices of President of the Auckland Branch⁹² and ultimately, vice-President, President (1924-25 Executive) and Treasurer of the national Executive.⁹³ Garry was also a member of many other associations including, in 1928, becoming a founding member of the executive of the Auckland Educational Society⁹⁴ of which the young founder of New Zealand's first NEF group – Clarence Farnsworth Stratford – was appointed secretary.⁹⁵ In addition, he served on a number of important committees closely related to this thesis.

Garry had strong views on a number of educational matters throughout his teaching career – many progressive though others more conservative – and he could be outspoken if required. His position as headmaster of a large primary school, commitment to progressive ideals and the offices he held in NZEI gave him an influential platform from which to promote the new education, not only in the Auckland region but nationally. This discussion will primarily focus on his progressive views and achievements.

When in 1919, NZEI was discussing proposed amendments to the Education Act, and particularly in relation to extending the school leaving age to sixteen years, Garry questioned what children would be learning in these extra years of schooling and argued for the need for a considerable broadening of the curriculum. This led to a discussion around the purposes of secondary education and that schooling was not just about training pupils for the workforce but the creation of fulfilled human beings and good citizens. Garry argued that the education system now needed to comprise ‘a continuous and co-ordinated’ course of study from kindergarten to university’ and that if the school leaving age was to be extended, then the curriculum would need to be completely revised ‘from the bottom up’. In sum, even before the 1920s, such progressive views as child-centred learning, the complete revision of the school curriculum, a co-ordinated education system from ‘preschool’ to the end of secondary schooling (and further), education for life and citizenship, and the extension of the school leaving age to sixteen (and even eighteen) were commonly being expressed as educational aims by many educators within NZEI.⁹⁶

In 1920, Garry argued for the use of films in education. He noted that the ‘moving picture’ could be a valuable tool in classrooms and he proposed that ‘the Government be urged to establish a film bureau for the purposes of supplying suitable material for use in schools’. He suggested that this was inevitably going to happen and that now was a good time to propose it as, he shrewdly observed, ‘it always took some time to move a Government Department’.⁹⁷

Later in 1925, Garry gave an important speech on new education at the opening of the forty-second Annual Conference of NZEI – Garry as President was in the Chair. He argued that a revolution had been taking place in education over the last few years, particularly in relation to how children were now viewed. Quoting Dr Stanley Hall, Garry pointed out that schools used to be stagnant places with complacent teachers and pupils undertaking mechanical and formal work. Now, as Hall put it, ‘Instead of the child being for the sake of the school, we have had a Copernican revolution, and now the school, including its buildings, all its matter and method, revolve about the child whose nature and needs supply the norm for everything’. He then moved on to discuss the views of Dr John Adams⁹⁸ who, during a recent visit to New Zealand, had referred to the core of the new teaching approaches as ‘the increased attention given to the child, and his mental powers of development’. Garry discussed Adams’ views, including experience being the true source of knowledge, the importance of voluntary attention, and the place of self-discipline (‘Repressive measures to secure discipline of a kind, lead to opposition and produce anti-social tendencies’), and that modern teaching approaches needed to incorporate these principles. Garry concluded that, ‘It is now an accepted maxim that young children should learn by doing’ and while this has been quickly adopted in infant rooms, the upper parts of the primary school and the secondary school have struggled to implement this due to the many conditions that prevent its adoption in New Zealand’.⁹⁹

In mid-1926, Garry chaired a session of the Annual Conference of NZEI where the North Canterbury branch had presented a comprehensive report on the establishment of Junior High Schools. The report recommended that primary schooling should finish around the age of twelve years and that a further three year junior high school course would ‘top off’ pupils’ primary education nicely. This, however, would involve a thorough overhaul of the primary syllabus and the development of a new curriculum and that the secondary syllabus would also need a complete reconstruction away from a focus on the matriculation examination and towards a course ‘oriented towards the full development of the pupil’. At the session, T B Strong, the Chief Inspector of Schools, reiterated ‘the necessity of allowing children to develop according to their own aptitudes ... [and] It did not matter on what lines a child developed as long as the child became a good citizen’.¹⁰⁰ Garry moved from the

Chair, 'That the Education Department be urged to set up a consultative committee for the purposes of formulating curricula for primary and post-primary schools'.¹⁰¹ This motion was conveyed to the Minister (the Hon R A Wright) and later in 1926 a ministerial committee was set up chaired by Professor Richard Lawson. When in late 1926, the Syllabus Revision Committee was set up, Garry was appointed to the Committee as the North Island representative for primary school headmasters (he was also Vice-President of NZEI at the time).¹⁰²

The late 1920s saw a concerted push for educational reform with the Lawson Report and the new primary school curriculum, the 'Red Book'. In 1928, Garry gave an address on *The Curriculum in Relation to Life* that mirrored some of the recommendations of the Lawson Committee (of which he was a member). He argued that the curriculum was too narrow and rigid, that pupils were 'turned out according to a pattern', and that examinations dominated the whole system. He suggested that a wider curriculum would produce children who would become 'good and useful members of society' and he was pleased to note that the essence of the new syllabus was 'to encourage every child in the cultivation of individual thought'.¹⁰³

A year later in 1929, a special committee of NZEI reported at their Annual Conference a series of recommendations along the lines of the Lawson Report. Garry was vocal in his support of the recommendations. These included, viewing the education system as a continuous process from kindergarten to the end of secondary, that the whole system be directed by a single authority in each area, that class sizes be reduced, and that the stages should be 3-5 years for kindergarten, 5-11 years for primary, and over 11 years for 'secondary'. Several principles for secondary education were proposed, including: that from the age of 11-15 years 'no specialisation of agricultural, commercial, or industrial education be attempted ...', b) that the curriculum be differentiated 'to enable a bias to be given to pupils of varying aptitudes and tastes', and that overlapping courses in technical and high schools be eliminated.¹⁰⁴ In effect, the proposal supported a common core curriculum, an integrated education system, generic secondary schools, and differentiated courses based on children's interests. This was much of what was to be suggested by the Thomas Committee over a decade later in the 1940s.

The 1930s saw Garry's work for NZEI and other organisations continue unabated. Of note was his involvement with the setting up of NZCER and the Auckland Institute for Educational Research, his comments on the role of universities in teacher training and his role in the organising of the NEF Conference 1937.

In mid-1933, Garry attended the Conference of key educationists in Wellington convened by Professor Hunter to gain support for the setting up of NZCER.¹⁰⁵ After the founding of NZCER, Institutes for Educational Research were established initially in the main centres. In 1935, Garry became a founding member of the Auckland Institute for Educational Research and its membership included the now defunct, Auckland Educational Society.¹⁰⁶ The Auckland Institute held eight meetings in 1935, including an address by Duncan Rae titled 'Educational Research Abroad' as well as organising a public lecture by Dr Fred Clarke who was visiting from the Institute of Education, London. Two years later, the year of the NEF Conference, Garry was elected President of the Institute.¹⁰⁷

In 1936, Garry gained newspaper headlines for the firm comments he made at the NZEI Conference concerning the role of universities in training teachers. Unlike some of his colleagues, Garry argued that, 'He could not conceive ... of any body less capable of taking in hand the training of teachers than the university'. He continued that while it was 'most desirable for all teachers to have the highest cultural training and contacts', he pointed out that, 'after all, the primary object of the teacher was to learn to teach, and no amount of culture would enable him to teach'. At these comments there were apparently 'cries of dissent'.¹⁰⁸ While many progressive educators like Professor Lawson were supporting closer relations between universities and training colleges, Garry was not one of them. Later that year, the local organising committees for the NEF Conference were established. The Auckland Organising Committee comprised fourteen members and Garry was appointed Chair of the Hospitality and Transport sub-committee.¹⁰⁹

Garry took up a position in 1938 as Headmaster of Northcote District High School (a combined intermediate and high school) where he remained until his retirement in

1945. Today Frances Garry is rarely mentioned, even though he was an important progressive educator in the interwar years. He used his position as a progressive primary headmaster and his offices at NZEI to influence many educational reforms for both the teaching profession and the whole education system in New Zealand.

Conclusion

As a group, many progressive school principals and rectors supported and undertook progressive initiatives in the interwar years. In the 1920s, these trailblazers sought to find progressive solutions for the specific needs of their schools and communities and they had an important influence on national policy and practice. The 1930s brought a more stable educational landscape for their activities with the radically reformed curriculum, the establishment of NZCER, the educational reforms of the First Labour Government, and the inspiration of the NEF Conference 1937.

As such, the four school leaders considered in this chapter – William Thomas, James Strachan, Leonard Wild and Francis Garry – reflected the diversity of new education initiatives being carried out in the interwar years. Each sought innovative solutions to local school and community problems. As a group they demonstrated that progressive educational leaders in New Zealand could implement a variety of teaching approaches and curriculum models at the school level and these could potentially be carried out anywhere in the country irrespective of the type of primary or secondary school. Finally, it is evident that these progressive leaders had an influential role in educational organisations (such as NZEI and the Institutes of Educational Research) and also brought their progressive ideals to bear, through such avenues as government committees, on national education policy.

Notes

¹ Cited in Wild, L. J. (1938). *An experiment in self-government*. Wellington: NZCER; pp. 86-87.

² Four other important progressive principals or rectors during the interwar years worthy of further investigation were Colin Gilray (John McGlashan College), Frank Milner (Waitaki Boy's High School), John Murdoch (Scots College), and William Armour (Wanganui Technical College, Napier Boy's High School, Wellington College).

³ The primary source for biographical material in this section was Professor Howard Lee's biographical entry for William Thomas (1879–1945) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t29/thomas-william

⁴ Smyth later went on to become one of the most influential progressive educators in Australasia.

⁵ Source: Professor Howard Lee's biographical entry for William Thomas (1879–1945) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t29/thomas-william

⁶ From his 1921 end-of-year school report; cited in Smart, P., & Knight, C. (1985). *Pathfinders in education: Seven Canterbury educators*. Christchurch: Canterbury Institute for Educational Research, p. 59.

⁷ Smart, P., & Knight, C. (1985). *Pathfinders in education: Seven Canterbury educators*. Christchurch: Canterbury Institute for Educational Research, p. 58.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer; p. 5. *The Evening Post*, 9 December 1926, p. 9.

¹⁰ Thomas, W., Beeby, C., & Oram, M. H. (1939). *Entrance to the university*. Wellington: NZCER.

¹¹ Primary biographical sources: James Ernest Strachan's entry by Professor Roger Openshaw in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s39/strachan-james-ernest>; James Ernest Strachan's entry in Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.) (1932). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (3rd ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press; Smart, P., & Knight, C. (1985). *Pathfinders in education: Seven Canterbury educators*. Christchurch: Canterbury Institute for Educational Research.

¹² The dates for the school teaching positions are as listed in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. For the Lawrence District High School appointment, the *Who's Who* entry lists it as 1904 and for the Gore High School position, the *Who's Who* entry lists it as 1909 and the Smart and Knight biography states 1910.

¹³ Rangiora was established by the Rangiora High School Act (1881), one of the few post-primary state schools to be founded by its own Act of Parliament; www.rangiorahigh.school.nz. The population count of Rangiora from the 1936 census was 2,236.

¹⁴ The farm had been bequeathed to the school earlier in 1911; www.rangiorahigh.school.nz

-
- ¹⁵ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 64.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 65.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 4.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 5.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Strachan noted that some of his educational influences included: the lectures and essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson (for ‘the meaning of life, the significance of nature ... the urge and means of self-expression, and for understanding’); the work of Thomas Carlyle (for his practical philosophy on the ideal of service); H. G. Wells (for the role and responsibility of the teacher and education in society and the related importance of the study of world history); the progressive English headmasters Frederick William Sanderson (1857-1922) of Oundle (H. G. Wells wrote an unofficial biography of Sanderson) and Cecil Reddie (1858–1932) at Abbotsholme; as well as Walter Pater (1839-1894) (an essayist and leader of the aesthetics movement that advocated ‘art for arts sake’), James Harvey Robinson (1863-1936) (historian who advocated the more progressive view that historical research should support a fairer society), and in the 1930s, Guglielmo Ferrero (1871-1942) (the Italian author and historian known for his works on the Roman empire and classical liberalism as well as his stand against the fascist regime in Italy). In New Zealand, Strachan added that Professor James Shelley had been ‘of greatest help and inspiration’. See Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 7.
- ²¹ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 6.
- ²² Ibid., p. 16.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 38.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 39.
- ²⁵ See Tony Dowden’s work for a broader analysis of use of integrated curriculum in New Zealand; for example, Dowden, R. A. (2007). *Curriculum integration for early adolescent schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand: worthy of serious trial*. A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, Massey University, New Zealand.
- ²⁶ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 45.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 44.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 47.
- ²⁹ Strachan’s book provides a wealth of more specific material around the nature of the organic curriculum and its implementation.
- ³⁰ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 52.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 94.
- ³² James Ernest Strachan’s entry by Professor Roger Openshaw in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s39/strachan-james-ernest>.
- ³³ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 94.
- ³⁴ Ibid., pp. 94-95.
- ³⁵ Ibid., p. 95.

³⁶ Hollow and Allardyce's text outlined reminiscences from past teachers and pupils, and it is possible to get an impression of how exciting the experiment must have been, and how important Strachan's personal role was in that. One teacher described how she had just finished studying with Professor Shelley and gaining a position at the school in 1923. She recalled school walks, class meetings, the School Council, planting trees, school concerts, experimental farm plots, and visiting lectures (e.g., J B Conliffe). Strachan's wide interests and enthusiasm in radio, astronomy, geology and foreign affairs also enthused the staff (Phyllis Hollow, Staff, 1923-58, Reminiscences 1). Another new Junior teacher recounted how Strachan took the time to talk with the teachers about his theory of education and views regarding the development of self-discipline, character and good citizenship. He explained educational developments in other countries and the teacher pointed out that such ideas would not be surprising later in the twentieth century, 'but in 1920 they were a great change from anything practiced in New Zealand. Some of us found them revolutionary and listened at first in doubt' (Moana Frizzell, Staff, 1921-24, Reminiscence 5). Ralph Winterbourn found Strachan to be 'a man of deep humanity' ((Ralph Winterbourn, Pupil, 1922-1926, Reminiscence 6). Another pupil argued that, 'The expansive and liberal environment created by Mr Strachan was one where a young person could discover himself and feel alive and responsible. He was a man of courage, non-confirming, and an idealist' (Enid McIntosh, Pupil, 1930-33, Reminiscence 26). See Hollow, P. G. M., & Allardyce, T. B. (Eds.) (1965). *We Remember – Being reminiscences of J. E. Strachan and his school*. New Zealand: Privately published and copyrighted by the editors.

³⁷ www.rangiorahigh.school.nz

³⁸ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 113.

³⁹ From the School Magazine Volume 1, Number 1, and cited by Gerald Beattie (Staff, 1919-1955), Reminiscence 2 in Hollow, P. G. M., & Allardyce, T. B. (Eds.) (1965). *We Remember – Being reminiscences of J. E. Strachan and his school*. New Zealand: Privately published and copyrighted by the editors.

⁴⁰ Smart, P., & Knight, C. (1985). *Pathfinders in education: Seven Canterbury educators*. Christchurch: Canterbury Institute for Educational Research, p. 50.

⁴¹ *The Evening Post*, 3 April 1937, p. 8.

⁴² *The Press*, 14 July 1937, p. 10.

⁴³ *The New Era in Home and School*, January 1938, Volume 19, Issue 1.

⁴⁴ In Strachan's reminiscences he outlined meetings with key NEF members and visits to PEA experimental schools and these are some examples. During his visit to San Francisco and Los Angeles he met Dr Hart (Professor of Education, University of California) who had been a delegate to the NEF Conference in 1937 (although Strachan may not have met Hart personally as he only lectured in the North Island). Strachan noted that 'he seemed to know every educational movement in America and the men and women behind it' (p. 20). In Salt Lake City and Denver, Strachan visited a number of schools where the PEA was undertaking an experiment in project work. In the afternoons the students 'devoted their time to core studies ... [that resembled] the 'organic course' at our own high school'. These studies tended to revolve around English and Social Studies and pupils had absolute freedom of choice of activity (pp. 38-39). During his visit to Chicago he visited the Winnetka schools and their progressive education work there. Finishing in New York, Strachan was occupied with meetings, Conferences and school visits. Strachan attended a supper gathering

hosted by Dr Harold Rugg (Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia and delegate to the NEF Conference 1937). The guests were treated to an hour-long talk by Dr Chang (Nankai University) who talked about the international situation. Dr Chang Peng-Chun was a Chinese philosopher and playwright who sat on the Executive Board of the NEF and after the war, was Vice-Chair of the UN Commission on Human Rights (he contributed significantly to the development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Strachan then attended two education Conferences, the first being a large Conference of the Progressive Educational Association. Though interesting, he found it a little overwhelming: 'altogether too big and too complex' (p. 73). He wrote that Rugg spoke on the three stages of educational reform: 'dissatisfaction with the old order, improvisation to meet the new situation, and the achievement of a fresh designs'. Rugg argued that the PEA was still at Stage Two (p. 73). Strachan also spent considerable time at Lincoln School (which was associated with Teachers' College, Columbia) and Lawrenceville School in New Jersey (on the recommendation of Mr Dollard at CCNY). See Strachan, J. E. (1940). *New Zealand observer – A schoolmaster looks at America*. NY: Columbia University Press.

⁴⁵ Strachan, J. E. (1940). *New Zealand observer – A schoolmaster looks at America*. NY: Columbia University Press, p. 105.

⁴⁶ Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER, p. vi.

⁴⁷ Wild, L. J. (1946). *The valedictory address of the retiring headmaster*. Feilding: Feilding Agricultural High School.

⁴⁸ The primary source for biographical material in this section was William Renwick's biographical entry for Leonard John Wild (1889-1970) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4w16/wild-leonard-john

⁴⁹ Wild, L. J. (1938). *An experiment in self-government*. Wellington: NZCER; p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; p. 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; p. 4.

⁵² *Ibid.*; p. 7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; p. 81.

⁵⁴ Along with other progressive leaders, including Fitt, Shelley, Milner, Armour and Polson; letter Rae (and others) to Keppel dated 14 October 1932; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3, NZCER.

⁵⁵ *The Evening Post*, 2 February 1935, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 11 April 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Letter Wild to Beeby dated 26 February 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁵⁹ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 11 April 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Letter Beeby to Wild dated 4 April 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶² Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 11 April 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁶³ Wild initially put forward some possible ideas for a book that could perhaps be co-written with Strachan, including: 1) 'Whether it is worth teaching anything to the farmers' sons ... that we have here, or whether they should or may be allowed merely to grow up as participants in the activities of this environment with its rather unique equipment, material and human'; 2) 'Aspects of co-education'; 3) 'Aspects of social development as influenced by our system of cooperative (responsible, self)

government ... I have also a good deal of material on the teaching of civics, and so on'. Letter Wild to Beeby dated 26 February 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁴ Wild's book was Wild, L. J. (1938). *An experiment in self-government*. Wellington: NZCER, while Strachan's was Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER.

⁶⁵ Beeby had cautioned that Somerset was 'a permanent cripple through rheumatoid arthritis' and could only walk with crutches; though, with regard to his ability to travel, his wife could assist him. Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 11 April 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁶⁶ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 11 April 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁶⁷ Letter Keppel to Wild dated 16 April 1936; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁶⁸ Letter Wild to Beeby dated 12 May 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁹ Letter Beeby to Wild dated 19 May 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁷⁰ William Renwick's biographical entry for Leonard John Wild (1889-1970) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4w16/wild-leonard-john

⁷¹ Letter Wild to Beeby dated 8 February 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁷² Letter Wild to Beeby dated 18 April 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁷³ Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan Printing. Given the audience, the bulk of Wild's letters generally recounted: visits to agricultural and technical secondary colleges, public and grammar schools, farm institutes and university colleges; agricultural observations such as farm types and sizes, cattle breeds, crop types and so on; matters relating to manual training and home science; descriptions of general landscapes and landmarks; and, historical, literary and cultural events and experiences. Wild also had many meetings with agricultural experts, academics and officials as well as authorities in the area of adult education, such as the Chief Executive Officer of the British Institute of Adult Education. (England), as well as post-primary schools that had adult education facilities attached, such as Sawston Village Centre in England.

⁷⁴ Wild described Dauntsey's School and how in 1923, Mr Olive from the progressive Oundle School was appointed Headmaster; of note, Wild had H G Wells' book – *Sanderson of Oundle* – in his personal library. Wild wrote: 'Oundle School was completely reorganised and revived by its late headmaster – 'Sanderson of Oundle' – see the book in Headmaster's study at School House. And, when Mr Olive came to Dauntsey's he at once began to 'Oundlise' it; that is to breathe on dry bones and make them fairly rattle ... In other words, he got new science laboratories, encouraged field activities, provided workshops, encouraged hobbies'. See Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan Printing; pp. 54-55.

⁷⁵ Wild visited Oundle School and he observed that: 'Oundle ... is an excellent school, built up by the late F W Sanderson, who was Headmaster from 1890 to 1922. It has remarkably fine workshops for wood and metal, lathes, forges, its own electrical plant, laboratories, museum, library, chapel, farm. All the boys, even those taking severely classical courses, get a good deal of manual work'. See Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan Printing; p. 83.

⁷⁶ After Oundle School, Wild visited Dartington Hall and recounted: 'A young Englishman some 10 or 12 years ago conceived of the notion of experimenting on the

organisation of a self-contained community. The first thing required was money and that was found by an American wife. He then bought out-right a more or less derelict ... estate in Devon, comprising about 1000 acres ... He has developed the village community through several branches of commercial enterprise [including dairying, orchards, wool, cider, weaving etc] ... The school had its beginning as the necessary provision for the growing community, but it is now widely known ... I believe that the school activities are closely related to all the various activities and enterprises of the community'. See Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan Printing; p. 113.

⁷⁷ 'When this letter reaches you there will be in N.Z. a group of English educationists – some of the teachers will be away attending lectures, and you may even have the ill-luck to get a week's holiday. Well these English people have with them, for exhibition, samples of the finest work done in England in various lines of activity, and the book-binding exhibit was all done in Welling by Mr Mansfield's pupils'. See Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan Printing; p. 50.

⁷⁸ Wild hadn't planned on travelling to Norway or Sweden but on the recommendation of Ester Thompson (a Norwegian who was in the Home Economics Division of the Education Extensions Service of the Department of Agriculture in Winnipeg, Canada), Wild altered his plans. He was impressed by the number of different types of schools outside the education system in Norway and Sweden – including folk high schools, agricultural schools, and people's colleges – that provided different forms of adult education.

⁷⁹ He wrote that he had listened to a lecture by the Principal of the Horace Mann School (a demonstration school attached to Teachers' College), who argued the latest curriculum approach in high schools, and Wild couldn't help but comment on it: 'I was interested to note that the particular new thing which was being 'put over' at the moment is the idea of teaching English, History, Geography and Civics, not as subjects separately, but through the study of phases of human activity followed through the year. In all of which ... I recognized the old F.A.H.S. scheme tried out in IIIA some 10 years ago'. See Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan Printing; p. 146.

⁸⁰ *The New Era in Home and School*, Volume 19, Issue 6, pp. 149-175.

⁸¹ Fraser added that Somerset would go to Feilding to supervise the establishment of a community centre and work with adult education groups there such as, the WEA, the Women's Institute, the Women's Division of the Farmer's Union, and the British Drama League. It was also proposed that Somerset would organise a lecture series and that he would form class for domestic science and other areas. *The Evening Post*, 9 February 1938, p. 12.

⁸² A full consideration of the extension scheme experiment attached to the Feilding Agricultural High School was published in 1945 by Beeby's successor at NZCER, A. E. Campbell, under the title, *The Feilding Community Centre* (again published by NZCER).

⁸³ Letter Beeby to Wild dated 26 July 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁸⁴ The source for this paragraph was William Renwick's biographical entry for Leonard John Wild (1889-1970) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4w16/wild-leonard-john

⁸⁵ William Renwick's biographical entry for Leonard John Wild (1889-1970) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4w16/wild-leonard-john

⁸⁶ *The Evening Post*, 31 October 1901, p. 6. One of his classmates was the progressive educator, L. F. de Berry.

⁸⁷ *Auckland Star*, 2 May 1945, p. 2.

⁸⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 6 March 1924, p. 8. Garry and his wife were apparently keen landscape gardeners.

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 21 February 1924, p. 7.

⁹⁰ In 1904, he was a member of the executive of the Hawkes Bay Branch when the president was the progressive Inspector of Schools, Henry Hill. From 1910, he spent eight years as Secretary of the Hawkes Bay Branch (and vice-President from 1914). *Bush Advocate*, 18 April 1904, p. 2; *National Education*, 2 May 1938, p. 127; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 23 May 1914, p. 4.

⁹¹ *National Education*, 2 February 1920, p. 18.

⁹² *Auckland Star*, 17 April 1926, p. 11.

⁹³ *National Education*, 1 July 1938, p. 228.

⁹⁴ By 1934, the Society's Executive comprised leading progressive educators, including the President, G J Park (Principal, Seddon Memorial Technical College), and Professor A B Fitt, A B Thompson (lecturer in education), K H O'Halloran (Kowhai Intermediate), Mrs Schischka ('prominent Auckland educationalist') and F A Garry (by then Headmaster of Mt Roskill Primary School). Letter C F Stratford to Gould dated 25 June 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

⁹⁵ *Auckland Star*, 17 April 1928, p. 11. In the Hawkes Bay he had been the representative for the New Zealand Public Schools Assistant Masters' Association, treasurer of the Hastings Progress League, member of the Hastings Borough Council, and member of the Hawkes Bay Educational Association. Later in Auckland, he was a member of the Executive of the Auckland Headmasters' Association a founding member of the Auckland Educational Society in 1928, president of the New Zealand Federation of Teachers in the early 1930s (Frank Milner was then vice-president and the secretary-treasurer was George Ashbridge), North Island representative for 21 years on the Teachers' Superannuation Board, and member of the Teachers' Appeal Board. See: Boyd, M. B. (1984). *City of the plains: A history of Hastings*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, p. 285; *New Zealand Herald*, 6 March 1924, p. 8; *The Evening Post*, 14 May 1931, p. 13; *National Education*, 1 May 1924, p. 125; *Auckland Star*, 14 April 1926, p. 11; *Auckland Star*, 2 May 1945, p. 2.

⁹⁶ A summary of those ideas discussed at the meeting was moved by Berry and seconded by Garry. *The Dominion*, 13 January 1919, p. 6.

⁹⁷ *National Education*, 2 February 1920, p. 18.

⁹⁸ Then the progressive Director of the Institute of Education, London University.

⁹⁹ *Northern Advocate*, 20 August 1925, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ *The Evening Post*, 18 May 1926, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *The Evening Post*, 16 November 1926, p. 10; *National Education*, 1 December 1926, p. 419; *Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer; p. 4. Garry joined other progressive educators such as Thomas, McIlraith, Kennedy, Purchase and Wells.

¹⁰³ *Auckland Star*, 24 July 1928, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ *The Evening Post*, 15 May 1929, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Other attendees included Professors Fitt, Gould, Hight, Lawson and Shelley, along with other educational representatives such as Mr J H Howell, Miss Magill, Mr Tomlinson, and the Director of Education; Minutes of 18 May 1933 Committee Meeting, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

¹⁰⁶ The first President was D M Rae, the vice-President A B Fitt, the Secretary-Treasurer was Agnes Kennedy (a Lecturer at Auckland Training College), and Garry was on the Executive. The Auckland Educational Society was disbanded: 'A donation of £21 was received from the Auckland Education[al] Society, representing its balance of funds on going out of existence'; NZCER. (1935). *Annual Report 1935*. Wellington: NZCER, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ *Auckland Star*, 2 May 1945, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ *The Evening Post*, 15 May 1936, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ *Auckland Star*, 21 November 1936, p. 7. Other members included: President – Professor A B Fitt; Hon Secretary – Miss A Kennedy; and an Executive including Miss B E Carnachan and Duncan Rae.

Progressive Teachers

... I'm sure paying a heavy fine for my innocent interest in New Education ... I do not feel that I have done anything unprofessional other than expressing a genuine interest in 'this new freedom' ... Better, I say 'to go out on your neck, than to be forever crawling on your hands and knees', which seems to be the teachers' inevitable destiny.

(Brian W Knight, young teacher, September 1937)¹

Introduction

There were many progressive teachers who were seriously experimenting with 'new' ideas during the interwar years. This is not entirely unsurprising as training college and university lecturers were increasingly teaching 'modern' methods and using progressive texts while a number of trailblazing school rectors and principals were engaging in innovative teaching approaches and curriculum models that reflected their local communities. In addition, by the 1930s, a considerable amount of overseas progressive material was coming directly to the country or being discussed within New Zealand magazines, journals and newspapers. There was still, though, a disjuncture between both liberal national policy and progressive theory and its implementation in practice within the public education system. Limitations to actual experimentation in schools and classrooms came from areas such as the inspectorate, the grading system, the examination system and conservative headmasters and teachers.²

Despite this, there were many examples of progressive teachers, some higher profile and many lesser-known individuals, who sought to trial new approaches in their teaching in the face of significant and sometimes insurmountable challenges. This chapter will examine the varied experiences of five of these progressive teachers: two forward thinking individuals who are today mainly known from their publications in the 1920s – N M Bell and C A Batt; two who were progressive school teachers in the 1930s and who were strongly influenced by the NEF – G P Cooke, a primary teacher and A L M Perry, a secondary teacher; and a more in-depth illustrative discussion of the difficult issues that Brian W Knight, a keen new educator, faced in the 1930s (and after the NEF Conference 1937) as a primary school teacher.

1) Norman Murray Bell (1887-1962)

Norman Bell was a free-thinking educator, religious scholar, socialist and peace activist. He gained an MA from Canterbury University College in 1909,³ a Bachelor of Divinity before 1921,⁴ had been a research student in education at the University of St Andrews, Scotland (again before 1921),⁵ and was awarded a DLitt from Canterbury University College in 1928.⁶ Bell was somewhat different from other teachers discussed here as he probably didn't teach in the mainstream education system; instead, he was most likely a Sunday School teacher whose progressive educational views were heavily influenced by both religion and socialism.

In 1921, Bell gave an address to the National Peace Council of New Zealand (in a Unitarian Church, perhaps in Christchurch) titled, *Education for Freedom*.⁷ Bell argued that educators needed to be more liberal in their perspective and reject bourgeois culture and methods in education. He then criticised mass education in classrooms and mass examinations as being both absurd and unfair. Instead he proposed following the Communist maxim of, 'To each according to his need', arguing that children have different needs and require different forms of education. He suggested that each child was unique – 'a special creation' – and one of a kind. Each child, therefore, was in need of unique treatment both mentally and physically in order to 'be free from the intellectual, aesthetic and moral dogmas of its elders'.⁸ Bell then related these views to two aspects of educational theory and practice. First, Bell suggested that education was a lifelong process where 'all real education is self-education' and consequently, the educator needed to strive to provide an environment 'to each growing human being [such] that it can absorb therefrom just what it needs for individual growth'. Second, he proposed that parents could provide that form of education when in the future there would be, 'smaller families, lessened hours of social labour and the establishment of adult schools'. Finally, he argued that dogmatic mass schooling required punishment and rewards ('the pill had to be forced down or sugared') whereas with educational freedom for children the need for discipline disappeared.⁹

Bell then went on to outline three general objectives for education.¹⁰ First, that all children should be free to ‘attain individual self-determination (physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral)’. Second, this requires the abolition of the ‘artificial class distinction between teacher and taught’. In other words, teachers have no more rights to control pupils than pupils have over teachers and he proposed that all educational institutions needed to be influenced by the principle of ‘self-government by teachers and taught’. Third, equality of freedom involved not only the removal of barriers but the ‘positive aiding of the weak’. Finally, Bell proposed that for the young, this form of education would be most effectively undertaken ‘in self-supporting and self-governing communities’. He argued that the curriculum should be a search for truth across all branches of knowledge and include the study of current events through ‘a Free Press, financed by the community but controlled so as to represent all points of view’.¹¹ Bell concluded the lecture by arguing that experimental schools needed to be established as soon as possible to develop these ideas. In sum these were very progressive views and many of the ideas and principles reflected those being developed at the founding conference of the New Education Fellowship in France around the same time.

From at least 1920, Bell was a member of the Christchurch Socialist Party and was involved in the running and teaching of their Socialist Sunday School.¹² The Socialist Sunday School movement was an international movement designed to provide a socialist counter to Christian Sunday Schools and while progressive in nature, were viewed as falling outside of the traditional progressive movement.¹³ Socialist Sunday Schools were established in the major centres of New Zealand, and one of the earliest was in Palmerston North, founded in September 1920 and run by ‘Comrade’ Rod Ross. Comrade Ross explained the aims of their Socialist Sunday School in 1921:

Every Sunday the Sunbeams have the glorious gospel of Socialism explained to them. The teachers make clear to the Sunbeams how wrong and unjust the present system is, how the workers are oppressed and robbed of the fruits of their labor. We emphasise the spirit of internationalism, pointing out that all the peoples of the earth ... are our brothers, and have an equal right to enjoy their lives ... Socialist Sunday Schools are more necessary to-day than ever, as an antidote to the poisonous teaching of our day schools.¹⁴

The below photograph is of an outing in Auckland of a Socialist Sunday School in the 1920s. The wagon's banners read:

- Top side banner – ‘Socialist Sunday School to teach us freedom of thought and freedom of self-expression’;
- Bottom side banner – ‘We desire to be just and loving to stand up for the weak and oppressed; and,
- Top front banner – ‘We want a new society founded on truth, love and justice’.¹⁵



Photograph 7-1 Socialist Sunday School Outing, Auckland 1920s¹⁶

Bell was also a member of the National Peace Council of New Zealand which had close links to the Labour Party and the Labour movement in general.¹⁷ In 1921, Bell and C R Mackie made a representation to the Canterbury Education Board on behalf of the National Peace Council and they were reported to receive, ‘a most ignorant reception’. They argued that the Naval League had privileged access to public schools ‘to bang the tom tom’ and that it would only be fair that the Peace Council should also gain access to schools ‘to counteract this influence of barbarism’. One Board member suggested that there was little difference between the Red Feds and the pacifists and

that he would actually prefer the Red Feds while the Chairman of the Canterbury Education Board, Mr A Peverill, told them that, 'If the pacifists were not satisfied with living under the British flag they should go to Germany and live there'.¹⁸

Bell was also the Chairman of the Peace Council's No More War Movement of New Zealand. This movement was particularly vocal in the interwar years and attracted high profile speakers to their rallies. For example, at a No More War demonstration jointly organised by the Peace Council and the Labour Party in 1923, Bell reported that Robert Semple addressed the gathering.¹⁹ Bob Semple was then a radical unionist, and later was to become President of the Labour Party, an MP for Wellington East, and was chosen by Savage to be the Cabinet Minister for Public Works in the first Labour Government. The No More War Movement also lobbied city councils, parliament and ran activities such as essay writing competitions on the topic of peace.²⁰

Bell was also the editor of *Cosmos: A Quarterly Journal of Pacifist Thought* that was first published in the 1930s and which also ran a war-time series during World War Two. Bell continued to be heavily involved in religious work, including being a member of the Free Religious Movement of Christchurch and lecturing and writing on religious matters.²¹ Bell may not have viewed himself as a 'progressive' educator as such, although given the spiritual and socially liberal foundations of the NEF, his views and activities typify those of many others in the new education movement.

2) Charles Arthur Batt (1887-1945)

Charles Batt was equally as progressive and forthright in his educational views as Norman Bell, though he worked within the education system as a primary teacher (and later a headmaster). He was apparently known as 'batty bat' by his detractors though nothing could be further from the reality. He was not only a highly successful teacher (and headmaster) but he was also an author of many popular progressive articles and booklets and a regular speaker. Batt quickly became well known throughout New Zealand and was highly acclaimed within education circles with

strong support from the Director of Education downward. Unfortunately, like many progressive teachers from the interwar years, he is not well-known today.

Batt, originally from Christchurch, was a relative latecomer to education, studying at the Wellington Teachers' Training College from around 1917 (in his early thirties). Frank Combs later wrote that while at the College Batt was asked to assume responsibility for a group of backward children (Combs colourfully described them as 'obstructed', 'rejects', and 'retardates') and that he 'made a success' of the task and garnered 'more than local notice'.²² Batt continued his education in the early 1920s at Victoria University College where he studied for a BA in philosophy, economics and education.²³

Batt's first teaching positions from 1919 were in small sole charge schools in the Wellington Education Board area. From 1922 to 1928, Batt was a teacher at Thorndon Normal School. There he established his professional reputation, including developing widely acclaimed original approaches for teaching backward and problem children.

During this time in Wellington, Batt gave talks, wrote a number of articles in professional journals and newspapers, and published two popular booklets – with eye-catching names – that contained novel progressive viewpoints, an accessible writing style, and down-to-earth examples and applications. He was also an active member of a number of professional organisations. Batt was a popular member of NZEI and he served on the executive of the New Zealand Public Schools' Assistant Masters' Association.²⁴ In 1925, he was also elected to the Wellington committee of the Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy, whose President was Sir Robert Stout and the Vice-Presidents included Thomas Hunter, Peter Fraser and W H Gould. In that same year Batt gave a paper at one of their meetings on *The Evils of Adult Authority* and the following year, he gave another paper titled, *Soft Pedagogy and a Hard Life*.²⁵

By 1928, Batt would have been in his early forties though a relatively inexperienced teacher of only some ten years. However, he was an original thinker and his

contribution to professional activities during his relatively short time in Wellington, combined with his talks and booklets, had considerably raised his educational profile and he had quickly become well-known and respected. When he was appointed to his first headmaster position in 1928 in the Hawke's Bay, the Wellington Branch of NZEI held a farewell social in his honour.²⁶ Attendees at the function included Mr T B Strong (the Director of Education), Professor Hunter, Professor Gould, Mr Combs (then President of NZEI), Miss Magill (President of the Wellington Branch of NZEI), Dr Sutherland,²⁷ Professor and Mrs Tennant, and Mrs Martin (Secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Education) along with 'many inspectors and teachers'.²⁸ The Director of Education said that Mr Batt's work with special classes was regarded as having great importance.²⁹ Mr T B Strong continued that,

The Department of Education appreciated highly the work of Mr Batt. Department policy was perhaps lacking in scope for the unorthodox teacher and for this Mr Strong took his share of the responsibility ... Lack of originality ... was a weakness in the teaching profession and he believed that freedom for the teachers was desirable to allow them to develop along their own lines. The new Syllabus ... is designed to help in this, for more freedom was offered to teachers.³⁰

Professor Hunter followed Strong in his praise of Batt. Hunter commended his aptitude for special needs teaching and noted the importance of special needs schools for socially backward children to keep them out of the courts. Professor Gould added that Batt's work with 'the misfits in the schools' had been valuable for broadening teachers' attitudes and he reflected that he had visited Batt as an Inspector near the start of his teaching career and reported that he had great promise: 'He had got to the essence of the educational matter ... and that sympathy was the most important factor in the work'.³¹ Mr Combs followed on with the comment that Batt had persuaded everyone that the best way to connect with children was through their affections and this formed the basis of Batt's approach to teaching:

[Combs] likened Mr Batt to the mushroom of which we read recently as having pushed its way up through asphalt. Mr Batt in his writings and work has struck an advance note and pushed his way upwards against the asphalt of tradition, convention and officialdom.³²

Batt was not to remain teaching in Hawke's Bay for long and after a number of headmaster positions around the country he became headmaster of Edendale School, Auckland in 1942, where he was to remain until his death.³³

C A Batt's pedagogical writing spanned a broad range of topics over more than fifteen years and were tied together by his progressive views. Batt wrote four major booklets on progressive education: in 1925, *The Kingdom of Cram: An Unconventional Criticism of School Aims and Practices*; in 1926, *Hands Off the Child: With a Short Account of Individual Methods in the Schoolroom*; and two in 1931: *Tabloid Talks: Concerning Health ... Physical, Mental and Moral* as well as *The New Idolatry and Other Matters*. These works were widely read at the time and received considerable press attention. [See *Appendix 8* for a discussion of each.]

In the 1930s, Batt continued with writing progressive articles for newspapers and professional journals such as *National Education*.³⁴ He also gave radio broadcasts, such as his talks for WEA in 1933 titled, *Education As It Is and As It Might Be – The Gospel of Action*, as well as *Education As It Is and As It Might Be – The Question of Emotional Attitudes*.³⁵ He also continued with his addresses to educational and community groups, including the Wellington Free Kindergarten Association on difficult children and the League of Mothers on behavioural problems.³⁶ There is no available information as to whether he participated in the NEF Conference although he was in Wellington in 1937 and it would be difficult to image him not attending sessions there.

Charles Batt communicated a powerful progressive platform in the 1920s and 1930s to Ministers of Education, the Department of Education, the teaching profession and the public in general. He died in 1945 but left a legacy of progressive publications that still arouse educational interest today.³⁷

3) Mr G P Cooke

Unlike C A Batt, considerably less is known about Mr G P Cooke other than one fascinating letter that he wrote to Dr Beeby in 1934 just after the formation of NZCER.³⁸ Cooke recounted that he was a young teacher who had just resigned after a year's teaching at Napier Intermediate School in 1933. He continued that he was very pleased to be 'in this new educational movement' and he found the circumstances there very favourable to 'the new trends in educational practice'. However, he quickly became disillusioned:

I found that examinations, especially Proficiency, dominated and all the expressive side of our syllabus so necessary for poise and the counterbalancing of the prosaic side of education was continually subordinated, especially in times of examination stress.

Cooke argued that 'a great wrong, in fact actual harm is being done to the child's very real soul-life' and that is what drove him to resign his position and spend his savings on going overseas to see for himself where new education was going there. He had already organised some activities and outlined his interests to Beeby:

I am a member of the new Era Educational Fellowship [presumably a subscriber of the *New Era*], and a voracious reader of the new in Educational movements. I have gained entrance into pioneer schools in Germany where I believe wonderful results are being obtained. I have a B. A. degree and I hope to take Education lectures in London, but chiefly I want to see pioneer schools.

Cooke expressed that he was 'passionately keen' to see new education make an impact on schools in New Zealand and offered his services to the Council to assist in any way desirable while overseas. He gave as a referee Mr Strong (the former Director of Education) who might be able to 'vouch for my earnestness'.

There was no reply to Cooke in the same archival file and on the top of the letter was written, 'Noted. 27 Jan 1934'. Cooke left for overseas in January 1934. It was reported in 1935 that Cooke obtained a sole teacher position at Ostend Primary School in Auckland³⁹ and at the end of 1936 he won a position at Lyall Bay School in Wellington.⁴⁰ It is not known if he attended the NEF Conference 1937 in Wellington, but it would have been surprising if he did not. Cooke's story of progressive promise, disillusionment and overseas study reflected the challenges that new educators faced in the interwar years, and in many ways mirrored that of the training college lecturer Norman Jacobsen [considered in Chapter Five].

4) Albert Laurence Miller ('Whisky') Perry

Albert Perry's situation was somewhat different from G P Cooke's although his enthusiasm for new education was similar. Perry had a close association with Christchurch Boys' High School and from 1920 to 1923 he was a pupil at the school. He gained a BA from Canterbury University College in 1927 and an MA (Hons, second class) in French in 1928.⁴¹ He then joined the staff of Christchurch Boy's High School and served from 1928 to 1945, later becoming Head of the Department of French.⁴² Perry was known locally as an educator (and for some 3YA broadcasts)⁴³ though he was not by any means viewed as a national figure. He also gained a Diploma in Education at Canterbury College in 1930 where he took lectures with Beeby on Experimental Pedagogy.⁴⁴



Photograph 7-2 A L M Perry
(Christchurch Boys' High School, circa 1945)⁴⁵

In 1935, Perry was granted two years leave of absence from the school to study for a PhD with Professor Fred Clarke at the Institute of Education, University of London. His study ultimately involved an examination of English and American ideas in secondary education and how recent developments in those countries might inform educational reform in New Zealand. His topic was a timely one in light of the proposed reorganisation of the education system in New Zealand. [See *Appendix 9* for a more detailed discussion of the progress of this PhD, based on correspondence with Dr C E Beeby (NZCER), Professor Fred Clarke (Institute of Education, University of London), and Frederick P Keppel (CCNY).]

Perry arrived in London in October 1935 and his course of study at the Institute included: Principles of Education with Professors Percy Nunn and Fred Clarke; Educational Thought with Professor J Dover Wilson;⁴⁶ Educational Psychology with Professor Hamley, and Child Psychology with Dr Susan Isaacs. His research

investigations initially revolved around modern teaching methods and also the organisation of post-primary education in the United Kingdom with a specific focus on curriculum. Perry wrote that he found their curriculum approaches ‘somewhat traditional’ and he consequently, ‘extended my investigations to the Secondary Schools under the New Education Fellowship’.⁴⁷ His research approach at each secondary school was to meet with the principal to discuss the school’s special features and then undertake classroom observations with a total duration of approximately three days per school. In total, Perry visited twenty post-primary schools that received state aid in England and Scotland and twelve secondary schools run by the New Education Fellowship.⁴⁸ In other words, a very substantive part of his research in England and Scotland was devoted to new education approaches.

Perry also attended lectures given by eight new education school principals on their aims and organisation and attended eight conferences in London that focussed on areas such as child psychology, adult education, modern psychology and the use of film and radio in schools. He gave four lectures: to the New Education Fellowship he discussed his Impressions of Progressive Schools;⁴⁹ at the Institute of Education he discussed Modern Trends in Education;⁵⁰ at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington he talked about Life in New Zealand; and, at King’s College he lectured on the Values of Subjects in the Secondary School Curriculum. In addition, he undertook teaching experiences (at Winchester College, Brixton School of Building, and the Acland Evening Institute), and interviewed a number of eminent educationists, including professors, leaders of educational organisations, headmasters (including those at Rugby Public School, Glasgow High School, and the George Watson School in Edinburgh), four Directors of Education (including E Salter Davies), and the Secretary of the New Education Fellowship.⁵¹

Additionally, Perry travelled extensively to Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Poland, Russia, as well as around the United Kingdom and America.⁵² Perry also gained a CCNY Travelling Fellowship in March 1936 that enabled him to study ‘Modern Trends in Post-Primary Education’ in America, arriving in New York in September 1936. While in America he discussed problems in New Zealand education with staff at Teachers’ College, Columbia University, and

researched the organisation and teaching at various progressive post-primary schools in Chicago, Columbus, Denver, Des Moines, Madison, New York, St Louis and Washington. Perry spent several weeks investigating progressive post-primary schools in California and undertook an education course at Stanford University that evaluated the different types of educational aims and organisations in America. In 1937, he left California in March and arrived back in London in April and then New Zealand later in the year.⁵³

Besides working on completing his thesis on his return to New Zealand in 1937, Perry undertook a series of activities that raised his public profile. There were several newspaper reports of his thesis topic and completion including the involvement of CCNY and Beeby/NZCER. He undertook a series of 3YA broadcasts, mainly on general and educational observations from his travels in America, Europe and the United Kingdom. He gave public addresses such as an address to the Canterbury School Committees' Association on English Public Schools.⁵⁴ Perry also took on the role of Secretary of the Committee of Christchurch Secondary School Principals. In that capacity he contacted Beeby in 1938 to enquire after a NEF report on teacher training to support the Association's Inquiry into the Training of Secondary School Teachers.⁵⁵

A L M Perry's extensive overseas research into new education curriculum, teaching methods, and school organisation undertaken from 1935 to 1937 may have had some impact on educational reconstruction in New Zealand. Perry met with Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education and the Director of Education on 18 October 1937 to discuss his findings. He corresponded extensively with Dr Beeby on the matter and Beeby read and critiqued drafts of his thesis. He also met Isaac Kandel in New York who read sections of his thesis draft and would likely have discussed Perry's work with other educationists while he was in New Zealand for the NEF Conference. From 1938, Perry had considerable professional contact with Christchurch Secondary school principals and the School Committees' Association and undoubtedly would also have shared his progressive perspectives with his colleagues. In 1946 Perry was appointed Rector of Waimate High School where he remained until he retired in 1970.⁵⁶

5) Brian Waldo Knight

Brian Knight's encounter with new education was both inspiring and tragic. By 1932, Brian Knight had completed a BA in Education at Auckland University and he wrote that he had specialised in Experimental Pedagogy at Auckland Training College and had then gone teaching at Whangaroa Primary School. As he explained to Beeby in 1935:

I left Auckland with rather an Idealist outlook. At the end of two and a half years endeavouring to obtain the necessary 'results' I found all my ideals were suffocated ... after a long conflict between the Idealist attitude and that of the 'Practical' teacher, I feel that the only real solution lies in some definite form of experiment.⁵⁷

So began a sustained period of correspondence between Knight and Beeby on his progressive experiments. Beeby responded commiserating with Knight and adding that, 'We all feel dissatisfied with the system as a whole but the problem for the individual consists in finding the particular point at which his training and abilities enable him to break in'.⁵⁸ Somewhat encouraged, Knight wrote two further letters to Beeby explaining what he planned to do at any school where he might be moving to in 1936. His lofty goal was to 'give his pupils an attitude to life, a culture which will help him, which will change his simple rural existence to something above the primitive'.⁵⁹ He reflected that after working on the Proficiency Examination that year, 'I am even more keen to put my school work on a basis as far removed from the present one as possible'.

Knight proposed a scheme of History, Drama, Geography, Science and Literature (including arts, drawing, modelling, crafts, dramatisation and literary composition) that would require:

- 1) Education to be related to life ('The school to be as real as possible as opposed to present artificiality');
- 2) Instruction to be based around 'freedom of expression and self-activity';
- 3) A minimum of essential formal instruction with self-development as the driving force;
- 4) Viewing Arithmetic, Writing and Spelling as skills that are 'second in importance to the arts' ('means not ends');
- 5) 'Every child's mental, physical and psychological nature and abilities to be investigated and recorded, to be a guide to the T.'s treatment of the child';
- 6) Discipline would draw on 'the natural behaviour of the spirit' and be based on the belief that 'problems of discipline disappear when scope for true self-expression is provided and repression is absent';
- 7) A good library and plenty of arts and crafts materials etc.;
- 8) The school should be seen as the centre of culture for the community; and,
- 9) Seeing parent not as 'necessary evils' but 'a powerful factor for good in the school'.⁶⁰

Knight's scheme was very progressive in nature and he requested of Beeby and NZCER that they consider officially recognising his next school as an Experimental School. Beeby responded just before Christmas advising Knight to contact both Duncan Rae and Professor Fitt in Auckland first and that NZCER would need a much more detailed plan before providing such assistance.⁶¹

In early 1936, Knight wrote to Beeby to advise that he had 'interviewed' both Rae and Fitt and now held a position at Nitotupu, a small rural school in West Auckland. In the letter, he gave more details of the sorts of new education programmes he was starting to implement at Nitotupu and that the response from parents had been excellent.⁶² Beeby was, not surprisingly, somewhat taken aback by the speed with which Knight was moving and cautioned that, 'You must be sure that your inspector will approve before undertaking any major scheme. Quite apart from your own

personal position, no scheme could be successful with official opposition'. Beeby recommended he get an application in to NZCER for a research grant as soon as possible.⁶³

At the April 1936 Council meeting of NZCER, it was decided that Knight's application for funds for a library and equipment for a school workshop lay outside of the ambit of the Council's activities. However, Beeby advised him that the Council expressed 'the keenest interest in the work you are doing' and would be keen to publish any accounts of his experiment. Also, Beeby offered Knight the use of the Council library and planned to visit him at Nitotupu School when he was next in Auckland.⁶⁴ Knight replied that he was all the more eager to continue with the experimental work, especially after hearing that in his previous school,

The children tell me that they are afraid to move a finger, and that some days most of them wear bruises ... I blame the conditions entirely upon the inelastic curriculum which forces teachers to be slave-drivers in order to 'cover the syllabus' ...

PS I have also received a letter from a parent in Whangaroa, saying that her little girl was so bruised by her teacher that they almost made a police case of it.⁶⁵

It became clear that by mid-1936, Knight's experimental work was not working out as he planned or hoped. He wrote to Beeby thanking him for the use of the Council library, and reflected gloomily that, 'Teachers must not read or think. It's dangerous to have teachers imbibing all these new ideas. So I am hoping to cease being a teacher. I have always been a disgrace to the profession anyhow'. He added that, 'If I leave here prematurely I will probably write the school up, under the heading, "Bolshevism in the School"'. It also appeared that the difficulties of reading about and then planning new education approaches in the classroom without additional support were very tiring.⁶⁶

Later in the month Knight again wrote to Beeby outlining a proposal to write up his work at Nitotupu. He mused that,

Having had a taste of freedom, and a chance to see how difficult the problems are, my feelings are somewhat changed ... It would take years of work before one could really show measurable results ... Even if I wanted to carry on here after this year the school roll is very shaky. And more important, I have a hole dug all ready to jump into, an automatic shovel fitted to replace the soil ... I'm not a school-teacher, I lose my timetable. I'm a rotten shot with the strap – both first qualifications.⁶⁷

Beeby responded encouragingly that any accounts of his work would be received with 'careful consideration'. He added that, 'I am looking for statements of educational experiments that have really been tried out in New Zealand and I think I may well be able to use yours'.⁶⁸ Knight stayed on at Nitotupu School in 1937 and sent a report of his work to Beeby in March 1937. No response to the manuscript is on the file but presumably it was not accepted for publication by NZCER.

In May 1937, Knight wrote Beeby a 'last will and testament of one only sole teacher' that included the admission that he would never make a school-teacher. He advised that he had spent 'so much of my teaching time with victims of our splendid system' that he had approached the Welfare Department for a position. He noted that he felt guilty about the experimental work he had started and that, 'I am still quite confident that we were on the right track, but I have learned what it is to work "against" authority'.⁶⁹ Beeby replied that he didn't know whether to congratulate him or commiserate with him on his decision: 'I am inclined to think you are wise and can only hope that the formalism of the system you are going to enter is not as bad as that of the one you are leaving'!⁷⁰

The following month the NEF Conference began and Knight attended it. Knight wrote to Beeby enthusiastically after the Conference praising Beeby for organising the Conference and he added that, 'I feel that I owe you a beer as long [as] a bottomless pit'. He noted that:

My frame of mind before the Conference was a shade blacker than just ordinary black. I felt that my work at Nitotupu was a complete washout. You could have knocked me over with a feather when I found that Dr Boyd, Professor Hart, Dr Brunner, and later Dr Rugg were tremendously encouraging about it.⁷¹

After the Conference Knight arranged with his inspector to take on relieving work with older teacher in order to gain more experience. It appears he had a 'nervous collapse' brought on by what he described as, 'the conflict involved in teaching by the present two-gun method (text-book, and strap)'. He applied for a period of sick leave and was told by the Auckland Education Board that he needed to appear before the Health Department doctor before he could be re-employed, which he did.⁷²

Over this period of sick leave, Knight was not being paid. He met with Harold Rugg on the *Mariposa* on 20 September 1937 for a whole afternoon and he was very encouraging. Rugg was travelling back to the United States after the Australian leg of the Conference and Knight told Beeby that Rugg had contacted his 'seniors' and suggested that Knight be given more scope ('This after the authorities here had condemned my efforts!'). Knight mused that, 'I'm sure paying a heavy fine for my innocent interest in New Education ... I do not feel that I have done anything unprofessional other than expressing a genuine interest in "this new freedom"'.⁷³

While he was on sick leave Knight had approached Dr J W McIlraith (Chief Inspector of Primary Schools) who apparently 'found no fault with my general efficiency, or qualifications'. Knight had discussed the possibility of taking a special class of 'retardates' and using new education approaches with them. According to Knight, McIlraith 'even admitted to the practicability of the work I suggested I might do' though he declined the proposal.⁷⁴

NZEI were also looking into Knight's situation and were keen to 'take it up in Wellington' if there was a case. Rugg wrote to NZEI in support of Knight and planned to write directly to Fraser as well. In his letter to NZEI, Rugg wrote:

I am shocked to hear that he [Knight] is having difficulties with the educational authorities – difficulties which seem to arise out of differences of professional outlook between himself and these authorities ... [Knight's experimental work] merits continued support ... in order for the results to be adequately appraised ... Only my great interest in furthering the cause of New Education in N.Z. prompts me to take this step.⁷⁵

By October 1937, Knight was considering a number of future employment options, including applying for the new Education Officer positions in the Museums, following his interest in working with troubled youth at the Owairaka Boys Home,⁷⁶ and the Auckland Branch of NZEI had offered to negotiate with the Auckland Education Board in order to obtain a teaching post with a sympathetic Head, 'where my crazy notions might have scope for expression'.⁷⁷ In December, in a last ditch effort to find employment in the teaching service, Knight wrote to the Director of Education, on the recommendation of Fraser, seeking an interview with an officer of the Department to discuss his situation and proposals. As Knight put it, 'I am now therefore seeking a definite appointment where under sympathetic supervision I might have scope to tackle the many problems of introducing "New Education" into our schools. I feel that some such move is an urgently need felt by many of our enlightened teachers'.⁷⁸ He included a letter from Henry Binsted, the Headmaster at Owairaka Primary School, who advised that he would be prepared to accept Knight onto his staff (with appropriate approvals), 'for I am convinced he has a contribution to make to the adjustment of educational practice to the needs of our country ... My report to the Auckland Education Board indicates clearly my appreciation of his qualities and may be of some assistance in helping Mr. Knight with the realisation of his ideals'.⁷⁹

It appears that nothing came of Knight's direct approach to the Director or his use of high-level contacts to secure a teaching position where he could implement his new education scheme. As he told Beeby the previous year:

It would, as Mr Rae suggested today, be a pity for the service to lose these abilities, if I were suddenly pitched out on my neck. Better, I say ‘to go out on your neck, than to be forever crawling on your hands and knees’, which seems to be the teachers’ inevitable destiny.⁸⁰

In 1938, Knight investigated an alternative to working in the state system in order to implement his progressive ideas. In a letter to Beeby, Knight enthused about the support he was receiving for a plan to set up a private school.⁸¹ Newspaper articles later report that Knight had set up a private clinic and hostel in Epsom in 1938 with the aim of making ‘sound citizens out of nervous, disturbed children, who might otherwise have had no chance ever to lead a normal life’. The clinic, by 1943, was run by a group of trustees with Knight as director; it employed four staff and had ten boarders and ten day students. It was called the Institute for Individual and Special Education (later named the Institute of Remedial Education).⁸²

In 1939, the short-lived socially progressive women’s magazine, *Women To-Day*, wrote about the Progressive Education Centre that was also run by Knight and whose object was ‘to help parents to understand their children and their problems’. Its small journal, titled *Unfoldment*, was published monthly and ‘dedicated to the lives of children, parents and teachers’.⁸³

Knight was also active writing articles (often humorous) for newspapers (e.g., the *Sydney Morning Herald*) and magazines (e.g., *The New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*), and giving talks on radio and to community groups (e.g., on adolescent difficulties, modern psychology, mental health, prison reform, war neuroses). Whitcombe and Tombs published a book of anecdotes concerning his teaching at Nihotupu School, titled, *Nine to Three and After* that provides glimpses into the sort of new education approaches he was attempting to implement.⁸⁴

Unfortunately, it would take the New Zealand education system another fifteen plus years of new education reforms before a young forward thinking teacher could be permitted to adopt more progressive approaches to primary teaching. Even then, progressive practices still came in for close scrutiny from some of the more conservative inspectors such as the now celebrated Elwyn Richardson’s experiments at Oruaiti School in the early 1950s.⁸⁵

Conclusion

There were many examples of progressive teachers who were experimenting with new approaches in their teaching in the interwar years. Some had higher profiles like Charles Batt and Albert Perry while many were lesser-known individuals such as Norman Bell, G P Cooke and Brian Knight. However, despite a liberal policy rhetoric and the growing popularity of the new education, many teachers faced considerable resistance from more traditional inspectors, headmasters and teachers. In addition, there was the 'deadening' effect of the external examination system and a rigid teacher grading system. Some progressive teachers succeeded in trialling new approaches while others either gave up teaching or took time out to engage in other activities, such as studying overseas. Irrespective, these early pioneering progressive educators were breaking new ground and they smoothed the way for new educators in the future, such as the now renowned Elwyn Richardson.

Notes

¹ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 20 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

² The Vasanta theosophical school was able, to some extent, to introduce experimental approaches in the early 1920s under the guise of its 'special' character while official 'new' schools such as the Kowhai Intermediate/ Junior High School became magnets for progressive teachers and practices such as the NEF group founder, Clarence Farnsworth Stratford (considered in Chapter Three).

³ Website of New Zealand University Graduates 1870-1961, <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/university2.html>

⁴ Bell, N. M. (1921). *Education for freedom*. Greymouth: National Peace Council of New Zealand; Listing on cover.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Bell's philosophy thesis was titled; Canterbury University Library Catalogue.

⁷ Bell, N. M. (1921). *Education for freedom*. Greymouth: National Peace Council of New Zealand.

⁸ Ibid.; p. 2.

⁹ Ibid.; p. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid.; p. 4.

¹¹ In 1923, the Christchurch Socialist Sunday School established their own newspaper called *The Sunbeam*; *Maoriland Worker*, 20 June 1923, p. 7.

¹² *Maoriland Worker*, 7 April 1920, p. 2. Bell's archives in the Christchurch City Library include reference to a syllabus of meetings and senior classes at the International Socialist Sunday School, Christchurch, 1923-1924.

¹³ See, for example, Teitelbaum, K., & Reese, W. J. (1983). American socialist pedagogy and experimentation in the progressive era: The socialist sunday school. *History of Education Quarterly* 23(4), 429-454.

¹⁴ Comrade Ross added that the Palmerston North Socialist Sunday School had been repeatedly attacked by the local 'capitalist press' the result of which had been to increase their membership. He also noted that a British comrade who had recently arrived in New Zealand pointed out that eighty percent of conscientious objectors in Britain who were jailed during World War One had been Socialist Sunday School members when they were children. *Maoriland Worker*, 14 December 1921, p. 5.

¹⁵ Wording from the Te Ara photograph caption:

www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/26276/socialist-sunday-school-outing-1920s

¹⁶ Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: F-002175-1/2.

¹⁷ *Grey River Argus*, 20 September 1920, p. 6.

¹⁸ *Maoriland Worker*, 21 September 1921, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Maoriland Worker*, 8 August 1923, p. 9.

²⁰ Patricia Morrison, a life-long peace activist won the Ensom Peace Essay Competition prize (First Prize Senior Division) in 1933 at the age of eleven years and her prize was a book signed by Norman Bell. Obituary, Patricia Morrison (October 29 1921 – August 30 2011), <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/42/pr42-011.htm>. The Ensom Prize is still awarded annually by the University of Canterbury.

²¹ For example: Bell, N. M. (192x). *A gospel of universal compassion: Being another side of Christianity*. Christchurch: Isitt. This twenty page religious essay was undated

but presumably written before 1928 as it does not list his doctoral qualification. He concludes that, 'The life most worth living is that of the man who so loves his fellowman that the latter's need always calls forth from him unlimited deeds of compassion' (p. 16).

²² *Ellesmere Guardian*, 9 March 1926, p. 5.

²³ *The Evening Post*, 10 January 1923, p. 6; *The Evening Post*, 10 January 1924, p. 9; *The Evening Post*, 28 January 1924, p. 2; *The Evening Post*, 19 November 1945, p. 8. It's not clear if he graduated.

²⁴ *National Education*, 1 October 1926, p. 333; *National Education*, 1 July 1927, p. 256.

²⁵ *The Evening Post*, 29 June 1925, p. 13; *The Evening Post*, 29 March 1926, p. 3; *The Evening Post*, 17 June 1926, p. 13.

²⁶ *The Evening Post*, 1 May 1928, p. 11.

²⁷ Dr Ivan Sutherland (1897-1952) was a liberal educator had been a pupil of Thomas Hunter's at Victoria University College and gained a PhD at the University of Glasgow in 1924. A biography of his life written by his son has been recently published: Sutherland, O. (2013). *Paikea: The life of I L G Sutherland*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.

²⁸ *National Education*, 2 July 1928, p. 274.

²⁹ *The Evening Post*, 3 May 1928, p. 13.

³⁰ *National Education*, 2 July 1928, p. 274.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Auckland Star*, 2 September 1942, p. 4; *Auckland Star*, 16 November 1945, p. 6.

³⁴ For example, Matter, Method and Manner (*National Education*, 1 March 1932, p. 70), Paralytics-Social and Educational (*National Education*, 1 September 1934, p. 396), The Need for Educational Standards (*National Education*, 7 May 1937, p. 118), Freedom to Work (*National Education*, 1 March 1938, p. 67), On Being Fit (*National Education*, 1 June 1939, p. 210), Child Obedience: An Adult Problem (*National Education*, 2 October 1939, p. 357), How 'New' is our Education? (*National Education*, 1 March 1940, p. 53), Self-Activity (*National Education*, 1 May 1940, p. 138).

³⁵ Education As It Is and As It Might Be – The Gospel of Action, 7.30 pm, 2YA, Thursday 20 April 1933; Education As It Is and As It Might Be – The Question of Emotional Attitudes, 7.30 pm, 2YA, Thursday 27 April 1933.

³⁶ *The Evening Post*, 1 July 1933, p. 10; *The Evening Post*, 14 October 1933, p. 18.

³⁷ *Auckland Star*, 15 November 1945, p. 1; *Auckland Star*, 16 November 1945, p. 6; *The Evening Post*, 19 November 1945, p. 8.

³⁸ Letter Cooke to Beeby dated 21 January 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 27.

³⁹ *Auckland Star*, 20 March 1935, p. 8. Ostend is on Waiheke Island off the coast of Auckland.

⁴⁰ *The Evening Post*, 30 November 1936, p. 11.

⁴¹ *Canterbury College Calendar* (1928). The Library Services of the University of Canterbury was unable to track down the title of Perry's thesis, and the thesis is not listed in The Union List of Theses of The University of New Zealand 1910-1954 or the New Zealand National Bibliographic Database.

⁴² During his time at the school, Perry also took a keen part at various times in a range of school activities, including careers adviser, officer in the cadets, football coach, and master in charge of boxing and swimming, the stationery room and the school

canteen; Christchurch Boys' High School *School Magazine* and *Staff Notes*, August 1946.

⁴³ For example: *The Evening Post*, 3 December 1934, p. 3 – 3YA – WEA Session – What Life Could Hold For Us (25 mins); *The Evening Post*, 12 March 1935, p. 3 – 3YA – Talk – The First Theatrical Performance in Canterbury (15 mins); and, *The Evening Post*, 15 July 1935, p. 4 – 3YA – Talk – The Wessex Idylls and Ironies of Thomas Hardy (15 mins).

⁴⁴ Sources: Personal communications with Christchurch High School Old Boys' Association; *The Evening Post*, 17 February 1928, p. 14; Letter Perry to Beeby dated 16 October 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29; Christchurch Boys' High School *School Magazine*, August 1946; Campbell, A. T. (Ed.) (1981). *The years between: Christchurch Boys' High School, 1881-1981*. Christchurch: Christchurch High School Old Boys' Association.

⁴⁵ This photograph has been kindly provided by Christchurch Boys' High School and permission for use granted by the Headmaster, Mr McIntyre.

⁴⁶ Professor J Dover Wilson in 1929 edited *The Schools of England* to which the future NEF Conference speakers, E. Salter Davies and C. Norwood, contributed chapters.

⁴⁷ Report of the Activities of A L M Perry from October 1935, to July 1937, during Leave of Absence from the Christchurch Boys' High School; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ To date this lecture has not been located.

⁵⁰ Of interest, the same title that Campbell was to use for the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 proceedings.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Perry also undertook two foreign language courses in France and Germany. After spending six weeks at the Université de Poitiers he was awarded a Certificate d'Etudes Françaises and after four weeks at the University of Bonn he gained a Certificate in German Language and Pronunciation.

⁵³ Report of the Activities of A L M Perry from October 1935, to July 1937, during Leave of Absence from the Christchurch Boys' High School; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

⁵⁴ *The Evening Post*, 10 June 1938, p. 8.

⁵⁵ Letter Perry to Beeby dated 22 June 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

⁵⁶ Christchurch Boys' High School *School Magazine* and *Staff Notes*, August 1946.

⁵⁷ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 30 October 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁵⁸ Letter Beeby to Knight dated 8 November 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁵⁹ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 17 November 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁰ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 4 December 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶¹ Letter Beeby to Knight dated 23 December 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶² Letter Knight to Beeby dated 11 February 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶³ Letter Beeby to Knight dated 2 March 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁴ Letter Beeby to Knight dated 8 April 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁵ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 7 April 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁶ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 1 July 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁷ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 22 July 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁸ Letter Beeby to Knight dated 4 August 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶⁹ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 26 May 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

-
- ⁷⁰ Letter Beeby to Knight dated 31 May 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁷¹ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 20 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Letter Rugg to J Armstrong, Secretary of NZEI dated 20 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁷⁶ Owairaka Boys Home was a short-stay State-run facility for boys aged 14-17. The residents included state wards and those on remand or with warrants from the court. See, <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/contact-us/complaints/social-welfare-residential-care-1950-1994-vol-iii-part-1.pdf>
- ⁷⁷ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 30 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁷⁸ Letter Knight to Director of Education dated 7 December 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁷⁹ Letter H. Binsted to Secretary of the Auckland Branch of NZEI dated 6 December 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁸⁰ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 20 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁸¹ Letter Knight to Beeby dated 8 March 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁸² Auckland Star, 27 March 1943, p. 3.
- ⁸³ *Women To-Day*, vol. 3, No. 5, August 1939, p. 5. The magazine cost 5/- per annum and was available from 15 Short's Building, Queen Street, Auckland.
- ⁸⁴ Knight, B. (1940). *Nine to Three and After*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- ⁸⁵ Margaret MacDonald's PhD thesis on Elwyn Richardson provides a well-researched examination of new education in practice in New Zealand in the 1950s and points out the tensions between conservative inspectors in Northland and Beeby's Department staff who had designated Richardson's school as an Experimental School. MacDonald, M. (2010). *Elwyn Richardson and the early world of art education in New Zealand*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Canterbury.

Progressive Educational Administrators and Inspectors

[Smyth] became the pioneer in New Zealand of what was called at the beginning of the century the 'New Education' ... Over the whole of New Zealand, rapid progress in the new ideals and practice of education was made. For this educational renaissance it is not too much to claim that its first impulse came from the Summer School organised by Dr. Smyth.

(Edward Sweetman, 1939)¹

Introduction

The progressive policymakers, organisations, professors of education, training college lecturers, principals/ rectors and teachers discussed previously formed the mainstay of new education initiatives in New Zealand during the interwar years. However, behind the scenes were many educational administrators and inspectors who supported the development of progressive education. It is these two groups that this chapter will focus on.

1) Progressive Educational Administrators

The role of educational administrators who worked in all areas of the education system cannot be overlooked with regard to their support of progressive initiatives in the interwar years. The many sympathetic administrators considered in this thesis include directors of education, education board officials, teacher organisation administrators, research organisation and university administrators. This is not to say that all these administrators were progressive evangelists, but many were broadly supportive of improvements in the education system (administrative, professional or curriculum related) that included progressive elements, while a select few were clearly more actively progressive in their orientation.

In the Department of Education, there were a number of directors of education that supported progressive initiatives and these built on the progressive reforms previously initiated by Hogben. Those discussed in this thesis included Mr Caughley in the early 1920s, Mr T B Strong in the late 1920s, Mr N T Lambourne during the organisation and running of the NEF Conference 1937, and of course, Dr Beeby after that.

The regional Education Boards tended to be more conservative in their views although some were more progressive than others, especially the Wanganui Education Board (the progressive work in that district is covered elsewhere in this thesis). Individual members of boards were also progressive in their approach and Thomas U Wells MA was an important illustration of this. He had been President of NZEI and had been an outstanding teacher and headmaster of Richmond Road School, Auckland in the early 1920s before being appointed to the Auckland Education Board in 1923, becoming its Chairman. He had travelled overseas and observed educational developments (especially the Junior High School system), he had served on the General Council of Education, he had been a member of the Senate of Auckland University College, as well as being the representative of the country's education boards on the Lawson Committee from 1926-28. In 1935, Hunter appointed him to the Council of NZCER and in 1936 Wells was a member of the Auckland Local Organising Committee for the NEF Conference (chairing its Finance sub-Committee).

Outside of the Education Department, other educational administrators played a significant part in promoting progressive developments. Administrators at teacher organisations such as NZEI supported progressive reforms and an exceptional administrator considered throughout this thesis was their long-serving Secretary George Ashbridge who worked with 36 Presidents of NZEI and four Directors of Education. Ashbridge organised the administrative side of the NEF Conference in 1937.

In addition, administrators at research organisations also played a critical role in promoting new education, especially with the founding of NZCER in 1933. NZCER became a magnet for progressive educators and research projects and C E Beeby's

role from 1934 and A E Campbell's role in the late 1930s onward were critical for the implementation of new education in New Zealand.²

Finally, there were a number of outstanding progressive university administrators, including Professor James Hight and Professor Thomas Hunter. Thomas Hunter, in particular, has been chosen for more in-depth study for his links to the CCNY, NZCER, the NEF, and the NEF Conference 1937.

Professor Thomas Alexander Hunter KBE, MA, MSc, HonLittD (1876-1953)

Professor Hunter deserves serious attention as he was one of the most progressive, adroit and high profile educational administrators in New Zealand during the interwar years. He rose to become a renowned leader in a number of fields including the university sector, adult education, and educational research. In each area he worked tirelessly behind the scenes to promote progressive educational reform and he made a substantial contribution to many areas covered by this thesis.

Professor Hunter was one of the most outstanding educational administrators, pioneering psychologists and educational reformers of the interwar years.³ His historical contribution to progressive education is unfortunately often overshadowed by more higher profile educators such as Beeby and Shelley. While Hunter attained some of the highest positions in the education field, he also seemed to avoid the limelight. During his career he worked strategically and selflessly behind the scenes and made an impact that has been described as 'sharp, salutary, long-continued and decisive'.⁴ Surprisingly, there is not very much primary source material on Hunter available other than formal correspondence from positions held, committees attended, official minutes, decisions made and a handful of publically available lectures and addresses. As Professor C L Bailey was reported as saying, 'Hunter would never put anything on paper unless he absolutely had to'.⁵ When one reads his relatively scant biographical material, one gains a sense that he was also a very politically astute person, highly 'tactical and strategic', and one who achieved much out of the public gaze. This was combined with a forcefulness, veracity, inexhaustible energy and a strong work ethic; these qualities combined led him to be an exceptionally gifted, high achieving administrator.



Photograph 8-1 Professor Thomas Alexander Hunter
(Publicity photograph for the NEF Conference 1937)⁶

Hunter was born in England and his family emigrated to Dunedin when he was five. He was educated at the Otago University College and gained double firsts in arts (MA, 1899) and science (MSc, 1904) focusing on mental and moral philosophy. He taught briefly at Waitaki Boys' High School before being appointed as a lecturer in mental science and economics in 1904 at Victoria University College. Hunter displayed an interest in the leading German experimental psychologists and consulted George von Zedlitz for assistance in learning to read their untranslated works in German. In 1906/7, Hunter was given leave for nine months to travel to Europe and the United States to visit leading experimental psychologists and their laboratories and his experiences there shaped his future views on the problems of psychology and reinforced his lifelong desire to engage with new ideas and trends. In Europe he

visited the ‘father’ of experimental psychology William Wundt at Leipzig, and also the universities at Berlin, Göttingen, and Professor Kulpe at Würzburg. In Britain he visited William H R Rivers at Cambridge. In the United States, Hunter based himself with E Bradford Titchener at Cornell University (with whom Hunter continued to correspond for many years) as well as visiting other psychological laboratories at Harvard, John Hopkins, Pennsylvania, and Professors Sanford at Clark and Judd at Yale.⁷ In 1907, Hunter convinced the Victoria University College Council to fund the establishment of Australasia’s first psychological laboratory where Hunter sought ‘to develop experimental methods and to obtain university recognition for this work ... [and] to stimulate the University to accept psychology as a separate field for study and research’ (then coming under the umbrella of philosophy).⁸

Later in 1907 Hunter was appointed to the new Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Victoria University College. Hunter became secretary of the New Zealand University Reform Association in 1910 which sought to give academics more influence over university policy. He was also appointed a member of the senate of the University of New Zealand in 1912, where he initially was regarded as ‘a radical and even as an iconoclast’⁹ though later becoming known for his principled approaches, political astuteness and the ability to manage factional groups.

In 1915, Hunter became heavily involved in the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA), becoming President of WEA (1916-19) and Director of WEA classes (1924-29), and Peter Fraser and Harry Holland were among his early students.¹⁰ Late in 1916, Fraser was convicted of charges of publically ‘making seditious utterances’ that hindered the Government’s recently introduced conscription for WW1 and he was jailed for a year.¹¹ Fraser spent his time reading widely and would go into the prison yard ‘with armfuls of books and newspapers that friends had brought him’, lending them to others.¹² Hunter was one of these friends and apparently visited him every week to supply him with books.¹³

A handful of Hunter’s lectures at the time on social, political and economic areas are publically available and he was widely regarded as a gifted and influential lecturer. For example, in February 1917 he gave an address to the Social Democratic Party

titled *Education or Downfall?*¹⁴ The address was a discussion of the importance of quality life-long education for the good of society and the dangers of not pursuing this. Hunter argued that, 'Education in the true sense is merely the unfolding of the ideas and the ideals of the community, and that is essentially moral; it is character building'. He warned that unless society raised its moral character and set out 'a stimulating vision of what social welfare means, it hangs a millstone round the neck of the next generation'.¹⁵ Hunter observed that current educational provision was too narrow and failed to develop 'good' people with a strong civic spirit who had a *duty* to serve society and that in return each citizen of a society should be a worker ('no idle rich and no unemployed'). Drawing on Froude, Hunter suggested that in the battle between capital and labour, no-one in public office should be there to support the amassing of personal wealth. As the new educators were also proposing in Europe during World War One, Hunter argued that the future of society is bound up with increased education: 'Our main task and duty [is to] awaken the popular mind to the necessity of educational reform and for enthusiasm for education, if our nation is to survive'.¹⁶ Hunter formulated a number of progressive recommendations for improving education that reflected not only his psychological background but his liberal educational attitudes:

- 1) 'Thorough examination, physical and mental, of all our children ... [by this he meant 'scientific' examination and analysis].
- 2) Smaller schools and smaller classes – more individual treatment of pupils.
- 3) The creation of a teaching profession thoroughly trained and adequately remunerated.
- 4) Thorough system of continuation schools – compulsory education to the age of 17.'¹⁷

In finishing the address, Hunter concluded prophetically (as the new educationists in Europe did) that after the War, 'our children and their children must live in amity with other nations if this hell is not to repeat itself' and, in noting that often the worst enemies of a nation lie within the country, that 'Every war leaves such miserable legacies, fatal seeds of future war and revolution, unless the civic virtues of the people

save the State in time'.¹⁸ Hunter's solution was to enrich the soul of the nation through better education: 'The young have a right to the chances of self-development, to mental training, to all the means of happiness we can give them'.¹⁹

When Hunter was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand (1929-1947) in 1929 he was better placed to influence progressive reforms. In 1931 he embarked on a five month trip to Europe and the United States accompanied by Professor James Hight (Rector of Canterbury University College). During this trip they both came into contact with key members of the NEF and CCNY which was to prove critically important for the founding of NZCER and the organisation of the NEF Conference 1937.²⁰ Hunter's first major engagement was to represent the University of New Zealand at the Congress of Empire Universities that was held in London and Edinburgh in July.²¹ While in Scotland, Hunter visited Aberdeen, the University of St Andrews, and the University of Edinburgh where he spent time with the renowned experimental educational psychologist, Sir Godfrey Thomson (1881-1955).²²



Photograph 8-2 Professor and Mrs Thomson with Professor T A Hunter (middle)

July/ August 1931²³

Hunter then represented the New Zealand Government²⁴ at the New Education Fellowship's British Commonwealth Education Conference held later in July 1931 at Bedford College, London (the well-known progressive New Zealand rector Frank Milner also attended²⁵ as did James Hight).²⁶ The Conference, titled Education in a Changing Empire, was organised by Sir Percy Nunn (President), Wyatt Rawson (Programme Secretary) and Clare Soper (Organising Secretary) and was a high profile event. Principal lectures were given by Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Percy Nunn, Dr E G Malherbe (South Africa), Dr Robert Wallace (Alberta), and the Rt Hon W G A Ormsby Gore. Visits to local schools were arranged and there were exhibitions of school work. Prominent among the relatively short list of patrons and supporters were several notable progressive educators: the Rt Hon Lord Eustace Percy (former President of the Board of Education), J H Badley (Bedales School), Professor Fred Clarke (then at McGill University), Mr E Salter Davies (Director of Education for Kent), Mr and Mrs L Elmhirst (Dartington Hall School), Dr L Haden Guest (former MP and educational author), Frank Milner (Waitaki Boys' High School), and Frank Tate (former Director of Education for Victoria). The NEF had a high profile within educational circles at this time and the Conference was sandwiched between their fifth World Conference in Elsinore 1929 (Towards a New Education) and their sixth World Conference in Nice 1932 (Education and Social Change).²⁷

In August 1931, Hunter and Hight left for the United States.²⁸ They had to 'seriously shorten' their trip to Europe in order to accommodate an invitation from representatives of the CCNY to discuss University of New Zealand business, specifically funding to increase the collections of the University College libraries in line with CCNY policy.²⁹ Hunter and Hight had 'long conferences' in New York with Dr Keppel (President of CCNY) and his assistant J Russell on these matters.³⁰ Hunter also visited the Grand Canyon, Santa Fe, and Los Angeles where he spent some time at the University of California. It is possible that he met Frank Hart (an NEF Conference 1937 delegate) there and perhaps even the Australian progressive educator, George Browne who was there for most of 1931 as a visiting professor.

Two months later, the CCNY sent another visitor to New Zealand – Lotus Delta Coffman – who travelled the country in November 1931. Hunter had previously

come to the attention of the CCNY (if not earlier) after a previous CCNY visitor in 1928, James Earl Russell, wrote in his report that Victoria University College included some good academics, and 'notably Professor Thomas Hunter (Philosophy and Psychology) who is both able and human'.³¹ This time, Coffman observed that Hunter appeared to be the most able person on the staff at the College.³² During this visit Coffman also met Professor Richard Lawson at the Otago University College with whom he discussed the idea of a research institute in New Zealand and Coffman requested that Lawson draft a scheme for an institute.³³ In the report of his visit, Coffman included a two page discussion of a research institute along the lines that Lawson had suggested.³⁴ While the seed for this idea was planted by Cunningham at ACER at least as early as May 1931, it is tempting to speculate that Hunter might have supported and further promoted the notion during his visit with Keppel in August 1931 and that that may have contributed to it becoming one of the purposes of Coffman's visit in November of that year.

Whatever the precise early origins of NZCER, Hunter had clearly gained the respect of Keppel and CCNY which was to prove critical for the establishment of what was to become the most progressive research institute in the country, NZCER, and for the organisation of the NEF Conference in 1937. After Coffman's tour in late 1931, Governor-General Bledisloe was involved in further discussions with CCNY on the feasibility and nature of a research institute in 1932, and after further discussions between Coffman, the CCNY, and officials and educationists in New Zealand,³⁵ Professor Hunter was invited by CCNY in 1933 to lead a small group to develop concrete proposals for an institute and as a result of that, NZCER was formally constituted at the end of 1933. Hunter was appointed chairman of the Council of NZCER (1933-1953) at the first meeting of the Council in December 1933, and played an active and leading role during the tenure of his chairmanship to promote educational research in New Zealand.

In that role, Hunter and Beeby worked closely on the early organisation of the NEF Conference 1937. Later in June 1936, the first official meeting of the National Organising Committee was held and attendees included Professor Hunter who represented the University of New Zealand and Gould and Beeby who represented

NZCER. At the meeting Hunter was elected the Chair of the Committee and he played an important role in ensuring that the Conference gained the political and educational acceptance that ultimately lead to its overwhelming success.³⁶ Three years later, Hunter was made a KBE for his services to education.

2) Progressive Inspectors

Throughout this thesis have been a number of progressive inspectors of schools who have supported principals and teachers in their new education experiments. The inspectorate shifted from Educational Board to Department of Education control from 1915 and consequently, were compelled to follow the progressive policy frameworks being espoused during the 1920s and beyond. Some inspectors were more wholeheartedly in support of the new education than others.

When the position of Chief Inspector of Primary Schools was established in the early 1920s, the position was filled by a succession of progressive educators. In the early 1920s the role was performed by Mr T B Strong who made a number of strong statements supporting the new education. Strong, in the late 1920s, went on to become Director of Education. Mr William Bird took over the role in the late 1920s. In the 1930s, Dr J W McIlraith was appointed to the position and he helped organise the NEF Conference 1937 and also was a member of the Minister of Education's Conference that met with the NEF speakers during the Conference.

There were many other inspectors in New Zealand who made an important contribution to the spread of progressive education, including Henry Hill and Mr M McLeod. Whole regions appeared to have a progressive leaning and this was demonstrated by both their inspectorate and their teachers. For example, the Southland district had: James Hendry who was their progressive Chief Inspector from 1887 to 1914; John Smyth who was a progressive teacher first and then was appointed Chief Inspector of the Wanganui District from 1900 to 1902; Geo Braik who left Southland to become the Chief Inspector of the Wanganui District after Smyth (and where he instigated a number of important educational experiments); and, Mr A L

Wyllie who became Chief Inspector in Southland after the retirement of James Hendry.³⁷ Not surprisingly, Wanganui District then became an important progressive area with the likes of Smyth, Braik and also T B Strong who had joined them from Canterbury.

Many of these inspectors either emigrated to New Zealand (frequently from Scotland) or were educated overseas or had travelled overseas. They brought new ideas from their experiences and observations of educational institutions overseas. Dr John Smyth has been chosen as an illustration of a progressive inspector of schools. He equally could have been considered in more depth under a number of the other groups covered in this thesis, but it is his foundational and long-lasting contribution to New Zealand progressive education as an inspector that is most significant in this context.

John Smyth MA DPhil (1864-1927)

John Smyth was one of the most influential progressive educators in Australasia – in New Zealand initially as an innovative young teacher and then Chief Inspector of Schools for the Wanganui District, and in Australia as principal of the Melbourne Teachers' College. He was born in Scotland, raised in Northern Ireland and in 1881 his family shifted to Dunedin.³⁸ His early teaching days in Southland have not been accurately recounted so are worth briefly covering here.³⁹ At the age of nineteen, Smyth initially taught in Invercargill in 1883⁴⁰ and the following year he won a head teacher position at Elderslie School in Oamaru where he remained until 1886.⁴¹ A senior pupil of his (who went on to become a pupil-teacher, head teacher and then inspector in Southland) reminisced on Smyth's teaching approach:

Mr Smyth was in the vanguard of the new generation of teachers ... As an educator, Mr Smyth was very different from his three predecessors at Elderslie. To us it was a new experience to be taught a great part of the content of every subject not from a text-book but by the living voice of our teacher, supplemented by individual study of the text-book. Mr Smyth taught much without recourse to a text-book and much that was not in any text-book.⁴²

At Elderslie, Smyth was a sole charge teacher responsible for the education of over forty children ranging from the primers to Standard VI. He also gave out-of-school hours sessions for those studying Standard VII. Smyth's solution was ahead of his time:

Every morning he arrived early and before assembly he wrote on the blackboard a brief note indicating what work was to be taken during the first period ... As soon as the pupils had taken their seats the seniors without any orders immediately commenced their allotted tasks, thus setting the teacher free to instruct the primers and the juniors ...⁴³

In 1886, Smyth started studying at the University of Otago and early in 1887, at the young age of twenty-three, was appointed head teacher of Waihopai school in Invercargill.⁴⁴ As A McNeil later put it,

In those days school committees appointed teachers. Sometimes they made serious mistakes ... On the other hand the local committee, unhampered by precedent or regulation, sometimes made an inspired choice by placing a young man of great promise in a position for which if the appointment were made by a central authority he would have had to wait till middle life.⁴⁵

Smyth remained there for six years from 1887 to 1893 where he established his teaching reputation. In that position he managed to continue with his university studies gaining a BA degree at the University of Otago in 1891⁴⁶ and after private study, he gained an MA (with honours) the following year specialising in mental science and mathematics. Also during that period he was Vice-President of the Educational Institute (and later President).⁴⁷ In 1893, Smyth was appointed rector of Waimate District High School (a school that had 500 pupils).⁴⁸ There he mentored a promising pupil, William Thomas, and encouraged him to go teaching. In 1895, with Smyth's backing, Thomas was appointed a pupil-teacher at the school for four years and later went on to become one of New Zealand's most distinguished progressive educators.

Smyth resigned from Waimate District High School in 1895 and travelled to Germany to study at the University of Heidelberg, returning to New Zealand in 1897 to lecture at the University of Otago in mental science. In 1898, Smyth returned to the northern hemisphere to undertake a doctorate at the University of Edinburgh, gaining a DPhil in 1900 (in philosophy and theology).⁴⁹ While studying in Scotland, Smyth also went to Germany to study at the Universities of Leipzig and Jena that were centres of progressive educational thought and which attracted many overseas educationists. At the University of Leipzig, Smyth studied with the now acknowledged ‘father’ of experimental psychology Wilhelm Wundt in the winter of 1899-1900.⁵⁰ In 1900, Smyth went on to study at the University of Jena with the Herbartian William Rein.⁵¹ At this time, many overseas educationists had visited Germany and were influenced by the Herbartians, including from England, J J Findlay, John Adams, and from Australia, Percival Cole.⁵² Of note, J J Findlay (who studied with William Rein in the 1890s) wrote that, ‘In 1890 scarcely any English teacher knew of Herbart’s existence ... [whereas, by 1896] almost everyone in the Training Colleges was talking and teaching the new pedagogics’.⁵³

Returning to New Zealand in November 1900, Smyth almost immediately set about giving a series of lectures to Southland educators at the Education Board rooms. The first lecture in early November was on German life and character (including observations of his time in Germany and of the nature and industry of the German people). This was followed by a second lecture later in November on philosophy (including Socrates, Plato, Descartes, Kant, Spencer, Hume, and Fichte).⁵⁴ The following month, at the age of thirty-six, Smyth was appointed Chief Inspector of Schools for the Wanganui district.⁵⁵

Sweetman wrote that in 1900, Smyth organised a ground-breaking Summer School for the teachers of the Wanganui District.⁵⁶ He argued that:

[Smyth] became the pioneer in New Zealand of what was called at the beginning of the century the ‘New Education’. The influence of this first Summer School was immediate and lasting. It began a movement among

young and enthusiastic teachers who carried it on ... Over the whole of New Zealand, rapid progress in the new ideals and practice of education was made. For this educational renaissance it is not too much to claim that its first impulse came from the Summer School organised by Dr Smyth.⁵⁷

Smyth's introduction of new education approaches in Wanganui would have had a broader influence on the local inspectors and teachers in the region and would have softened the way for the innovative Montessori methods used in the district some ten years later.⁵⁸

Around 1900/1, the progressive Frank Tate, then principal of Melbourne Training College, invited Smyth to give a talk to the students and staff at the College. Smyth recounting his personal observations of Scottish and German schools and left quite an impression.⁵⁹ Following this visit, Smyth was appointed principal of Melbourne Training College in 1902 when Tate was appointed Director of Education for the State of Victoria.

The Chief Inspector of Schools for the Wanganui District who following Smyth in 1905 was also another well respected progressive teacher and Inspectors of Schools from Southland.⁶⁰ George ('Geo') Divorty Braik was, like Smyth, born in Scotland and he gained an MA from the University of Edinburgh in 1896.⁶¹ While Chief Inspector, Braik went on a vacation trip in early 1913 and travelled to New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria where he visited the principal educational institutions particularly focussing on technical and agricultural education.⁶² In Sydney, Braik also visited the first Montessori classroom that had been established the previous year at the Blackfriars School and this, according to Miltich-Conway and Openshaw (1998), paved the way for a deputation of three teachers from the Wanganui district to visit the school the following year which gave Montessori education in Wanganui an important boost.

Of relevance, while Braik was overseas in 1913, another progressive inspector, T B Strong, acted as Chief Inspector for the Wanganui District. Strong was born in 1871

and had been a teacher in Waimate, Gisborne before being appointed in 1902 to the Wanganui District High School.⁶³ In 1904 he was appointed to the inspectorate of the Wanganui District⁶⁴ and in 1916, Strong was appointed Chief Inspector after George Braik died suddenly after an operation in January 1915.⁶⁵ In 1920, Strong was appointed to the newly created position of Chief Inspector of Primary Schools and in 1927 was appointed Director of Education.⁶⁶

This relationship between Smyth, Braik and Strong signals how, in a small country like New Zealand, new education networks operated nationally. Of note, it also demonstrates how progressive educators influenced, and were influenced by other educators with progressive ideals.

At the Melbourne Training College, Smyth was viewed as ‘a progressive innovator of course and staff programmes’ who emphasised that the child was at the centre of the learning process, and he introduced a broad range of curriculum and educational activities for the resident primary trainees.⁶⁷ Soon after his appointment Smyth established an experimental psychology laboratory at the College following Wundt’s example and the first head of the laboratory was Matthew Sharman.⁶⁸ Smyth also mentored and influenced other progressive educators such as Richard Lawson [discussed earlier] and Ken Cunningham, who attended the College as a student from 1912-1914 and became a lecturer there under Smyth in 1920.⁶⁹

Smyth, like many new educators, was a devout man and had studied theology under Professor Flint as part of his doctorate in Edinburgh. He supported religious education, lectured on the scriptures (including while he was in Wanganui), and a year after his appointment at the Melbourne Training College in 1902, he supported the establishment of the Students’ Christian Union there.⁷⁰ Smyth tragically died in Tokyo in 1927 after a very short illness.⁷¹ In his will he left funds for a travelling scholarship for teachers and a number of tributes were put in place for him, including the John Smyth Memorial Lecture series which was to be held annually at the College.⁷² Smyth might have been pleased to know, ten years later, that the eminent Isaac Kandel delivered the John Smyth Memorial Lecture to a packed Melbourne Town Hall on 31 July 1937 during the Australian leg of the NEF Conference.⁷³

John Smyth, while not an inspector in New Zealand during the interwar years, made a lasting impact not only on education in the Southland and Wanganui regions, but also on up-and-coming progressive educators, including William Thomas, George Braik, T B Strong, Richard Lawson and Ken Cunningham.

Conclusion

Progressive educational administrators and inspectors worked diligently behind the scenes to support progressive education initiatives. The administrators were in important positions where they could use their power and influence to support progressive reforms and these individuals were to be found in such central locations as the Department of Education, district education boards, professional teacher organisations and the universities. Inspectors, too, were influential. Progressive inspectors could permit educational experiments in their districts and encourage schools and teachers in progressive pursuits. In districts such as Wanganui, they were particularly successful. In addition, these inspectors formed professional networks that not only encompassed up-and-coming teachers within areas but spanned districts as educators gained promotions around the country. Progressive inspectors and administrators formed the backbone of new education reforms during the interwar years.

Notes

¹ Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 108.

² Beeby could have been selected for an in-depth study in this section. However, as much of this thesis surrounds the contribution of Beeby to the NEF Conference and progressive education in general, that material does not need to be repeated here. In addition, a considerable body of material is readily available on his life and achievements and particularly his own 326 page autobiography, *The Biography of an Idea: Beeby on Education*² as well as the extremely thorough 416 page biography of Beeby by Noeline Alcorn, titled *To the Full Extent of his Powers: C. E. Beeby's Life in Education*.²

³ Main sources for this section are: Hunter's entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h47/hunter-thomas-alexander; Hunter, T. A. (1952). The development of psychology in New Zealand. *Bulletin*, 3, 118, 101-111; Beaglehole, E. (1953). Obituary: Sir Thomas Hunter, MA, MSc, HonLitt.D. *Bulletin*, 21, 1-2; Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.) (1941). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (4th ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press; entry for Sir Thomas Alexander Hunter.

⁴ Beaglehole concluded in Hunter's Obituary that he was deeply interested in analysing, discussing and reformulating social problems and that he was fundamentally a selfless man at heart. Beaglehole observed that in the year before Hunter died, he had written an overview of the history of psychology in New Zealand and almost left himself out of the picture: '... without Hunter, the teaching of Psychology would never have developed with the rapidity that has been possible within the past few years'; Beaglehole, E. (1953). Obituary: Sir Thomas Hunter, MA, MSc, HonLitt.D. *Bulletin*, 21, 1-2; p. 1.

⁵ This quote from the Victoria University, Beaglehole Room web page on their archives of Hunter is accompanied by an explanation of why few primary sources are available;

<http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library/collections/jcbr/findingaids/provenance.html?p=hunter>

⁶ This signed photograph was found with the publicity photographs for the NEF Conference 1937 in the NZCER archives, along with those of the other visiting delegates and Beeby's.

⁷ See: Victoria University, JC Beaglehole Room, Unit ID-Hunt00002 - Letters Hunter-Titchener (Loose); Brown, L. B., & Fuchs, A. H. (1969). *The letters between Sir Thomas Hunter and E. B. Titchener*. Wellington: Department of Psychology, Victoria University of Wellington.

⁸ Hunter, T. A. (1952). The development of psychology in New Zealand. *Bulletin*, 3, 118, 101-111; p. 103.

⁹ de la Mare, F. A. (1946). Professor Sir Thomas Alexander Hunter. *Victoria College Review [The Spike]*, 23-24; p. 23.

¹⁰ In 1916, Fraser and Holland were involved in the founding of the Labour Party and Holland became the leader of the Party.

¹¹ *The Evening Post*, 21 December 1916, p. 7.

-
- ¹² Bassett, M., & King, M. (2000). *Tomorrow comes the song: A life of Peter Fraser*. Auckland: Penguin; p. 77. Fraser read widely, including Marx, material on the Russian revolutions, economics, learnt shorthand, and upskilled on Parliamentary procedures.
- ¹³ Munz, P. (1995). Vote of thanks. *Stout Centre Review*, March, p. 7.
- ¹⁴ Hunter, T. A. (1917). *Education or Downfall? An address delivered under the auspices of the Wellington Branch of the Social Democratic Party on Sunday evening, February 18, 1917*. Wellington: 'Worker' Print.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*; p. 5.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*; p. 9.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*; p. 18.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*; p. 19.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*; p. 20.
- ²⁰ Hight's biographical entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* noted that 'Save for a year in 1927 on exchange ... he was never again to leave either his college or his city for any length of time' – this five month trip seems to have perhaps gained a lower profile but it was an important one for both educators; *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h23/hight-james
- ²¹ *Auckland Star*, 1 May 1931, p. 8. The Congress was a triennial event and this was the first one at which representatives of New Zealand had attended; *Auckland Star*, 22 September 1931, p. 5.
- ²² Thomson was the Bell Professor of Education at the University of Edinburgh and Director of Studies at Moray House and a leading advocate of psychometrics, factor analysis and mental testing. Thomson engaged in and supported large scale intelligence testing in order 'to give an educational chance to children from different classes in society and in different districts' and particularly to make the actual individual, not the typical or average individual, the focus of educators' teaching. Godfrey Thomson's Academic life and educational research, Moray House School of Education, www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/history/godfrey-thomson.
- ²³ From ATL, PA1-o-233, Hunter, Thomas Alexander (Sir), 1876-1953: Albums and Photographs, Album 3, Photograph reference: ATL, PA1-o-235-88-1.
- ²⁴ *Educational Research in New Zealand, Report of Committee set up by the Carnegie Corporation, New York (1933)*. Wellington: NZCER; p. 31.
- ²⁵ Milner's name is mentioned in a relatively short list of patrons and supporters in the Conference brochure and he is credited as representing Waitaki Boys' High School; WEF|A|III|187, British Commonwealth Education Conference 1931.
- ²⁶ *The Evening Post*, 21 September 1931, p. 10.
- ²⁷ WEF|A|III|187, British Commonwealth Education Conference 1931. Later in December 1931, Hunter gave a speech where he referred to this NEF Conference and particularly noted that New Zealand education needed to move away from tradition and become more humanistic, while focusing more on the individual; *The Evening Post*, 12 December 1931, p. 8.
- ²⁸ *Auckland Star*, 24 September 1931, p. 9.
- ²⁹ Copy of Memorandum signed by Hunter and Hight, dated 21 August 1931 (New York): Memorandum on the Offer of the Carnegie Corporation to Consider Applications for Grants to Assist the College Libraries in New Zealand; Victoria

University, JC Beaglehole Room, Unit ID-Hunt00002 – Hunter – University of NZ and Other Papers; *The Evening Post*, 15 September 1931, p. 11.

³⁰ On the last day Hunter and Hight wrote a two page Memorandum to University Colleges outlining their discussions and CCNY's policy and substantive funding proposals to improve these libraries in New Zealand. Copy of Memorandum signed by Hunter and Hight, dated 21 August 1931 (New York): Memorandum on the Offer of the Carnegie Corporation to Consider Applications for Grants to Assist the College Libraries in New Zealand; Victoria University, JC Beaglehole Room, Unit ID-Hunt00002 – Hunter – University of NZ and Other Papers.

³¹ Australia and New Zealand Report by Dr J. E. Russell; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 316, Folder 10.

³² Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D. Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4.

³³ Letter from Lawson to Coffman dated 13 November 1931; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3.

³⁴ Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D. Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4; p. 3.

³⁵ See CCNY file Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3.

³⁶ Minutes of the 2 June 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

³⁷ See the educational reminiscences of A. McNeil for observations on each of these educational leaders (and others); ATL, 88-005-11.

³⁸ Later newspaper reports claim that Smyth initially trained as a teacher in the North Island; for example, *The Evening Post*, 18 December, 1900, p. 5.

³⁹ His *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry only lists the following information, which is only particularly correct: 'He worked as a head teacher in rural schools, then as assistant at an Invercargill school and later at Canterbury High School'; <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smyth-john-8566/text14951>.

⁴⁰ *Southland Times*, 5 May 1883, p. 2.

⁴¹ *Southland Times*, 8 September 1884, p. 3.

⁴² Educational reminiscences of A. McNeil; ATL, 88-005-11.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ *Southland Times*, 5 March 1887, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Educational reminiscences of A. McNeil; ATL, 88-005-11.

⁴⁶ *The Evening Post*, 18 December 1900, p. 5.

⁴⁷ In 1891, he married Emma Strack, whose family was originally from Victoria, Australia. *Southland Times*, 27 January 1892, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Waimate is between Dunedin and Christchurch.

⁴⁹ At the University of Edinburgh, he was influenced by the idealist, Simon Somerville Laurie (1855–1909) who was the first Bell Professor of the Theory, History, and Art of Education (from 1876-1903). Smyth's thesis was published in 1901 with the title, *Truth and Reality with Special Reference to Religion, Or, a Plea for the Unity of the Spirit and the Unity of Life in All Its Manifestations*. See Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; Edinburgh Research Archive (<http://hdl.handle.net/1842/5853>); Spaul, A. (1990). *Biography of John Smyth (1864-1927)*. Australian Dictionary of National Biography. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smyth-john-8566/text14951>.

⁵⁰ Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) was a German philosopher, psychologist and educationist who had a strong influence on the development of new education. Smyth might also have visited the 'pedagogical seminary and practice school' mentioned by Selleck and founded by the Herbartian educational theorist Tuiskon Ziller.

⁵¹ Sources: Spaul, A. (1990). *Biography of John Smyth (1864-1927)*. Australian Dictionary of National Biography. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smyth-john-8566/text14951>; Selleck (1968), p. 244; Williams (1994), p. 52.

⁵² Also, Thomas Hunter spent time with the experimental psychologist, Wilhelm Wundt at the University of Leipzig during 1906/7. See: Ellerton, N., & Clements, M. (2005). A mathematics education ghost story: Herbartianism and school mathematics. In P. Clarkson, A. Downton, D. Gronn, M. Horne, A. McDonough, R. Pierce, & A. Roche (Eds.), *Building connections: Theory, research and practice* (Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Mathematics Education Group of Australasia, Melbourne, pp. 313-321). Sydney: Mathematics Education Research Group of Australasia; p. 313. Beaglehole, E. (1953). Obituary, Sir Thomas Hunter. *Bulletin of the British Psychology Society*, 4(21), 1-2.

⁵³ Selleck (1968), p. 244. Even Kandel, in 1908, attended a summer school there with Rein where he met Bagley, Streyer and Sneeddon (later all to become lecturers at Teachers College, Columbia University).

⁵⁴ *Southland Times*, 16 November 1900, p. 2; *Southland Times*, 23 November 1900, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 December 1900, p. 5. His salary was \$450 (with a travelling allowance of \$150) and there were 20 applicants for the position.

⁵⁶ Given the timing of Smyth's appointment, this was presumably summer of 1901 or 1902.

⁵⁷ Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 108.

⁵⁸ Also see Shuker's (2004) thesis on the Montessori Method in New Zealand.

⁵⁹ This visit to Melbourne may have been in 1900 on his return trip from Europe to New Zealand or actually in 1901 or 1902 when he Chief Inspector in Wanganui; Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 105.

⁶⁰ *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 12 December 1905, p. 8.

⁶¹ At the University, Braik apparently acquired 'a love of classics which never left him'. See <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/university3.html>; Educational reminiscences of A. McNeil; ATL, 88-005-11.

⁶² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 June 1913, p. 7.

⁶³ He had previously gained a BA, BSc and MA in Latin and English.

⁶⁴ He was the youngest appointee for the inspectorate and won the position from 40 applicants. *The Evening Post*, 4 March 1927, p. 10.

⁶⁵ *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 2 January 1915, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *The Evening Post*, 4 March 1927, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Sources: Spaul, A. (1990). *Biography of John Smyth (1864-1927)*. Australian Dictionary of National Biography. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smyth-john-8566/text14951>; Spaul, A. (1986). *Biography of James McRae (1871-1939)*. Australian Dictionary of National Biography. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcrae-james-7443/text12959>.

⁶⁸ Sharman ten years later spent a week in 1912 studying the new experimental education laboratory at Victoria University College that had been founded by Hunter; Williams (1994), p. 52.

⁶⁹ Sources: Anchen (1956); Selleck (1982); Williams (1994).

⁷⁰ Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p. 123.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷³ He may or may not have been quite so enamoured with the content of the lecture which was a strong critique of the inherent flaws of new education and a critical treatise on the purposes of education. Kandel's lecture, titled *The Strife of Tongues*, was published in the same year. See Kandel, I. (1937). *The strife of tongues*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press in association with Oxford University Press.

Progressive Researchers at NZCER and New Zealand Educators Overseas

One of the key goals of a progressive school is to have a co-operative society for the school, pupils and staff, 'where the development of such things as self-activity, the scientific attitude, the creative mind, and self-discipline have an infinitely greater chance of real success', and then extend this ideal to the home, community, nation and the world.

(Reverend William Morton Ryburn, Kharar, India, 1938)¹

Introduction

Like progressive educational administrators and school inspectors, educational researchers operated behind the scenes to undertake and write up the growing number of new education experiments in New Zealand during the interwar years. These researchers were drawn to the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) that funded as well as published such research. Another almost invisible group of progressive educators were those who taught overseas. Many had moved to high-level positions in distinguished schools, especially in Australia, while others had travelled further afield. These overseas educators were, while not directly influencing progressive education in New Zealand, an important part of the global new education crusades and their contribution is worthy of discussion. In one now unknown example, the educator Reverend William Morton Ryburn was New Zealand's most prolific writer on progressive education while also being centrally involved in bringing the new education to a large region in India.

1) Progressive Researchers at NZCER

During the interwar years, NZCER was New Zealand's most progressive educational research organisation. It acted as a magnetic for the most talented progressive researchers and in its first years encouraged many educators to seek funding for

progressive research projects. As the first Annual Report in 1935 observed, the CCNY grant to establish NZCER 'introduced a completely new factor, and aroused new hopes'. The Council of NZCER therefore, 'could not but see its functions in the broadest terms and believed that its chief duty was to be a stimulant of and a focussing-point for educational curiosity throughout the country' (p. 16).

Within the Council's parameters, the early progressive research programme and direction for NZCER had been developed by Dr Beeby. Before his appointment there, he had detailed a clear vision of the sorts of educational research that NZCER should be involved in if he was successful in winning the Executive Officer position. What he was clear about at the time and over the subsequent years in the position was that NZCER should be involved in a coherent regime of co-ordinated research (as opposed to supporting piece-meal projects) and he took great pains to reiterate that in subsequent Annual Reports by drawing links between the projects and placing them in a broader framework of research areas. As a result, NZCER in its first five years of existence under Dr Beeby's influence did become 'a stimulant of and a focussing-point for educational curiosity' (p. 16).

NZCER also accomplished some remarkable achievements for a new organisation. It carried out a significant body of foundational research on a broad set topics and it gained strong local support and encouragement for educational research at the local level through the Institutes of Educational Research. NZCER increased its capacity to carry out research with the appointment of researchers in the central office (such as H C McQueen, M H Oram and F R J Davies). It became a clearinghouse for international educational research literature as well as being a leading publishing house for New Zealand educational research. For CCNY, it was the promoter of initiatives such as the Arts and Music set programme and it administered CCNY's travellers' grants and provided recommendations. NZCER also gained the recognition by local and national administrators (and politicians) that there was a place for an independent research organisation in New Zealand. In addition, it gradually built its capacity to undertake large-scale research on a truly national basis.

It is surprising to survey the amount of progressive research NZCER was involved in in its first five years of operation. This brief list outlines some of the more progressive projects and their researchers.²

(a) Within the Primary School

- A primary school progress card research project by Beeby (and NZCER staff). This research examined 6,000 children to identify the factors for movement through classes and sought to provide an insight into areas such as ability grouping and retardation.

(b) Primary to Post-Primary and Work

- A choice of post-primary schools by boys study was conducted by Mr W B Harris, Dr W Bryden and Mr G M Keys who examined Christchurch boys' school and course choices and followed up those boys who did not enter post-primary schools.
- A choice of post-primary schools study was also conducted by Mr K H O'Halloran though it focussed on the role of guidance in intermediate schools.
- Predicting success and failure at post-primary schooling research by Mr H C McQueen and Mr K Glasgow sought to correlate intelligence, primary school records, post-primary entrance tests and future careers of Dunedin and Auckland boys with a view to predict future trajectories from Standard VI knowledge.
- The leisure-time activities and interests of women workers study was carried out by Miss A Kennedy.
- An examination of the University Entrance examination study by Mr W Thomas sought to investigate its effectiveness and was published by NZCER as *Entrance to the University*.

(c) Educational Organisation and Administration

- The history of control in educational administration in New Zealand was conducted by the historian L C Webb and published by NZCER in 1937 as *The Control of Education in New Zealand*.

- An examination of the University of New Zealand and national-local struggles was researched by Dr J C Beaglehole and published by NZCER in 1937 as *The University of New Zealand*.
- The national system of school inspection was the topic of research by Mr N R McKenzie and was published by NZCER as *Inspection and Supervision in the Primary School*.
- The intermediate school system study was conducted by Dr Beeby assisted by Mr Colin Bailey (Wellington) and published by NZCER in 1938 as *The Intermediate Schools of New Zealand*.
- A history of the technical school movement was carried out by Dr J Nicol (Wellington) as a precursor to Dr Spencer's visit funded by CCNY to survey technical education in New Zealand.
- A brief overview of the education system in New Zealand was prepared by Dr A G Butchers for the delegates of the NEF Conference 1937 and titled, *Conspectus of New Zealand Education*.³
- A survey of secondary high schools was carried out by J H Murdoch and published by NZCER as *The High Schools of New Zealand: A Critical Survey*.
- A survey of New Zealand educational administration by Dr I L Kandel was funded by CCNY and published by NZCER in 1938 as *Types of Administration, with Particular Reference to the Educational Systems of New Zealand and Australia*.

(d) *Rural Education*

- The philosophical nature of rural secondary education was carried out by Mr J E Strachan (Rangiora High School) and published by NZCER and titled, *The School Looks at Life: An Experiment in Social Education*.
- A survey of a rural community by Mr H C D Somerset was completed and published by NZCER in 1938 and titled, *Littledene: A New Zealand Rural Community*.

- The development of Feilding Agricultural High School by Mr L J Wild was completed and published by NZCER and titled, *An Experiment in Self-Government*.
- The work of the secondary department of the Correspondence School was examined by Dr A G Butchers.

(e) The Effects of Schooling

- The impact of different amounts and kinds of schooling on attitudes to authority was conducted by Mr R Winterbourn (Christchurch). Winterbourn had been a pupil of Strachan's in the 1920s and had won a CCNY grant to study at the Institute of Education, London University where he was intending to complete this project with the support of Professor Hamley.
- The impact of different amounts and kinds of schooling on attitudes to war was conducted by Mrs B E Beeby (Wellington).

In sum, many of these topics selected by Dr Beeby and the Council included a strong progressive underpinning. The topics encompassed the broad range of progressive educational ideals being espoused at the time, including: access for all people to relevant primary and post-primary education as well as links to the workforce; the focus on individual needs based on knowledge of child development and educational psychology; the critiquing of traditional and existing systems of educational organisation, including the centralisation and control of education and the control of teachers; the examination of educational experiments and the publication of such work in detail; and, the inclusion of progressive topics such as leisure and children's attitudes towards authority and war.

This body of research was fundamentally the consequence of the developing interests of progressive educational researchers in New Zealand. Many of the projects were initiated at the local level and then progressed through NZCER's independent Institutes of Educational Research bodies before finally being approved, dependent on whether it fitted into NZCER's research programme. By supporting these endeavours, NZCER was also building the capacity and enthusiasm of a substantial body of progressive researchers during the interwar years.

2) Progressive New Zealand Educators Overseas

Many New Zealand teachers worked overseas for a variety of reasons and some of them were important progressive educators. One of the best examples of research in this area is by Prentis who has pointed out that senior Presbyterian teachers from New Zealand commonly moved to Australia and that from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, several Australian Presbyterian schools had appointed headmasters from New Zealand, including Scots College in Sydney and Scotch College and Presbyterian Ladies' College (PLC) in Melbourne.⁴

Prentis's research has found that the New Zealand headmasters recruited included James Bee (PLC Melbourne, 1907-1913), G H Uttley (PLC Melbourne, 1913-1915 then founding principal of Scots College, Wellington), William Gray (PLC Melbourne until 1937),⁵ and William Littlejohn (Scotch College Melbourne, 1904-1933; former Principal of Nelson College). In addition there was Colin Gilray (Scotch College Melbourne, 1934-1953) who earlier in 1922 had taken over from A G Butchers as Headmaster of John McGlashan College, Dunedin and was a founding member of the Council of NZCER. Finally, there was James Bee (Scots College Sydney, 1914-1934), and Alexander Anderson (Scots College Sydney, 1934-1953) who had formerly been a master at the progressive Waitaki Boys' High School and rector of St Andrew's College, Christchurch.

As Prentis reflected, what were the common characteristics of these educators?

They were mostly from a Scots milieu, upbringing and education, [and] all possessed qualities liked by Councils: strong educational ideas, not necessarily the same (traditional or progressive but not too progressive), some had a military background, sporting prowess (usually rugby and cricket) and a 'man among men' look.⁶

With regard to understanding the scope of progressive education in New Zealand during the interwar years, then, it is important to not overlook the contributions of these progressive New Zealand teachers who worked overseas.

Other progressive educators overseas of relevance to this thesis and the new education include Dr P S de Q Cabot, Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn, and Dr John Smyth who moved to Australia in the early 20th century, though still exerted a lasting influence on progressive education in New Zealand [Smyth is discussed in the previous chapter]. To illustrate the differing trajectories and contributions of these overseas progressive educators, this section will briefly consider Dr P S de Q Cabot before undertaking a more in-depth examination of the remarkable new educator, Dr William Morton Ryburn.

(a) Dr Philippe Sidney de Quetteville (Sid) Cabot (1900-1998)

Dr P S de Q Cabot and his wife Isabel Spears Boyd, were progressive educators with close ties to America and Great Britain.⁷ Cabot was born in Central Otago on 18 July 1900⁸ and fortuitously attended Timaru Boys' High School from 1914 to 1918. The school's new rector was the progressive William (Bill) Thomas who had quickly set about implementing progressive reforms – 'within months he had broadened the school curriculum to include agriculture, art, drama, music, woodwork and wool-classing' [also see the section on Thomas in Chapter Six].⁹ As Cabot put it, Thomas 'ushered in a new Era. The arrival of this dynamic charismatic visionary with his leadership qualities and winning personality has always been remembered'.¹⁰

In 1919, Cabot decided that he wanted to become a teacher and William Thomas invited Cabot back to the school and offered him an Assistant Master position. Two years later, Cabot attended the Dunedin Teachers' Training College and went on to teach in a number of primary and secondary schools.¹¹ During his teaching career in the 1920s, Cabot also gained an MA (Education) from the University of Otago in 1926 with a thesis titled, *The Origins and Development of Education in Otago*, as well as a Post-Graduate Diploma in Education.

The 1930s was to be an important decade for Cabot and his interest in progressive education. In 1930, Cabot received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to enable him to study educational psychology overseas. In 1931, Cabot completed his MA in Educational Psychology and Vocational Guidance at Columbia University after studying with William Boyd (who was a guest lecturer there at the time), Counts, Hollingworth, Kitson, Pinter and Watson. In 1932, Cabot married Isabella Spears Boyd in New York City – they had both been at Teachers’ College, Columbia University, New York and both had taught at the progressive Park School in Buffalo, New York.¹² Isabella was the daughter of the Scottish educator and NEF Conference 1937 delegates, William and Dorothy Boyd.

Cabot completed an MA at Harvard University in Psychology in 1934 and unsuccessfully applied for the Executive Officer position at NZCER. He used William Boyd as a referee for the position. Two years later, Cabot gained a PhD from Harvard University and was appointed Assistant Professor at Simmons College, Boston.¹³ While at Harvard he became involved in the pioneering longitudinal ten-year experimental study of juvenile delinquency prevention – The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study (Cambridge, Massachusetts), becoming its Co-Director from 1935 to 1939, and Director from 1939-41. Of note, the Advisory Committee for the Study included the NEF stalwarts, Dr William Boyd (then Director of the Child Guidance Clinic at the Department of Education, Glasgow, Scotland) and Professor Jean Piaget (University of Geneva, Switzerland).¹⁴



Photograph 9-1 Dr P S de Q Cabot¹⁵

In 1936, Cabot wrote to Dr Beeby offering to speak at the NEF Conference 1937. The National Organising Committee decided to decline the offer as they had already invited a set number of speakers by then.¹⁶ However, both Dr and Mrs P S de Q Cabot attended the Conference and the Cabots left San Francisco with the main contingent of overseas Conference speakers in June 1937. Cabot's travel companions included Edmund Brunner, Paul Denger, Susan Isaacs, Percy Meadon, Cyril Norwood, Harold Rugg, Salter Davies, Laurin Zilliacus and their families and friends.¹⁷ While in New Zealand, the Cabots attended the Conference and met up with each of their parents,¹⁸ while Mrs Cabot attended social events with Mrs Boyd, Mrs Brunner, Mrs Dengler, Mrs Hart, and Mrs Salter Davies.¹⁹ At some point during the visit, Cabot also gave a radio talk that was broadcast on 4YA in August 1937, titled, A New Zealander Looks at American Education.²⁰ The Cabot's returned to the United States and after the war, they shifted to Great Britain.²¹ Isabel gained a teaching position at the progressive Dartington Hall School in Devon. While P S de Q Cabot was a New Zealand progressive educator who followed a stellar academic career path in large urban centres in the United States, the mission of Reverend Ryburn was almost the opposite.

(b) Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn MA (Otago) CertEd (Cambridge) DLitt (NZ) OBE (1895-1986)

Reverend Ryburn was by far the most prolific New Zealand writer of progressive education literature in the interwar years (and later) and became the President of a large New Education Fellowship Section overseas.²² Somewhat surprisingly, Ryburn is virtually unheard of in his own country (at least in the area of progressive education) while his work is still cited and used in university and teacher training courses abroad today. His books published by Oxford University Press alone include *The Progressive School*, *The Principles of Teaching*, *The Organisation of Schools*, *Play Way Suggestions* and *Introduction to Educational Psychology*. Arguably, his lack of recognition locally was due to his leaving New Zealand at a young age in the early 1920s, only returning very infrequently for furloughs (once for the NEF Conference 1937) and that in the 1920s he mainly focussed on publishing Christian education material before working on progressive texts in the 1930s and later.

Morton (as he was generally called) Ryburn was born in Wellington in 1895.²³ He attended the Presbyterian seminary (Theological Hall, Knox College, 1921-22) and the University of Otago, achieving academically with high distinction and cementing his future directions as a missionary.²⁴ In 1921, Morton formally applied to become a missionary and he listed in his application that he had studied Latin, French, Greek and Persian languages and that he had read widely, including books on classics, education, history, philosophy, social questions, theology, as well as Student Movement Press publications and other general literature.²⁵ In August 1922, Morton was ordained²⁶ and selected by the Auckland Presbytery for a position in the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.²⁷ The following month he married Hilda May Tizard²⁸ and in October, the Ryburns sailed for India.

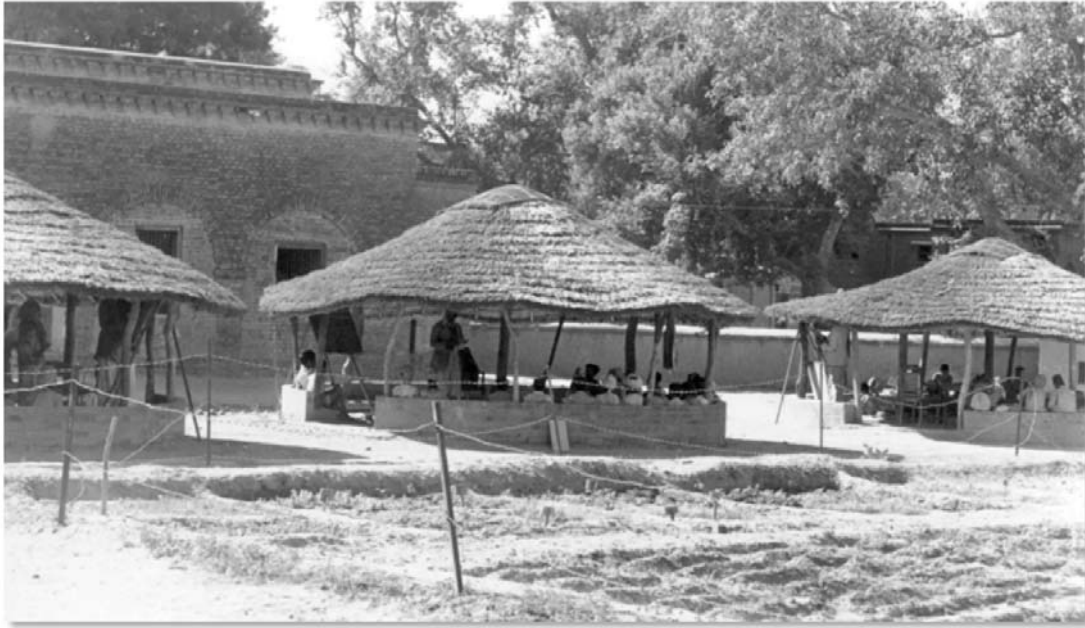
Morton and his wife quickly settled in at Jagadhri where the Mission hospital and the missionaries were mainly based while later they moved to Kharar when the school position arose. Their first task was to spend the year learning the language, and initially their life was 'chiefly grinding at the language'.²⁹ What struck Morton most was the pressing need for primary education in the smaller villages and post-primary education in the bigger towns. Also, for that education to be most effective, that work needed to be carried out by Indian people themselves:

[The Indian people] are able to reach the people in a way that would not be possible for a European until he had spent years in the country, if even then. As national feeling grows the work will be increasingly done by the Indians themselves. My impression is that our best work can be done in training these men and women.³⁰



Photograph 9-2 Reverend William Morton and Hilda May Ryburn³¹

In 1923, the London Baptist Mission offered the district of Kharar in the Eastern Punjab to the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission and this included a Christian Boy's High School.³² Morton was appointed its Principal in late 1923. The school initially had a roll of 270 boys, though in time 'it grew to be one of the best known High Schools in Northern India, with a roll of over 1000, and an unusually high academic record'.³³ Morton took leadership of the school and under his long-term management from 1923 until 1956, the school roll expanded, new school buildings were built (including hostels for boys and girls and an industrial wing), Indian teachers were trained and employed, he started a farm, progressive teaching approaches were introduced, and Morton gradually expanded the school's curriculum to include not only academic work but manual and practical training.³⁴ As a more recent tribute to Morton's work at the school from Kharar citizens reflected, 'You brought a new conception of education; that is education for the whole man, the new education. You set a noble ideal before you, that of producing self-reliant, honest and dependable citizens for India'.³⁵ [See *Appendix 10(a)* for an account of Ryburn's progressive education approaches at the Christian Boys' School in Kharar.]



Photograph 9-3 Open Air Classrooms, Christian Boys' School, Kharar³⁶

In early 1928, during his first furlough since arriving at the Mission in 1923, Morton initially travelled to New Zealand for six months with his family to carry out some deputation work for the Bible Class Union (that was financially supporting his position in the Punjab) as well as to raise money to establish a printing press at the school. Morton then carried on alone to the United Kingdom to study for a secondary teacher training Certificate in Education at Woodbrooke College (now Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre).³⁷ Woodbrooke had a strong reputation for progressive thinking and it attracted liberal thinkers from around the world. In 1929, Morton was awarded the Certificate in Education (Class II) by the University of Cambridge.³⁸ Unsurprisingly, some of Morton's more progressive educational initiatives at the school occurred from 1929 onwards including the school-wide self-government scheme. In addition, most of his publications relating specifically to progressive education occurred after this trip as well.

Later in March 1936, Ryburn and his family left Bombay for their second eighteen month furlough since joining the Punjab Mission in 1923 and they arrived in Auckland in April.³⁹ Morton undertook a very demanding schedule of duties for the Church, including travelling throughout the country giving many talks to church groups and bible classes (accompanied by a set of lantern slides), preaching to congregations and holding meetings (including at Wellington College, Scots College,

Nelson Boys' College and the National Council of Women), making an impression wherever he went.⁴⁰ Morton also intended to take a course in methods of psychological research in Auckland as he had been asked to conduct some research into the psychological characteristics of children in India by the National Christian Council and the Panjab Christian Council.⁴¹ Soon after his arrival, Morton also featured in the New Zealand Authors' Week Exhibition in Wellington.⁴² He also found time to give a number of radio broadcasts from Auckland on 1YA in 1936 and 1937, including live broadcasts as a preacher, and prepared talks on a range of topics.⁴³

In July 1937, the NEF Conference was held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin and Morton Ryburn and his family were still in New Zealand. At the time of the Conference, Ryburn was the Vice-President of the Punjab (India) section of the New Education Fellowship and was fortunate that the timing of his furlough coincided with the Conference. Ryburn indicated that he wished to attend the Conference and at the April meeting of the National Organising Committee in 1937 it was agreed that Dr Beeby would send him a formal invitation.⁴⁴ Barely a month after attending the Conference, the Ryburn family left Auckland and returned to the Mission at Punjab in September 1937.⁴⁵

As has been previously mentioned, there were very strong links between the New Education Fellowship, the Theosophical Society and India, and progressive educators from all over the world regularly travelled to and from India during the interwar years (such as the New Zealander, Norman Jacobsen who taught at Rabindranath Tagore's new education community at Santiniketan; discussed earlier). After the NEF Conference 1937, four of the delegates embarked on a gruelling three-month trip around India to observe progressive education initiatives and to support the growth of the NEF in the country.⁴⁶ The representatives were: Laurin Zilliacus (the Chairman of the NEF), Ernest Salter Davies (the Director of Education for Kent who had been President of the English NEF Section), the renowned Swiss educator Pierre Bovet (who was the Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Geneva, the Director of the J J Rousseau Institute for Educational Sciences and who had helped found the International Bureau of Education), and G T Hankin (representative of the English

Board of Education). This was a significant time for education in India and for the involvement of the NEF in helping to shape the future of education policy and practice in the country.⁴⁷

The NEF delegates' tour of India began in October 1937 and over three months Zilliacus, Salter Davies, Bovet and Hankin travelled to all areas of India, including Bangalore, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Madras, Mysore and Peshawar. They met with Nehru, Tagore and Gandhi (leaders of the Indian Nationalist Movement) and government officials (including viceroys and governors).⁴⁸ In addition, they held meetings with educationists and NEF members as well as giving public lectures.⁴⁹ In both main centres and in rural areas the delegates visited examples of progressive education institutions including larger rural communities aimed at social reconstruction (such as Santiniketan that inspired the Elmhirsts to establish Dartington and which so impressed Zilliacus)⁵⁰ and 'isolated educational ventures that compared favourably with any to be found anywhere in the world'.⁵¹ One of those 'ventures' was Morton's Christian Boys' School in Kharar. Zilliacus wrote about Morton's school that,

I am grateful ... for having been given this contact with education in its best sense in the heart of the countryside. I have seen a happy school and an active school where education is in touch with everyday reality as well as being inspired by a vision above the ordinary.⁵²

Morton had previously been heavily involved in the Punjab Section of the New Education Fellowship in the 1930s and, as one colleague put it, 'he carried with him his infectious radical Christian educational faith into the New Educational Fellowship'.⁵³ The Punjab Section had been founded in 1932 and they held monthly meetings, housed an NEF Library, supported educational reform, and published a journal in collaboration with the United Provinces and Central Provinces NEF Sections titled, *The New Education: A Journal for Teachers & Parents*. The journal was an official organ of the NEF and it included local and international NEF material.⁵⁴ At the time of the NEF Conference 1937, Ryburn was one of the Vice-

Presidents of the Punjab NEF Section and in 1940 was the President of the Section.⁵⁵ By 1945, Ryburn was still listed as a Vice-President of the Punjab NEF Section, a member of the Board of Editors and he was a speaker at the Section's education Conference in February 1946 on the topic of teacher training.⁵⁶ Ryburn's membership of the NEF in the Punjab was an important part of his wider commitment to progressive education in his teaching, writing and evangelical work. As one of his pupils and former colleagues put it:

Dr Ryburn has been a staunch advocate of what is called the New Education ... but he would have been scoffed at if he had not translated into action what he advocated through his numerous articles, books and lectures. He boldly experimented in his own school with every new idea that he put forth ... The school became a place of pilgrimage for all those who loved the education for life.⁵⁷

Morton Ryburn's writing and publishing over forty years reflected his evangelical aspirations and from the 1930s, his growing interest in progressive education in order to support these ends. He wrote continuously and published more than sixty books and booklets as well as numerous newspaper and magazine articles and pamphlets (and was the editor of several journals). [See *Appendix 10(b)* for an overview of his writing and publications.] In 1948, Morton returned to New Zealand for a furlough and it appears that his progressive book published by Longmans – *Creative Education: A Study in Educating for Democracy in India* – gained him a Doctor of Literature degree from the University of New Zealand in 1948.⁵⁸

His contribution to progressive education in New Zealand is hard to calculate but his contribution to education in India was significant and widely acknowledged. As one text put it, 'He himself lived in a small house but his Christian influence spread over large areas of India' and it could be argued, so did his progressive approaches to education.⁵⁹ Many of his students went on to occupy high positions and one of them, Bholu Singh,⁶⁰ reflected that:

I, for one, feel as if God graciously sent Dr Ryburn from beyond the seas in 1923 to the rescue of this poor, helpless outcaste lad of fifteen in the battle of life. I cannot adequately repay even one millionth part of the huge debt of gratitude that I owe him.⁶¹

Conclusion

Progressive educational researchers in New Zealand were carrying out experiments around the country during the interwar years. With the founding of NZCER, they had a vehicle through which they could gain further funding as well as opportunities for publishing their findings. The list of research supported by NZCER in its first five years is an outstanding tribute to not only the growing expertise of that organisation but also the depth of progressive initiatives that were being undertaken nationally.

Less visible were the many progressive educators who worked overseas. Some took up high-level positions in Australia, others became renown academics further afield, and a small number, like Morton Ryburn, dedicated their lives in small impoverished rural communities in countries like India. While these educators maintained links with their counterparts in New Zealand, it is harder to argue that they seriously influenced educational practice in this country. However, a number of them had very strong links to the NEF, published progressive material, and returned to New Zealand for the NEF Conference 1937. Of particular note, the now unknown (at least in educational circles) Reverend Ryburn was ‘discovered’ to be the most prolific New Zealand writer of progressive education texts in the interwar years and his books were widely read globally. It is unclear whether they were available in New Zealand, and certainly his educational texts are now virtually unavailable in the main academic libraries in New Zealand.

Notes

¹ Ryburn, W. M. (1938). *The progressive school: A Study in methods of education and teaching*. London: Oxford University Press; p. 24.

² The material is primarily drawn from the Annual Reports from 1935-1939.

³ Butchers was a prolific educational historian who had been the founding principal at John McGlashan College, Dunedin and was followed by Colin Gilray.

⁴ Prentis's research has found that the headmasters recruited included James Bee (PLC Melbourne, 1907-1913), G H Uttley (PLC Melbourne, 1913-1915 then founding principal of Scots College, Wellington; discussed earlier), William Gray (PLC Melbourne until 1937; he had been 'Vice-Principal of the Dunedin Training College for five years, then Chief Inspector of Wanganui District'), William Littlejohn (Scotch College Melbourne, 1904-1933; former Principal of Nelson College), Colin Gilray (Scotch College Melbourne, 1934-1953; in 1922 he had taken over from A G Butchers as Headmaster of John McGlashan College, Dunedin), James Bee (Scots College Sydney, 1914-1934), and Alexander Anderson (Scots College Sydney, 1934-1953; formerly a master at Waitaki Boys' High School and rector of St Andrew's College Christchurch). Prentis, M. D. (2008). Minister and dominie – Creating an Australasian Scottish world? *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 33, 7-36.

⁵ He had been 'Vice-Principal of the Dunedin Training College for five years, then Chief Inspector of Wanganui District'.

⁶ Prentis, M. D. (2008). Minister and dominie – Creating an Australasian Scottish world? *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 33, 7-36; p. 23.

⁷ Main biographical sources for this section were: Curriculum Vitae of P. S. de Q. Cabot; Hocken, MS-27331004; *Debrett's Handbook of Australia and New Zealand* (2nd ed., 1984). London: Debrett's Peerage, p. 138; Description of Cabot's archive file at the Hocken Library, <http://thecommunityarchive.org.nz/node/204695/description>; <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/university5.html>

⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 1 August 1900, p. 7.

⁹ Source: Professor Howard Lee's biographical entry for William Thomas (1879–1945) in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t29/thomas-william

¹⁰ P S de Q Cabot's unpublished autobiography; Hocken, MS-27351001, pp. 35-36.

¹¹ This included positions as housemaster at Timaru Boys High School (1919-1920), and teacher at MacAndrew Road School (1924) and Otago Boy's High School (1925-1930).

¹² *The Evening Post*, 15 February 1932, p. 1.

¹³ Curriculum Vitae of P. S. de Q. Cabot; Hocken, MS-27331004.

¹⁴ Between 1935-1945, Cabot also reviewed approximately 1200 articles and books for *Psychological Abstracts* and published many articles on child guidance, education, juvenile delinquency, rehabilitation of veterans, sport and summer camps. Cabot also used his rugby expertise at Harvard to mentor, coach and referee rugby there. See Powers, E. (1949). An experiment in prevention of delinquency. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 261(1), 77-88; Cabot, P. S. de Q. (1940). A long-term study of children: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study.

Child Development, 11, 143-151; Curriculum Vitae of P. S. de Q. Cabot; Hocken, MS-27331004.

¹⁵ Photograph used in an article on Cabot on his arrival in New Zealand in July 1937 – it was probably an earlier stock photograph; *New Zealand Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 17, courtesy of the Hocken Library.

¹⁶ Minutes of the 15 December 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418 Box 25.

¹⁷ *Los Angeles Times*, 23 June, 1937, p. 10, 'Shipping News'.

¹⁸ *The New Zealand Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 17.

¹⁹ *The New Zealand Herald*, 13 July 1937, p. 3; *The New Zealand Herald*, 14 July 1937, p. 5.

²⁰ *The Evening Post*, 12 August 1937, p. 14.

²¹ William Wellington, Papers relating particularly to Philippe Sidney de Queteville Cabot, Hocken, MS-2736.

²² The main biographical sources for this section are: Rev. William Morton Ryburn's Staff Files, PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1919-1931; the biographical entry for Rev. William Morton Ryburn, www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/Page196.htm; McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand; Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association. (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association.

²³ Morton came from a large family that comprised several Presbyterian ministers, including two uncles (Robert Middleton Ryburn and Josiah Archie Ryburn) and a number of cousins, most well-known being Rev. Hubert James Ryburn who was Master of Knox College, Dunedin (1941-1964), and later Chancellor of the University of Otago (1955-1970).

²⁴ Here he completed the qualifications for ministry, finished his BA, gained the James Clarke prize in Philosophy, won a Senior University Scholarship in History, was awarded prizes in Church History and Theology, and gained an MA in History (1st class honours) in 1922. McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand; New Zealand University Graduates 1870-1961; <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/university20.html>

²⁵ William Morton Ryburn's Application to the Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand dated 2 June 1921; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1919-1931.

²⁶ *Auckland Star*, 9 August 1922, p. 5.

²⁷ The full cost of the position was funded by the Bible Class Union until Morton's retirement in 1960; McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

²⁸ Hilda May Tizard was a trained teacher and the youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs W. H. Tizard of Remuera; *New Zealand Herald*, 12 October 1922, p. 1.

²⁹ Letter W. M. Ryburn to Mr Don dated 25 January 1923; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1919-1931.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Photograph P-A13.1-2; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.

-
- ³² McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.
- ³³ Biographical entry for Rev. William Morton Ryburn; www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/Page196.htm
- ³⁴ The Story of The Punjab Indian Mission, 1907 to 1969; www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/missions/punjabhistory.htm
- ³⁵ Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 6.
- ³⁶ Photograph P-A8.58-207; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.
- ³⁷ Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom; pp. 74-75. The furlough for the New Zealand missionaries were usually eighteen months long at the time.
- ³⁸ Morton passed the examination in 'the Theory, History, and Practice of Education, and in Practical Efficiency in Teaching'; Official list of candidates who passed the Examination for the Certificate in Education, June 1929; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1919-1931.
- ³⁹ Letter Morton Ryburn to Jim Thomson dated 26 November 1935; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1932-1938; *The Evening Post*, 25 August 1937, p. 16; *The Outlook*, 18 May 1936, p. 14.
- ⁴⁰ One publicised list of some of his duties in 1936 noted that, 'It is hoped that full use will be made of Mr Ryburn as he visits the districts' and then listed the following gruelling schedule: Wanganui (October 6-11), Wairarapa (October 13-18), Wellington (October 20 to November 15), Nelson-Malborough (November 5-15), Assembly (November 17-26), Canterbury (November 27 to December 10), Ashburton (December 11-15), Wanganui Summer Conference (Christmas holidays); *The Outlook*, 5 October 1936, p. 17.
- ⁴¹ Letter Morton Ryburn to Jim Thomson dated 26 November 1935; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1932-1938.
- ⁴² See correspondence between O. E. Burton and the Secretary of New Zealand Authors' Week 1936; ATL-MS-Papers-0148-029C.
- ⁴³ Morton also found time to give a number of radio broadcasts from Auckland on 1YA in 1936 and 1937, including live broadcasts as a preacher and prepared talks on a range of topics. These talks were generally on his missionary experiences in India and included titles such as, 'The Revolt of the Outcasts', 'Jawahar Lal Nehru' (who became in 1947 the first Prime Minister of India), and 'Some Aspects of Indian Life'. In these talks, Morton was insightful and frank in his observations of India's political, economic, religious and cultural life. In *Some Aspects of Indian Life*, he discussed the extremes of wealth and poverty that he had seen and the slow improvement in the position of women in society (though he recounted 'a day in the life' of a village woman that was extremely long and arduous). Morton suggested that many of the problems for the Indian people were ultimately economic and he argued that an important role of education should be to give rural people the knowledge and skills to get the best out of their land. At present, he argued, education provision in India was 'academic and literary' with the main goal of passing the matriculation examination, and even that was not widespread. He observed that only 11 percent of the population was literate, though he noted that education authorities were starting to develop

education that would be 'far more closely related to the life of the people, and which will therefore be a force for rural uplift, and enable the people of the villages to make some progress'. Morton's most insightful observations in 1936 were related to the religious situation, which over the following decade would come to the fore in the partition of India. He concluded, in 'Some Aspects of Indian Life', that one of the most pressing problems (particularly in the Punjab) was, 'the feeling that exists between Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand and Mahommadans on the other. This ill-feeling and enmity between those belonging to these different religious communities is always a potential source of trouble. It is smouldering everywhere, always ready to spring into flames at the slightest provocation. And once such a fire bursts out, it often spreads with remarkable rapidity developing into riots and bloodshed'. Sources: The Revolt of the Outcasts, *The Evening Post*, 28 January 1937, p. 5; Jawahar Lal Nehru, *The Evening Post*, 4 February 1937, p. 10; Manuscript titled Some Aspects of Indian Life, Broadcast Talk from 1YA, 23 September 1936; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1932-1938.

⁴⁴ Minutes of the 21 April 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30. As Ryburn was primarily based in Auckland, he might well have attended the Auckland sessions from July 9 to July 15 and met the North Island set of delegates that included the NEF Chairman, Laurin Zilliacus. On the other hand, it was reported on July 26 that Ryburn was 'at present giving a series of lectures to the Theological students in Dunedin' [*The Outlook*, 26 July 1937, p. 23]. Depending on his itinerary, he might possibly have been able to attend the Auckland sessions as well as the Dunedin sessions that were held from July 19 to July 22, and met up with the South Island set of delegates. Unfortunately, no information is available concerning his movements at this time.

⁴⁵ *The Evening Post*, 25 August 1937, p. 16; Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom; p. 92.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the 22 October 1936 meeting of the NEF Executive Board; WEF\A11134. The tour had been planned by the NEF since at least 1936.

⁴⁷ Two years earlier the first All-India NEF Conference had been held in Nagpur in December 1935 and at the Conference the All-India Federation had been formed with Rabindranath Tagore as president (along with a working committee of ten from different parts of India) and the *New Era* journal had been accepted as the official organ of the Federation. See Boyd and Rawson (1965).

⁴⁸ *The New Era*, April 1938, p. 117.

⁴⁹ For example, in Mysore they visited the Chamarajendra Technical Institute and the Maharaja's College while Zilliacus gave a lecture on November 3 (New Education – Characteristics and Underlying Principles), Hankin gave a lecture on November 4 (Teaching of History and Civics), Salter Davies gave a radio talk that evening (Physical Education), and Bovet gave a lecture on November 5 (Psycho-analysis – Its Contribution to Education). Itinerary titled, NEF Delegation in Mysore State (3 November to 7 November 1937 – Inclusive); India Section – Calcutta, Delhi, Gujarati, Mysore and Punjab Groups, WEF\A111123.

⁵⁰ Rector Laurin Zilliacus on Santiniketan, *The Modern Review*, February, 1938; p. 228. Also, one of the staff at the Christian Boy's School, Dr Lal, had previously worked at Santiniketan; Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom; p. 93.

-
- ⁵¹ *The New Era*, April 1938, p. 117.
- ⁵² *The Outlook*, 25 January 1939, p. 9.
- ⁵³ Salute to the Ryburns; PCARC, GAO154, Overseas Missions Committee, Folder 1959|08.
- ⁵⁴ For example, two of Ryburn's books were covered in the January 1936 issue (*Socrates at School* and *Suggestions for the Organization of Schools in India. The New Education: A Journal for Teachers & Parents*, 2, 3, 14).
- ⁵⁵ Letter Soper to Ryburn dated 12 February 1940; India Section – Calcutta, Delhi, Gujarati, Mysore and Punjab Groups, WEF|A|III|123.
- ⁵⁶ Programme of the Educational Conference and Exhibition 1946, The Central Training College, Lahore, New Education Fellowship, Punjab; Punjab Section 1936-1948, WEF/A/II/123.
- ⁵⁷ Retirement tribute titled, 'My Teacher, Benefactor and Friend Retires' by A. M. Barnabus (a pupil of Morton's from early 1920s who then became a teacher at the school in 1935) dated 17 March 1959; PCARC, GAO154, Overseas Missions Committee, Folder 1959|08.
- ⁵⁸ Cited in: *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand; Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom; p. 111; and, New Zealand University Graduates 1870-1961, <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/university20.html>.
- ⁵⁹ Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 5.
- ⁶⁰ Singh was a former Assistant Director of Education in the Punjab region.
- ⁶¹ Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 3.

Progressive Overseas Visitors

The most notable deficiency in the field of education is the lack of research and experimental work ... The establishment of a research institute would mean the substitution of reliable information for political pressure in moulding public opinion about education.

(Lotus D. Coffman, Carnegie Corporation Visitor, 1931)¹

Introduction

Despite New Zealand's geographical isolation, there were many visitors to the country before 1937 who had links to, and promoted aspects of new education. Important visitors included several leaders from the Theosophical Society (Adyar), two Directors from the Institute of Education (London University) and three high-ranking representatives from the Carnegie Corporation.

The CCNY representatives were both evaluating currently-funded initiatives and scouting for new progressive projects. The Institute of Education Directors were lecturing on new education, making contacts and developing links between the Institute and New Zealand institutions. Similarly, the Theosophical Society visitors were strengthening the New Zealand section, promoting and lecturing on new education, and developing stronger links between theosophical new educators in New Zealand and those overseas.

1) Theosophical Society Leaders

The theosophical visitors were founders and leaders of the Theosophical Society (Adyar) and had a close interest in the Society's activities in New Zealand, including their educational initiatives. In 1894 (and 1908), the prominent social activist, theosophical leader and founder of the theosophical Central Hindu College – Annie Besant – toured New Zealand (she was the President of the Society at the time). Four

years later, in 1897, H S Olcott (the first President and co-founder of the Theosophical Society) visited New Zealand where he met the educationist Miss Lilian Edger who was the first General Secretary of the newly formed New Zealand section of the Theosophical Society. Lilian was only the second woman in New Zealand to gain a BA degree (her sister Kate being the first) and was the first New Zealand woman to gain an MA degree. Edger accompanied Olcott back to Adyar and played a significant role in the Society's theosophical education programmes there. In 1905 (and 1914 and 1915), Mr C W Leadbeater, another prominent Theosophical Society leader, visited Auckland and lectured on education.

In the second decade of the 20th century, education became a stronger focus for the Theosophical Society internationally. In December 1919 (and 1925), the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society, C Jinarajadasa (and his wife) visited New Zealand, lecturing on education as well as promoting the Theosophical Fraternity in Education. In 1919, the Vasanta Garden School had also been established in Auckland. After Jinarajadasa's visit the New Zealand section strengthened its educational links with the English Theosophical Society and Ensor's Theosophical Educational Trust. Other well-known theosophists also visited New Zealand. For example, in 1930, G S Arundale and his wife Rukmini toured the country while, in 1934, Jiddu Krishnamurti visited Auckland and lectured at the Vasanta Garden School.²

These theosophical visitors played an important role before 1937 in strengthening the New Zealand section of the Theosophical Society. Additionally, they actively promoted the theosophical ideals which led to the founding and the on-going success of the Vasanta Garden School, the New Zealand Theosophical Fraternity in Education and the Vasanta NEF Group.³



Photograph 10-1 H S Olcott, Annie Besant, and C W Leadbeater

Taken in Adyar, December 1905⁴

2) Institute of Education Directors

The Institute of Education, London University was one of the most influential centres for progressive education in the interwar years and the Institute was heavily involved in the organisation of the NEF Conference 1937, providing both advice and speakers. While New Zealand may have been geographically isolated at the time, two of the three pre-1937 Directors of the Institute of Education had already undertaken influential lecturing tours of New Zealand where they expounded their views on progressive education. Professor Sir John Adams toured in 1924 while Professor Sir Fred Clarke toured in 1935.

(a) Professor Sir John Adams (1857-1934)

Professor Sir John Adams was the founding Director of the Institute and served in this role from 1902 until his retirement in 1922. He was replaced by Percy Nunn who then served as Director from 1922 to 1936.



Photograph 10-2 Professor Sir John Adams (1857-1934)
Founding Director of the Institute of Education, London University⁵



Photograph 10-3 Professor Sir Percy Nunn (1870-1944)
Second Director of the Institute of Education, London University⁶

Professor Adams was a widely published author of many books and articles on educational theory and practice who had, as Nunn put it, a ‘gift as a popularizer of dull or difficult doctrines ... [and] robust, solid and energetic common sense’.⁷ His

early and reputation-establishing pre-Institute work, *Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education* (1897) argued for the value of educational theory in informing professional practice and for the need of the educator to know both their subject and the individual and to ensure that their teaching had meaning for the pupil. As Rusk put it, ‘The work burst like a new star into the educational firmament, and everything thereafter was different’.⁸ His other books included, *The Evolution of Educational Theory* (1912), *Making the Most of One’s Mind* (1915), *The New Teaching* (1918), *Modern Developments in Educational Practice* (1922, which included chapters by Adams on The Dalton Plan, The Play Way, The Project Method, and Free Discipline), and *Educational Movements and Methods* (1924, which included chapters on The Montessori Method by Boyd, Eurhythmics by Findlay, and The Dalton Plan by Kimmins). Rusk concluded that Adams’ many publications were ‘undoubtedly of the greatest significance in initiating and reinforcing a new outlook on education’.⁹

In 1924/25 Professor Adams undertook a long planned lecture tour of New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. According to Rusk, he lectured at ‘every university’ there (as well as teachers’ associations) and gave education in these Commonwealth countries ‘a new impetus’.¹⁰ Adams was reported to be an outstanding lecturer.¹¹ In Auckland, he gave at least two lectures on new education.¹² In July 1924, he lectured on ‘The Newer Education’ and specifically the Montessori and Dalton Plan approaches to teaching. Adams argued that education was rapidly changing and that the underlying principles of the new education were, ‘that the child and the subject were of equal importance’. He reflected that, with regard to the Montessori system, the focus was on the individual child as opposed to ‘collective work’ while the Dalton Plan improved on that. The Plan allowed for children to ‘work things out in their own way and in their own time’ and he suggested that teachers didn’t always like the Dalton Plan approach as it involved less ‘teaching’. Adams concluded that the best system of teaching would be ‘two-thirds Dalton and one-third class teaching’. The Professor also discussed self-government in schools as well as the studying and classification of individual pupils (which he predicted would ‘receive great consideration in time’). The following day he lectured on ‘Education and the New Psychology’.¹³

Sir Michael Sadler recounted later in 1935 some comments that Duncan Rae had made during his visit to Oxford in 1934 concerning the impact that Professor Adams' trip had had on education in New Zealand. Rae told Sadler that:

... the lectures which John Adams gave in New Zealand in 1924 are regarded by students as a landmark in the history of education in the Dominion. And, not his lectures only, but his talk and his personality ... [and] how deeply impressed he and his friends had been by Adams' humanity, penetration, scholarship, patience, and humour.¹⁴

On his return journey in 1925, Adams was informed that he had received a knighthood; the first given to a British educationist.

(b) Professor Sir Fred Clarke (1880-1952)

The second Director of the Institute of Education to visit New Zealand was Professor Sir Fred Clarke who undertook a lecture tour in July 1935, some eleven years after John Adams' visit. He was a strong supporter of the NEF and new education, penned several articles during his career for the *New Era* journal, and was later President of the English Section from 1942 until just before his death in 1952.¹⁵ He was also a popular lecturer at their conferences.



Photograph 10-4 Professor Sir Fred Clarke (1880-1952)

Third Director of the Institute of Education, London University¹⁶

In the early 1930s, the Institute of Education was attracting increasing numbers of overseas students, particularly from the Dominions, and in January 1935, Percy Nunn organised for Fred Clarke to become Adviser to Overseas Students at the Institute.¹⁷ Less than a year later he would become the Institute's third Director from 1936-1945.¹⁸ Clarke was also, as Mitchell (1967)¹⁹ put it, 'deeply and sincerely religious' (though not in a dogmatic sense) and a member of the Church of England. His deep-seated faith impacted on his life-long view that the purpose of education should provide, 'some conception of the unity which can give meaning to all forms of educational effort and reconcile that bewildering conflict of aims and ideals and necessities of life'.²⁰

During his career, Clarke gave many addresses to groups (especially to teachers), published numerous articles and book reviews in newspapers and journals, and wrote or edited more than five books: *A School History of Hampshire* (1909);²¹ *Essays in the Politics of Education* (1923); *Foundations of History Teaching* (1929); *Education and Social Change* (1940); and, *Freedom in the Educative Society* (1948). J A Lauwerys wrote that while Clarke didn't write many books he exercised a strong influence on education through his articles, talks and personal relationships and he displayed a 'curious sensitiveness to the existence of problems and his flair in formulating questions to which answers should be sought'.²² Clarke wrote on a range of educational policy areas with a strong emphasis on two areas, the sociology of schooling and comparative education. Clarke also helped establish the field of comparative education as a university discipline and his interest centred on education in the Dominions (particularly Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand) and more broadly on the notion of the development of nationhood and citizenship within the British Empire.

At the time of his 'Grand Tour' of the Dominions in 1935, Clarke was officially Adviser to Overseas Students, becoming Director of the Institute in 1936. He was presumably already reasonably well known in New Zealand through his articles and work in both South Africa and Canada. According to Mitchell, the Carnegie Corporation of New York²³ had given the Institute a grant of \$67,500 in 1932 to set

up an Overseas Division. The grant was for two purposes: to fund the appointment of an Adviser to Overseas Students and, to fund eight Fellowships per year to the Institute for promising early career students from the Dominions who would go on to be future leaders there (two per year from New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Canada).²⁴

The Corporation also made another related grant near the end of 1934 to allow Clarke to tour New Zealand, Australia, and Western Canada.²⁵ Clarke arrived in Auckland in July 1935. Dr Beeby met Clarke from the steamer and he had planned much of the New Zealand leg of Clarke's tour.²⁶ Clarke undertook a variety of activities. He consulted with key people at the New Zealand Department of Education and the four University colleges and met with groups of teachers in Wellington and Dunedin. He gave public addresses in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin under the auspices of the Institutes of Educational Research²⁷ and held discussions with informal groups. Clarke gave several newspaper interviews and interviewed the Fellows who had been selected to study at the Institute for 1935-36.²⁸ [See *Appendix 11* for a more detailed account of his activities while in New Zealand.]

Very soon after leaving New Zealand, an interview with Clarke was published in *National Education* titled, A Plea for the Autonomous School that embodied a strong new education message. Clarke argued for New Zealand to look to the other Dominions and the United States for cultural and educational ideas to assist in the building of a distinctively New Zealand culture. He then went on to promote the notion of the freedom of teachers working within an autonomous school system. He opposed NZEI's proposal for a de-politicised National Board of Education on the grounds that a directive central authority would undermine local autonomy. As Clarke put it, 'I think you should ... do all you can to foster local interest in education. For the spirit of real education can never be manufactured by the State; it must find its roots in the life and aspirations of the community'. Within this form of education system, Clarke argued that teachers should be free to interpret their jobs as professionals (and not act as 'loud-speakers for authority') and this should be one of the core aims of professional organisations like NZEI.

Clarke also argued that he was not keen on New Zealand's short two-year intermediate school system²⁹ and suggested it should be at least three or four years long ('No school should be regarded as a ladder between two other schools'). He added that each system should not only be autonomous but have a specific function. With regard to examinations, Clarke argued against examinations as they were 'a catastrophic event determining the pupil's destiny' and for examinations that promoted sound teaching and learning as 'a habit of mind'. This latter approach would require the better selection and training of teachers and it involved 'a real autonomy of the teacher in the professional sphere'. He also argued for a stronger and appropriate influence of universities in teacher training (though not to the point of just having teacher training solely in universities). Clarke concluded that the autonomy of the school was the key. Teachers needed to be given responsibility for all aspects of their role (including teaching methods, text-books, and assessment) although with this new freedom came greater responsibility. With regard to State control under this form of system, Clarke reflected that, 'where the ideals of the State itself were liberal and enlightened there was no incompatibility between the autonomy of the school and a proper and healthy measure of State control'.³⁰

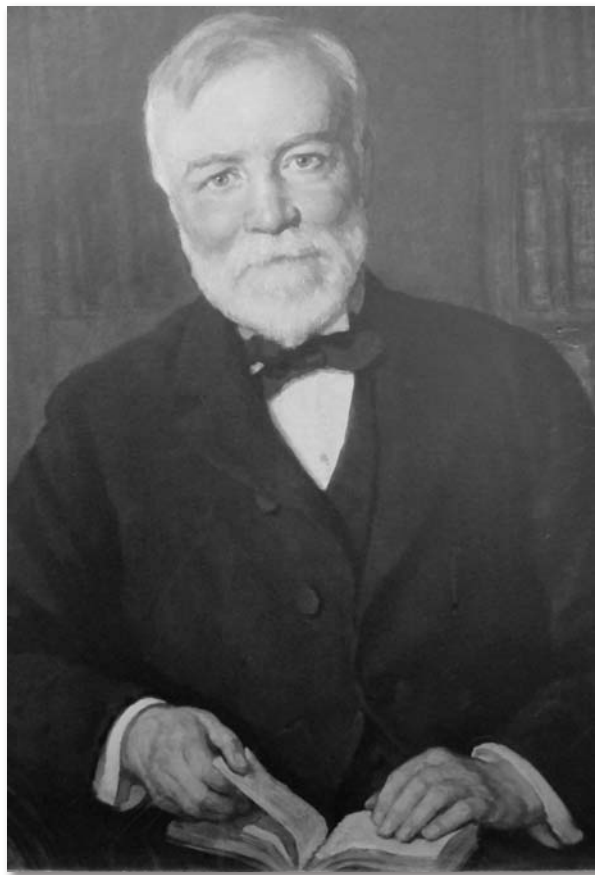
Clarke left Wellington for Sydney late in July 1935 and embarked on the Australian leg of this tour. With regard to the NEF Conference planned for two years later in 1937, he met with ACER to discuss the idea.³¹ While invited to speak at the Conference, he was unable to do so due to work commitments. In the late 1930s and early 40s, Clarke's conception of new education changed to become 'framed by a concern to sustain democracy in the face of totalitarian onslaught'³² and he became increasingly involved in activities relating to educational reconstruction. He was knighted in 1943 and retired as Director in 1945.³³

3) Carnegie Corporation Representatives

The Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) was the largest funder of progressive initiatives in the Dominions, including two 'waves' of funding for New Zealand. CCNY also heavily supported the NEF and the NEF Conference 1937 in Australasia. The Corporation regularly sent out eminent representatives to scope for

new funding opportunities as well as to evaluate existing projects. Three of these visitors will be considered in this section and each visit resulted in important progressive developments.

In 1911, the Scottish born philanthropist Andrew Carnegie founded by far the largest of his philanthropic trusts, the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY).³⁴ He stipulated that the interest from twenty million dollars of its funds be used for ‘the continuance of gifts for libraries ... as heretofore made by me in Canada and in the United Kingdom and British Colonies’.³⁵ The ‘special fund’ created was later refocused and named the British Dominions and Colonies Fund.³⁶



Photograph 10-5 Portrait of Andrew Carnegie

(Circa 1905)³⁷

Initially, from 1904, there was a first wave of funding provided personally by Andrew Carnegie and then from 1911 the CCNY Special Fund provided grants for the establishment of a number of free public libraries in New Zealand, including

buildings and book collections. Later, from 1927, the CCNY moved its main focus from Canada to other dominions and colonies and a second wave of grants from the British Dominions and Colonies Fund funded a range of progressive educational initiatives in New Zealand that focussed on adult education, educational research and the expansion of library services. Those of special interest to this thesis included: the expansion of University/ Workers' Educational Association (WEA) adult classes, an innovative community class library scheme (the WEA 'Box Scheme'), the CAR (Carnegie Adult Rural) scheme, a home science extension project, and projects relating to museums and art galleries. Besides these initiatives, the CCNY also: funded a number of travel grants for younger New Zealanders with talent and potential for leadership; provided art and music sets to New Zealand schools; provided sets of American books to university, training college and public libraries; and, funded the setting up of NZCER (and ACER) and ultimately the NEF Conference 1937.³⁸

The total sum of USD \$718,789 was distributed in New Zealand by the CCNY Commonwealth Program between 1927 and 1959 as outlined in Table 10-1.

Period Project Started	USD
1927-1929	\$107,500
1930-1939	\$505,749
1940-1949	\$14,390 ³⁹
1950-1959	\$91,150

Table 10-1 Monies distributed in New Zealand by the CCNY Commonwealth Program between 1927 and 1959

Almost 35% of the total monies allocated to New Zealand went to the administration and activities of NZCER from 1933-1955 (\$248,430; although some of these monies was administered by NZCER on behalf of other Carnegie projects). The bulk of the balance from 1927 to 1959 was allocated to university initiatives followed by \$51,100 to the New Zealand Library Association, and the remaining monies allocated in

smaller amounts to training colleges, secondary schools and local organisations.⁴⁰ [See *Appendix 12(a)* for a more detailed introduction to Carnegie grants in New Zealand from 1904 to 1937.]

To support these second wave initiatives, the CCNY sent out a number of distinguished visitors to monitor projects and gather information on local needs. The use of detailed plans of action that were developed by CCNY investigators on-the-ground in collaboration with local educational leaders was a new approach for the Corporation from 1927.⁴¹ Three key figures and their information-gathering visits to New Zealand have been chosen here as being relevant to new education and the NEF Conference: James Earl Russell in 1928, Lotus D Coffman in 1931 and Frederick P Keppel in 1935.

(a) James Earl Russell – Visit in 1928 (February 27 to March 16)

James Earl Russell's visit to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in 1928 caused a stir in each country. Russell was Dean Emeritus of Teachers' College, Columbia University and had been Professor of Education at Teachers' College from 1897 and then Dean since 1898. He had been appointed 'Carnegie Professor' for the trip by the CCNY and also acted as Visiting Carnegie Professor of International Relations at 'leading universities in New Zealand'⁴² for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.⁴³

Russell's visit to New Zealand appeared to have been well received. The Department of Education took on the role of coordinating his visit and advised their officials, education boards, university academics and training college staff throughout the country of his visit and his agreement to undertake lecturing duties as required.

In Auckland, he was met by H G Cousins, Principal of the Auckland Training College, and officials from the Department and Education Board. Russell visited the University College, the Training College and planned to visit Kowhai Junior High School and Auckland Grammar School. Russell also attended an informal Conference at the Education Board.⁴⁴ In Christchurch, J E Purchase reported that he, Dr Hight (Rector of Canterbury College) and Shelley met Russell and organised two days of

activities there for him, including spending two hours at the Training College.⁴⁵ In Wellington, Russell had several informal meetings with officers of the Department concerning education in America and his own work.⁴⁶ On the day Russell left Wellington for the South Island leg of his visit, he wrote to the Director of Education (T B Strong) and thanked him for the hospitality he had received, and he joked: 'If this kind of cordiality is repeated during the ensuing weeks I may have to ask you for "sick leave" in order to recuperate'.⁴⁷ A memo on file by the Assistant Director of Education noted several points from one of these meetings, including: that the libraries in some of the training colleges and university colleges were 'poverty stricken' and CCNY might look favourably on applications for grants for books; the home science and travelling library work of Professors Strong and Shelley in the South Island had impressed Russell and he would recommend it be extended; and, he suggested the Rockefeller and Spellman trusts also be approached for funding.⁴⁸ L J Wild, of the Feilding Agricultural College cabled the Department hoping to have Russell visit the school but he had already left for Sydney by then.

James Earl Russell's visit to New Zealand in 1928, and the observations and recommendations in his report, provided the CCNY with a solid foundation upon which to set parameters for future grants in New Zealand. As a direct result of Russell's visit, CCNY provided funding for a number of progressive education endeavours, including travel grants, support for University/ WEA adult classes, and the highly commended South Island intertwined endeavours with regards to: the Home Science extension project, the WEA 'Box Scheme', and the CAR (Carnegie Adult Rural) scheme in Otago or Canterbury (or both) under Strong and Shelley. In addition, grants were made to university and college libraries, and sets of American educational books were provided to universities and training colleges. The book sets included discipline-based books on the philosophy, psychology and sociology of education by authors such as W C Bagley, B H Bode, G S Counts, E P Cubberley, John Dewey, A L Gessell, and Henry Johnson. [See *Appendix 12(b)* for more detailed information on Russell's official report to the CCNY.]

Whereas Lotus Coffman's later visit to New Zealand in 1931 spearheaded the founding of NZCER, James Russell's visit to New Zealand and Australia likewise led

to the setting up of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER). Directly after Russell's visit to Australia, several conferences were held in New South Wales and Victoria to consider the founding of a national, independent educational research organisation in Australia. In July 1928, Tate wrote to Keppel requesting 'a grant for a term of years in order to provide for the establishment of an Australian Institute of Educational Research ... such an Institute is the most urgent need of Australian education today'.⁴⁹ The request was granted and in February 1930, ACER was established.⁵⁰

(b) Lotus Delta Coffman – Visit in 1931 (November 1 to November 17)

Lotus D Coffman (1875-1938) visited New Zealand and Australia at the end of 1931 for the CCNY. Like Dean Russell, he was primarily acting as a representative of the CCNY while also being visiting Carnegie Professor for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and in that latter role, he undertook lectures on international relations during his tour. At the time, Coffman was President of the University of Minnesota and had a strong interest in educational administration and adult education. He was the author of several books, including *Teacher Training Departments in Minnesota High Schools* (1920) and *Freedom Through Education* (1939).



Photograph 10-6 Lotus Delta Coffman⁵¹

Circa 1920

Coffman arrived in Auckland in November for a 17 day tour of New Zealand.⁵² On his arrival he was reported as saying that the purpose of his trip was to check projects ‘for which advances have already been made and to discover new ones for which fresh grants may be made’.⁵³ He had a busy trip visiting Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. He met with representatives of the four University Colleges, the WEA, city libraries, the Department of Education, principals of normal schools and other educational organisations.⁵⁴ Also during his stay he gave an address to the Auckland Rotary Club (chaired by T U Wells)⁵⁵ and was the guest speaker in Wellington of the University Club and English-speaking Union (also present were members of the Academic Board of the University of New Zealand).⁵⁶ Coffman spoke on the importance of education to democracy and the pressing need for scientific training and knowledge.⁵⁷

In the nearly four years between James Earl Russell’s visit early in 1928 and Lotus D Coffman’s visit to New Zealand in late 1931, the second wave of CCNY-funded projects that started from 1927 were well under way and in need of evaluation. These included grants for the WEA to expand the adult education classes run in the four university colleges (Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin), grants and book sets for university libraries, Shelley’s WEA ‘Box Scheme’ that had just been put on a more permanent footing in 1930, Professor Strong’s large home science extension project, and Shelley’s CAR (Carnegie Adult Rural) scheme that had just started in 1930. [See *Appendix 12(b)* for more detailed information on Coffman’s official report to the CCNY.]

The most significant recommendation in Coffman’s report to CCNY was the proposal for a research institute. Governor-General Bledisloe became involved in further discussions concerning an institute in 1932 and a number of different proposals were then considered by Lotus Coffman, the CCNY, and officials and educationists in New Zealand.⁵⁸ Finally, in 1933 Professor Hunter was tasked with leading a small group to further investigate the viability of such an institute and based on their more detailed recommendations, the CCNY granted funds for the setting up of the NZCER which came into being at the end of 1933.

(c) Frederick Paul Keppel – Visit in 1935 (January 25 to February 22)

Frederick P Keppel (1875-1943) visited New Zealand on behalf of the CCNY early in 1935 as part of a longer trip to the Dominions. Keppel was President of CCNY (1922-1941) and a graduate of Columbia University. He had been Dean of Columbia University by 1918 and President of the CCNY from 1923. His publications included, *Some War-Time Lessons* (1920), *Education for Adults and Other Essays* (1926), and *The Foundation: Its Place in American Life* (1930).⁵⁹

The main purpose of Keppel's visit was to 'acquaint himself with the work of the Carnegie Corporation in the Dominion and to get in touch with the libraries, universities and museums, with which the corporation is concerned'.⁶⁰ Since Lotus Coffman's visit just over three years ago in 1931, the CCNY was well into the biggest decade of funding ever for New Zealand of major projects and these required evaluation by the highest-ranking officer of the Corporation. NZCER had recently been established and funding guaranteed for five years, the Strong-Shelley WEA/Home Science Project had been expanded, there were grants to the Maori Purposes Board for arts and crafts education, major surveys of libraries and museums had been completed and sets of books for University libraries and art teaching sets for secondary schools had been delivered. In addition, museum development work had been funded, a fine arts centre building for Auckland University College had been supported, as well as a number of travel grants for teachers, librarians and public figures.⁶¹ A newspaper article of the time listed the grants and amounts of monies provided for the previous year only and this tallied to over USD \$400,000.⁶²

Keppel arrived in Auckland late in January 1935. His four week tour of New Zealand was arranged by Beeby and involved visiting the four main centres where Keppel met with government and university representatives, educationists, and museum and art gallery staff.⁶³ A civic welcome was held in Auckland on the day of his arrival. Keppel conferred with authorities of the Auckland University College and the public library.⁶⁴ He visited Napier where he was impressed by Bestall's work at the Napier Museum, and noted some years later that, 'I still have a vivid memory of our visit to

Napier and of Mr Bestall's enthusiasm'.⁶⁵ Keppel also visited Feilding (presumably to see Wild at the Feilding Agricultural College) before travelling to Wellington.⁶⁶

In Wellington, Keppel visited NZCER and met with Professors Hunter, Gould and Shelley and Beeby.⁶⁷ Beeby had been asked to prepare a report for Keppel on NZCER's activities to date⁶⁸ and Keppel had 'expressed himself as satisfied with the work to date and stressed the necessity for the Council's following its own policy and not seeking a lead from the Carnegie Corporation'.⁶⁹ Keppel also enquired about other schemes of work NZCER had been considering outside of their current programme and discussed were the establishment of an experimental school and Maori education.⁷⁰ Keppel also attended a meeting of the Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (the President was Sir James Allen and other Council members included Walter Nash and J E Strachan) to discuss the research work of the Institute.⁷¹ Beeby observed that Keppel was 'rather deluged with people over here, but ... he is perfectly capable of dealing with the matter himself'.⁷² In Christchurch, Keppel was presented with a book of photographic views of New Zealand that included an illuminated address illustrated by Shelley.⁷³ While in Dunedin, he gave a speech to the University Club on the nurturing of those students with a creative instinct in the modern university system.⁷⁴ From Dunedin he travelled to Oamaru where he stayed with the progressive educational leader, Frank Milner (then Rector of Waitaki Boy's High School as well as NZCER Council member).⁷⁵ On his return to Wellington, the American Consul-General gave a consular party for him and in attendance were the Prime Minister (Forbes), Cabinet Ministers, trustees of the National Art Gallery and Museum, Victoria College Council members as well as Professors Thomas Hunter and William Gould.⁷⁶

Of particular relevance to Dr Isaac Kandel's attendance at the NEF Conference 1937, Keppel's official report⁷⁷ to the CCNY strongly recommended that an overseas expert undertake additional inquiries into New Zealand's education system (including into the areas of technical institutes, agricultural education and comparative education): 'One or more such visits might be made to coincide with the forthcoming international educational Conference to be held in Australia in 1937' (p. 22). [For more detailed information on Keppel's report see *Appendix 12(b)*.] Fortuitously, G S

Browne⁷⁸ had recommended to Ken Cunningham that he discuss with Keppel on his arrival the possibility of Isaac Kandel visiting Australia to undertake a similar study of education there. After Keppel's tour, Cunningham wrote to him in support of the idea and suggested that Kandel come for a longer duration in order to study Australian education in detail.⁷⁹ Consequently, by October 1935, Kandel was granted a year's leave of absence from Teachers' College, Columbia University to visit Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in 1937.⁸⁰ In addition, CCNY approved funding for his 'attendance at [the] educational Conference in Australia'.⁸¹ While certainly not a 'progressive' educator, Isaac Kandel was forward thinking and not only made insightful observations on New Zealand's education system but was a popular speaker during the Conference in 1937.

To conclude this section, the Carnegie Corporation and its representatives were a significant and critical force for supporting, instigating and developing progressive ideas, people, conferences, institutions and policy in New Zealand during the interwar years. It was Keppel, at the beginning of 1942, who wrote a summative document of the Corporation's contribution to the Dominions.⁸² He reflected that the Corporation's biggest successes to date included the establishment of NZCER (and ACER), the travel grants to and from the Dominions, and the gifts of books to build university libraries. In addition he praised the museums programme, the 'country life' activities in the South Island, the music and arts sets, and the 'stimulus given to Maori art in New Zealand' (p. 5). Keppel added that the Corporation could have done more for colleges and universities in general beyond the provision of books, arts sets and so on.

Keppel also made a number of important recommendations. He suggested sending out 'younger men' for more frequent Corporation visits, keeping in touch with 'our friends' regularly by means of friendly letters, distribution of materials and so on, and, that the Corporation's policy of supporting 'local initiative' has been a successful one. Pertaining to NZCER, he noted, 'I believe we have done well to support the interests of people on the spot whom we trust and to whom we have turned for counsel' (p. 8). He also praised a number of individuals who had been particularly useful to the Corporation, including Frank Tate and Ken Cunningham, and 'the

younger New Zealanders who have successively been drawn from our enterprises to important government positions' (p. 9).

Keppel reiterated that the success of their enterprises had been dependent on 'having the right individual on the spot ... sometimes on the basis of personal knowledge or careful preliminary inquiry, sometimes as the result of good luck' (p. 9). He warned that the key Corporation people in the Southern Dominions 'while well-informed by their reading, are singularly isolated from personal contacts' and this may lead to them being 'over-sensitive' to approaches that appear like patronage: 'They want to be treated like grown-up civilized people' (p. 10). He foreshadowed that while the Corporation should 'keep the bidding open' in the Dominions, the Corporation should not commit itself too far into the future.

Keppel finally observed that perhaps the most important outcome of the Corporation programmes to date was 'rather an intangible one' (p. 7). He suggested that the activities had generally resulted in a better understanding of the best aspects of life in America and specifically a better understanding of 'the disinterested and intelligent good will' of the Corporation. He concluded that:

Our spadework for the past fourteen years in Australia, and in New Zealand as well, is now bearing fruit in these critical days for all the democracies touching the Pacific Ocean. (p. 7)

Conclusion

The significant contribution by influential visitors to the development of the new education in New Zealand in the interwar years is easy to overlook. The representatives of CCNY were not only evaluating currently-funded projects but were looking for initiatives to support. For instance, the establishment of NZCER came from one such visit. In addition, the eminent professors of education, Sir John Adams and Sir Fred Clarke brought the latest of new education ideas to the country. They also strengthened the important link between the Institute of Education and educators

in New Zealand. Finally, the Theosophical Society in New Zealand received a stream of officers from the Theosophical Society (Adyar) headquarters many of whom had an interest in education. The experimental Vasanta Garden School and its new educators were a particular beneficiary of these visits. New Zealand's geographical isolation, then, did not appear to adversely affect such visitors from coming to the country and disseminating new education ideals during their visits.

Concluding Comments for Section B

In the nineteenth and the early parts of the twentieth century, it appeared that New Zealand was a small isolated country at the bottom of the world. What the eight chapters in this section have demonstrated is that, despite its isolation, new education ideas did make their way to New Zealand and were then disseminated through a range of channels. New education arrived in the late 1800s and was spread by a variety of educational organisations, progressive individuals, 'new' teaching approaches, overseas visitors, and government policy. Books, journals, newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, correspondence and word of mouth all helped to fuel the distribution of new education viewpoints throughout what was a geographically challenged country.

From the 1920s, there was a growing pressure for educational reform spearheaded by a policy environment sympathetic to new education. However, while the influence of new education ideas had a significant impact on administrators and educational organisations, in the main, it only impacted teachers' understandings of these 'modern' teaching methods and really only influenced the practice of the more progressive and brave-hearted teachers. The pressure for reform, buoyed by a new progressive syllabus in 1929 (the 'Red Book'), resulted in a significant groundswell of support for new education reforms in the 1930s. With strong official encouragement came a greater acceptance of new education into the 1930s and progressive approaches increasingly were employed in schools and classrooms during this period. The founding of NZCER in the mid-1930s, with its research emphasis on progressive projects, gave further respectability to new education ideas and practices and the First Labour Government, and particularly Peter Fraser, from 1935 built on the progressive educational environment that had been sown in New Zealand in the previous two decades.

The NEF Conference in 1937, then, didn't bring new education to an educationally barren New Zealand, it came fortuitously at an opportune time to capitalise on the fertile progressive ground laid previously by many educational organisations, educators at universities and teachers' training colleges, progressive individuals,

overseas visitors, and politicians without which it would be hard to imagine the subsequent overwhelmingly positive reception of the Conference. During the 1930s, with smaller class sizes, more purpose built buildings, a more liberal attitude from many inspectors, a reform of the grading system, the planned scrapping of the Proficiency Examination, and a new syllabus (with greater emphasis on individuals as opposed to subjects and greater freedom of teaching approaches), progressive education became more prevalent.

The two photographs below provide an interesting contrast with those at the beginning of Section B and demonstrate the growth of new education in New Zealand during the interwar years. These classrooms clearly embody many aspects of new education and already reflect the core ideas that the NEF delegates discussed during their visit in 1937. Again, not all classroom around the country looked like this in the 1930s but these reflected those more pioneering and innovative progressive schools and teachers and became the model for educational practices in the 1940s and later.



Photograph 10-7 Infant Room (probably College Street School, Palmerston North)
(circa 1930s)⁸³



Photograph 10-8 Classroom at College Street School, Palmerston North
(circa 1930s)⁸⁴

The NEF Conference 1937 considered in the final part of this thesis, fortuitously, was undoubtedly held at a very important juncture in New Zealand's educational history. However, as the material in Section B illustrates, it did not signal the beginning of progressive education in the country but acted as the turning point between the end of the first phase of experimental growth and the start of the second phase of the gradual consolidation of the new education throughout the education system nationwide.

Notes

¹ Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4; pp. 28-29.

² These March/ April 1934 lectures by Krishnamurti are available at: www.jiddu-krishnamurti.net/en/1934-1935-what-is-right-action/jiddu-krishnamurti-what-is-right-action-02

³ Sources: Jinarajadasa (1925); <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com>; www.theosophy.org.nz; Ellwood (1993).

⁴ This photograph is a public domain photograph from Wikimedia Commons: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Olcott_Besant_Leadbeater.jpg

⁵ Used with the kind permission of the Institute of Education; Reference: IE/PHO/1/2.

⁶ Used with the kind permission of the Institute of Education; Reference: IE/PHO/1/95.

⁷ Sir Percy Nunn's Tribute to Adams, *The Times*, 3 October 1934, p. 14.

⁸ Rusk also added that the book was more Adams than Herbart and this perhaps assisted its popularity. Rusk, R. (1961). Sir John Adams - 1857-1934. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 10(1), 49-57; p. 54.

⁹ Rusk, R. (1961). Sir John Adams - 1857-1934. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 10(1), 49-57; p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; p. 53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Shaw, citing a *Manuka* (1924, pp. 7-8) report, recounted that Adams visited the Auckland Training College during this trip and additionally that one of his public addresses, titled *Tendencies in Modern Education*, attracted an audience of over 1,000 people; Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education, 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; p. 80.

¹³ *Auckland Star*, 24 July 1924, p. 9.

¹⁴ Sadler, M. (1935). *John Adams – A lecture in his memory*. London: University of London Institute of Education; pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ Boyd and Rawson (1965).

¹⁶ Used with the kind permission of the Institute of Education; Reference: IE/PHO/1/21.

¹⁷ There was a considerable correspondence between Clarke (then in Canada) and Nunn in the early 1930s around the establishment of the Institute proper, and later the Adviser position, and from 1933 there were several comments around Nunn's poor health. Nunn had even had friends requesting him to consider resigning in 1934. Nunn had also communicated his desire to Clarke that he would like him to take his position when he retired and this may have tempted Clarke to give up a permanent position in Canada to take up a contract position at the Institute; see correspondence IOE, FC/41. As Clarke put it, 'in casting loose from permanent moorings to assume what is at present only a temporary post, I am taking considerable risk at my time of life'; letter Clarke to Keppel dated 20 November 1934; IOE, FC/41.

¹⁸ Sources: Aldrich and Gordon (1989); Mitchell (1967); Obituary in *The Times*, 8 January 1952, p. 8; J A Lauwerys' short biography of Clarke, IOE, FC/7.

¹⁹ Frank W Mitchell was Professor of Education at the University of Otago when he wrote this biography of Clarke.

²⁰ Mitchell (1967), p. 3.

²¹ Lauwerys wrote that Clarke's early text, *A School History of Hampshire* (1909) already included many of his ideas on education: 'that a society is a historical process ... that education is the socialisation of the young by active participation in cultural activity; that education is one aspect of society; that politics is inseparable from education'; IOE, FC/7.

²² Source: J A Lauwerys' short biography of Clarke, IOE, FC/7. When this was written, presumably in the early 1950s, Lauwerys was Professor of Education at the Institute of Education and Chairman of the New Education Fellowship.

²³ Nunn pointed out that there had been considerable discussions with the Corporation over the proposal, and that he had met with Dean Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University and Deller who was sent on behalf of Keppel; letter Nunn to Clarke dated 8 May 1934, IOE, FC/41.

²⁴ Mitchell (1967), p. 88. Nunn noted that the specific component for Fellowships amounted to \$10,000 per year and that, 'We do not want brilliant young people who have just completed the course of a degree, but men and women who, having done well at university, have gained some experience in the educational world and have given promise that they are likely to play in it parts of more than ordinarily importance' (Nunn's draft report titled, Fellowships for Overseas Students, IOE, FC/41).

²⁵ Clarke made a case for the tour directly to Keppel in a letter dated 20 November 1934. He also noted that he wanted to develop reciprocal relations with Malherbe's Bureau and the 'Carnegie Councils of Educational Research' in New Zealand and Australia; IOE, FC/41.

²⁶ Letter Beeby to Milner dated 9 July 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.

²⁷ Clarke's public addresses in the main centres were given on the request of Beeby and organised by the secretaries of the four Institutes of Educational Research; Minutes of the 27 June 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

²⁸ Clarke's report on the tour to the Carnegie Corporation of New York; IOE, FC/78.

²⁹ This view was similar to that of the overseas speakers at the 1937 NEF Conference as well.

³⁰ Clarke, F. (1935). A Plea for the Autonomous School. *National Education*, August 1, 319.

³¹ Clarke's itinerary for Melbourne included a meeting at ACER to discuss the NEF Conference; IOE, FC/78.

³² Aldrich, R. (2009). The new education and the Institute of Education, University of London, 1919-1945. *Paedagogica Historica*, 45(4-5), 485-502; p. 497. A good example of this is Clarke's introduction to the 1936 issue of the *Yearbook of Education*.

³³ Sources: J. A. Lauwerys' short biography of Clarke, IOE, FC/7; Aldrich and Gordon (1989); Mitchell (1967); Obituary in *The Times*, 8 January 1952, pp. 6-8.

³⁴ Of the total amount of public gifts and bequests of over USD \$300 million, the Carnegie Corporation of New York bequest was for approximately USD \$135 million. Source: Lester, R. (1941). *Forty years of Carnegie giving*. NY: Scribner.

³⁵ Stackpole, S. (1963). *Carnegie Corporation Commonwealth Program 1911-1961*. NY: Carnegie Corporation of New York; p. 3.

³⁶ Source: Stackpole (1963). Lester (1941, p. 97) summarized that Andrew Carnegie started in 1901 to give away USD 311 million dollars, that over the first forty years

the trusts have distributed USD 368 million dollars and by 1941, total trust assets remained at USD 319 million dollars.

³⁷ ACER has authorised use of this photograph from their web site for research purposes only. A copy of this portrait was given to NZCER as well.

³⁸ Source: Stackpole (1963).

³⁹ This figure is relatively low due to the impact of world War Two.

⁴⁰ Source: Stackpole (1963), pp. 52-54; figures extracted from the full list of grants.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴² Letter from President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to Minister of Education (Hon. R. A. Wright), dated 23 January 1928; E, Series 2, Box 1945|26e, Record 29|70|2.

⁴³ The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was a much smaller trust than the CCNY that was established by Andrew Carnegie in 1910 with a grant of USD 10 million dollars. Its primary goal is to 'advance the cause of peace among nations' as well as to increase international understanding and assist in the development of international law (Lester, 1941, p. 52). It also funded several activities of Paul Dengler, who visited New Zealand as a speaker during the NEF Conference 1937.

⁴⁴ Also present were T U Wells, Purdie, Professors Egerton, Bartrum, Segar, Johnson and Belshaw, Mr Richmond (WEA), Miss Johnston (Girls' Grammar School), Park (Technical College), Mahon (Grammar School), and Cousins. Source: E, Series 2, Box 1945|26e, Record 29|70|2.

⁴⁵ Letter from Purchase to Director of Education dated 15 March 1928; E, Series 2, Box 1945|26e, Record 29|70|2.

⁴⁶ Letter from Assistant Director of Education to Purchase dated 20 March 1928; E, Series 2, Box 1945|26e, Record 29|70|2.

⁴⁷ Letter from Russell to Director of Education dated 7 March 1928; E, Series 2, Box 1945|26e, Record 29|70|2.

⁴⁸ 'Notes of Conference 16th March, 1928' File Memo dated 19 March 1929; E, Series 2, Box 1945|26e, Record 29|70|2.

⁴⁹ Letter Tate to Keppel dated 4 July 1928; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 51, Folder 3.

⁵⁰ Connell (1980), p. 1.

⁵¹ Photograph Courtesy of University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

⁵² *Auckland Star*, 26 October 1931, p. 2.

⁵³ *The Evening Post*, 2 November 1931, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D. Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4.

⁵⁵ *Auckland Star*, 2 November 1931, p. 9.

⁵⁶ *The Evening Post*, 4 November 1931, p. 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ See the CCNY file Series IIIA, Box 270, Folder 3, for the correspondence relating to how the research institute should be set up and how it should operate.

⁵⁹ Also see the information on Keppel, *The Evening Post*, 24 January 1935, p. 13.

⁶⁰ *The Evening Post*, 16 January 1935, p. 10. Keppel's report put the purpose in more formal language: 'The major purpose of the trip was to gain a layman's impression of the opportunities open to the Corporation in the British Dominions ... and to make a kind of interim recapitulation and appraisal of the activities in those areas with which the Corporation has been associated'. Informal Report of the President on Visit to the Southern British Dominions, January-June 1935; CCNY, Series VIII, Box 13, Folder 5; p. 5.

-
- ⁶¹ *Auckland Star*, 25 January 1935, p. 8.
- ⁶² *The Evening Post*, 24 January 1935, p. 13. Keppel's report listed the total amount for New Zealand to date as USD \$415,000 – Informal Report of the President on Visit to the Southern British Dominions, January-June 1935; CCNY, Series VIII, Box 13, Folder 5; p. 5.
- ⁶³ His tour also followed a similar tourist route that he arranged for the NEF Conference visitors in 1937, encompassing some of the country's finest scenic features.
- ⁶⁴ *The Evening Post*, 16 January 1935, p. 10; *Auckland Star*, 25 January 1935, p. 4.
- ⁶⁵ Letter Keppel to McQueen dated 4 January 1940; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.
- ⁶⁶ *The Evening Post*, 2 February 1935, p. 10.
- ⁶⁷ Minutes of the 27 February 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁶⁸ Minutes of the 1 February 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁶⁹ Minutes of the 27 February 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *The Evening Post*, 13 September 1935, p. 11.
- ⁷² Letter Beeby to John M. Russell dated 8 February 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁷³ *The Evening Post*, 12 February 1935, p. 11. Shelley was an accomplished artist and a specialist in drawing illuminated manuscripts.
- ⁷⁴ *The Evening Post*, 19 February 1935, p. 8.
- ⁷⁵ *Auckland Star*, 16 January 1935, p. 9. In a letter from Milner to Beeby dated 22 February 1935, Milner wrote that, 'I had a charming time with the Keppels here. They were intensely interested in the school as their boys went to boarding school in New England'; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.
- ⁷⁶ It was reported that, 'Mrs Keppel was in a bronze tinted georgette and a matching hat and coat' and, that Mr A D Mcintosh was in charge of Keppel's appointments while he was in New Zealand. Mcintosh, who was in the Prime Minister's Department, was a friend of John M Russell and undertook a similar role during his CCNY visit in 1938. *The Evening Post*, 21 February 1935, p. 19.
- ⁷⁷ Informal Report of the President on Visit to the Southern British Dominions, January-June 1935; CCNY, Series VIII, Box 13, Folder 5.
- ⁷⁸ Then both principal of the Melbourne Teachers College and professor of education at the University of Melbourne.
- ⁷⁹ Letter Cunningham to Keppel dated 15 April 1935; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 193, Folder 16.
- ⁸⁰ Letter Kandel to Keppel dated 16 October 1935; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 193, Folder 16.
- ⁸¹ CCNY document titled, Corporation Visitors to Southern Dominions with an appropriation stamp dated 17 November 1936; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 193, Folder 16.
- ⁸² Memorandum on the Activities of Carnegie Corporation in the British Colonies and Southern Dominions, dated 26 January 1942; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b. Between Frederick Keppel's visit in 1935 and this 1942 Memorandum, New Zealand had visits from other CCNY representatives. For example, in 1938, John M Russell and his wife visited New Zealand ostensibly for a holiday but appeared to undertake a considerable amount of CCNY-related activities as well. John Russell (then Assistant to the

President of CCNY) wrote to Beeby advising that it would be ‘entirely a private venture on our part’ and they hoped to see as many of their friends in New Zealand as possible. Later, as Beeby put it, ‘We have just had John and Hortense with us here. They took the place by storm. He has the queerest idea of a holiday, but we at least enjoyed it immensely’. Letter John Russell to Beeby dated 6 April 1938; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b. Letter Beeby to James Earl Russell dated 27 July 1938; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26.

⁸³ AAVZ, Acc2598, File PR-02-01, Volume 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

SECTION C

The New Zealand NEF Conference 1937

The New Zealand NEF Conference in 1937, considered in more detail in this final section, came at the end of a critical phase of progressive education development during the interwar years. The first phase of growth of the new education in New Zealand had previously occurred through a less structured experimentation with progressive ideals, including a panoply of policy pronouncements, curriculum reforms, trials and adaptations of various teaching approaches and models, initiatives of progressive professors of education and training college lecturers, and varied experiments of school principals and teachers. In addition, educational administrators, researchers and overseas visitors had lent their weight, expertise and resources to such endeavours. By the time of the Conference, the core ideas of the overseas delegates not only fell on fertile ground but the overall education environment in the country was at a turning point awaiting strategic guidance and educational leadership.

The Conference, in fact, legitimated nearly twenty years of liberal progressive rhetoric and experimentation. It also provided a stronger educational and political platform for the Labour Government to continue with progressive reforms and educational reorganisation in the late 1930s and into the 1940s. It appeared that no one expected the Conference to turn out to be as successful as it was. It did garner Government backing, support from NZCER and NZEI, and the educational community but it started out as a fairly small-scale congress tagged on to the larger Australian NEF Conference in 1937 that ACER had been planning for three years.

However, with well-known visiting delegates, large numbers of attendees, wide public involvement, huge publicity, and the closure of schools, the Conference turned out to be the largest educational event in New Zealand's history. With the gaining of such widespread educational, political and public support, the NEF Conference 1937 heralded the start of the second phase of gradual consolidation of the new education throughout the New Zealand education system.

Of note, the New Education Fellowship's world conferences were a *regular* and important feature of the organisation from 1921 while regional conferences such as this one originated in a more *ad hoc* fashion. In the main, regional conferences were inspired and initiated by influential and energetic local progressive individuals, sympathetic organisations, and/or official Fellowship Sections. The origins of this regional NEF Conference in 1937 in New Zealand can be traced back to such a unique combination of far-sighted individuals, events and organisations. These included: Kenneth Stewart Cunningham of the Australian Council for Educational Research, Ernst Gideon Malherbe of the South African National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, and Clarence Edward Beeby of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research; the 1934 South African regional NEF Conference, and the 1936 Cheltenham world NEF Conference; and, the substantive support, funding and networking of the Carnegie Corporation and the New Education Fellowship. Each played an important role in ensuring the genesis of the New Zealand Conference and the success that it became.

There are two important *forewarnings* for Section C.

First, the origins and pre-organisation minutiae of the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 are indeed fascinating, contextually of interest and involve many of the new educators and organisations canvassed in Section B of this thesis. However, that information is in the main tangential to the Conference's importance in the New Zealand educational landscape, the Conference itself, and the overall argument of this thesis. Thus, as this information is relevant but not central to this thesis, it is not a major part of this section. However, comprehensive information has been included at

the end of the Appendices as useful contextual background and ‘for the record’; [*see Appendix 26*].

Second, this section will present a brief collective summary of the new educational ideas that the various visiting delegates espoused during their stay and not a lengthy analysis. The reason is simple: the core progressive ideas of the delegates were not actually new – they had been circulating in the New Zealand educational landscape for the previous twenty years (and more) [and the chapters in Section B illustrate this clearly]. In addition, the overseas delegates were not chosen specifically for their breadth of coverage of educational topics – while some care was taken in this regard, the delegates who eventually arrived on New Zealand shores did so primarily due to their availability to undertake travel to Australia at that time of the year and then the time and inclination to travel to New Zealand as well. A different group of delegates would have covered different topics and brought different types of expertise. [See *Appendices 15 & 20* for a listing of the delegates’ session titles and their material in the proceedings both here and in Australia, and *Appendix 14* for an overview of the speakers themselves.]

This is not to say that these particular delegates didn’t have a profound impact. Each was a specialist in their own area and each made important contributions to education in New Zealand more broadly and in their own speciality. The over-riding point is that the Conference *itself* as a progressive congress, no matter which speakers or topics were discussed, was the critical turning point for progressive education in New Zealand. The Conference reinforced and legitimated new educational ideas in the education sector, it garnered massive publicity and public support for new education, and it strengthened and inspired the political resolve for progressive educational change that had previously been started and was to develop in the following decades. This section aims to particularly illustrate these aspects.

The section is structured into two areas in order to examine the place of the Conference in the development of the new education in New Zealand during the interwar years:

- 1) *The NEF Conference 1937* – including the progressive educators and organisations behind the Conference, the wave of Conference publicity, the speakers and their links to the NEF, an overview of the Conference topics, and the role of the Minister of Education at the Conference (Chapter Eleven); and,
- 2) *After the NEF Conference 1937* – including the private correspondence concerning how the Conference had been received and what its immediate impact was, the publication of the official proceedings and the New Zealand *New Era* issue, the winding up of the National Committee, and the distribution of the large surplus to support future new education endeavours in the country (Chapter Twelve).

The NEF Conference 1937

The New Education Fellowship Conference comes at a singularly opportune time when the whole education system of the Dominion is under review. It should serve the double purpose of giving administrators and teachers first-hand information on the spirit and practice of education in other countries, and of arousing in the public mind that interest in and enthusiasm for education without which administrative reforms may be largely sterile.

(Peter Fraser, Minister of Education, July 1937)¹

Introduction

What was originally intended to be a regional NEF conference solely based in Australia – with some ‘preliminary sessions’ to be held in New Zealand – ultimately turned into nearly equal-sized conferences on both sides of the Tasman. In Australia, 21 progressive educators visited 6 cities, there were approximately 8,000 registrations and ‘many more thousands attended the meetings’. In New Zealand, 14 educators visited 4 cities, there were approximately 6,000 registrations and over 20,000 took part.²

The NEF Conference in New Zealand was an overwhelming (and somewhat unexpected) success. The primary reason for this was that the Conference had fallen on fertile ground and had taken place at the culmination of nearly twenty years of progressive education endeavours throughout the country. As has been previously considered, there had already been a progressive policy direction, groundwork had been carried out by several progressive organisations, educational researchers had been undertaking progressive experiments, large amounts of progressive material was becoming widely available, and influential progressive visitors had already toured the country. Moreover, several important groups of new educators had been enthusiastically engaging in carrying out or supporting progressive activities in the interwar years, including professors of education, training college lecturers, principals, teachers, administrators and inspectors. Far from signalling the start of new education in the country, the Conference actually represented the end of the first

phase of progressive education and the beginning of the second phase, its consolidation in New Zealand's educational landscape.

In July 1937 the Conference and its 'menagerie' turned out to be the largest event in New Zealand's educational history. It harnessed the energy of existing progressive educators and organisations. It garnered massive publicity, including newspaper reports, radio broadcasts and civic and state receptions. It attracted some of the most ardent progressive educators in the world. It also brought the new education message from the global arena not just to the national level but to local regions as well. In addition, the Government became heavily involved. It had underwritten the Conference and Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education (and Acting-Prime Minister at the time), attended many of the sessions. Fraser also held a private two-day Conference with the visiting speakers to ask their advice about his proposed educational reforms. The Conference, then, was not just an educational phenomenon but an important political concern as well. These aspects will form the main parts of this chapter.

The Conference itself began and ended with 2 telegrams. On 9 July 1937, Dr Beeby sent a telegram from Auckland to NZCER with the following message:³



LANDED MENAGERIE WITHOUT HITCH STOP DENGLER
SLIDES NO FILMS ALSO HUNDRED CHILDRENS DRAWINGS
NEEDING SMALL EXHIBITION ROOM PERMANENTLY STOP
ZILLIACUS NEITHER SLIDES NO FILMS STOP RING
ARMOUR NORWOOD ACCEPTS LUNCHEON INVITATION
STOP RING CAMPBELL SALTER DAVIES ACCEPTS NEW
ZEALAND SOCIETY LUNCHEON STOP ASK DAVISON
INSURE HANKINS EXHIBITION TWO
HUNDRED FIFTY AUCKLAND AND WELLINGTON +

1) The Progressive Educators Behind the Conference Organisation

The NEF Conference 1937 was organised by progressive educators and organisations around the country. There was high levels of enthusiasm for the Conference at both the local and national level – not just because of the nature of the Conference itself or its overseas speakers but because those involved in its organisation were already engaging in progressive activities. These progressive educators were involved at two levels, in the National Organising Committee and in the four regional organising committees; many of these educators were considered earlier.

In June 1936, a National Organising Committee was formed to organise the administrative and programme aspects of the Conference (and later they were supported by local committees in each region). The Committee included representatives from the key national educational organisations and many of these were progressive educators. Committee members included: the Hon Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education; Dr J W McIlraith, the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools; Professor W H Gould, NZCER; and, Professor T A Hunter, representing the University of New Zealand.⁴

Professor T A Hunter was appointed the Chairman of the National Committee. Hunter was Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand at the time as well as President of the Council of NZCER.



Photograph 11-1 Professor T A Hunter⁵

There were also three Joint Honorary Secretaries with varying responsibilities. The first was Dr C E Beeby, Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Beeby was responsible for the programme and speakers.



Photograph 11-2 Dr C E Beeby⁶

The second was Mr G R Ashbridge, General Secretary of the New Zealand Educational Institute. Ashbridge was responsible for finances and registrations.



Photograph 11-3 Mr G R Ashbridge⁷

The third was Mr F R J Davies of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.⁸ Davies was the assistant to Beeby and responsible for publicity.⁹

There were also four local committees that brought together interested progressive educators from each region. The Conference was held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin and the local committees for each region were intended, and indeed were required to play an essential part in the organisation of the Conference. At the second meeting of the National Committee in mid-1936, Beeby had first raised the issue of the scope of responsibilities of the local committees.¹⁰ At the following meeting, Beeby and Ashbridge reported back on the proposed scope of functions and responsibilities of the local committees and they had prepared a circular outlining these in detail.¹¹ However, it appeared that by December 1936 the local committees were barely in operation and the final National Committee meeting for the year had only just allocated the committees £5 as seeding money.¹² Even the Wellington Local Committee was not to meet initially in an official capacity until February 1937.¹³

The local committee membership comprised progressive university academics, teachers college lecturers, teachers from all sectors, and representatives of relevant local educational and community organisations, such as city councils. Each of the four local committees had a reasonable amount of autonomy over the organisation of the committee and their activities within the parameters provided by the National Committee. For example, each of the four committees had different numbers of members, different structures, and even different titles for their positions. The committees developed, designed and printed their own local programmes and each had quite a different format. The committees also arranged their sessions slightly differently during the day in terms of the placement and number of seminars, symposiums and public lectures. The committees developed and printed their own letterheads for correspondence and each used a loose mix of more or less accurate terms to name the Conference, such as the 'Seventh Regional Conference of the NEF'.¹⁴

The Auckland Local Committee had a membership of fourteen people and its President was Professor A B Fitt. Other notable progressive educators included Miss A Kennedy (Hon Secretary), Francis Garry, Duncan Rae and H C McQueen.¹⁵ The Wellington Local Committee also had a membership of fourteen people, including Mr A E Campbell (Hon Secretary), Mr L F de Berry and Max Riske.¹⁶ The Christchurch Local Committee had a membership of eleven people, including Dr J Hight (Chairman) and J E Purchase (Joint Hon Secretary).¹⁷ It is not quite clear why H C D Somerset was not on the Christchurch Committee as he had written to Beeby in March offering his assistance. Somerset had previously pointed out that, 'I have met with most of the delegation so can speak with some little authority [about them]'.¹⁸ Finally, the Dunedin Local Committee had a membership of nineteen people, including Professor R Lawson, Miss V Hayward¹⁹ and Frank Milner.²⁰

These progressive educators on the national and local committees represented progressive educational organisations. NZCER was particularly important in the organisation of the Conference and many members of the committees belonged to NZCER's local Institutes of Educational Research. NZEI was central as well, especially for the financial and day-to-day running of the Conference in the regions. The NEF section in Auckland also played a supporting role. Also, many in the Department of Education including its inspectors attended in each main centre.

In addition, schools were also closed for a week in each area. This was to allow teachers to attend that wished to and many did.

2) Spreading the Progressive Message – The Wave of Conference Publicity

The Conference garnered massive publicity, including newspaper reports, radio broadcasts and civic and state receptions. In the twelve-months leading up to and during the Conference itself, it was well publicised throughout the whole country.

At the first meeting of the National Committee in June 1936, immediate publicity for the Conference was delegated to Dr Beeby and George Ashbridge.²¹ Only two days

later, the first official publicity release was widely published in newspapers around the country. For example, the 4 June issue of *The Dominion* contained a lengthy article on the formation of the National Committee, the proposed Conference, the organisations that were involved, information on the Australian Conference, and a broad proposal for the New Zealand Conference. A second lengthy publicity release on the Conference was published nationally in July that outlined the discussions of the second National Committee meeting. At the third meeting of the National Committee in September 1936, it was decided that the four Local Committees would be delegated responsibility for local publicity in their own area.²²

For those last five months, Beeby and Ashbridge had been responsible for the immediate publicity of the Conference. At the November 1936 meeting of the National Committee, it was resolved that given their other responsibilities, publicity be undertaken by a newly-formed Publicity Committee to be convened by Professor Gould.²³ By the end of the year, the Publicity Committee had reported that further substantial Conference publicity had, or soon would be published in national newspapers and the *Education Gazette*. In addition, they proposed to circulate a four-page supplement in *National Education* and the *Education Gazette*.²⁴

The breadth of publicity for the Conference was surprising. Besides using the national press, the National Committee and the Local Committees publicised the Conference through other publications (such as reports in official organs, journals, weekly and monthly magazines), as well as radio broadcasts. There was also a push to gain publicity through less formal means, such as meeting with a range of union, educational, trade, and other organisations in order to publicise the Conference to their members. The vast majority of the publicity for the Conference was gained for no charge. There were a relatively small number of paid notices, but these were, in the main, notices of lectures and events that were available for the public at large for a charge.

The newspaper publicity for the Conference began to ramp up as the Conference start neared. From February to May 1937 there were a variety of articles published on the firming up of the organisation of the Conference, biographies of the speakers and

their work, information on the revision of the school terms and the closing of schools, and registration interest. In the month before the Conference, there were large articles published in national newspapers on the final arrangements of the Conference, including the North Island and South Island speaker split and more biographical information on speakers. There were also reports of the arrivals of the first delegates and articles on the New Education Fellowship and its origins and aims.

It is hard to describe the level of newspaper coverage of the Conference, the speakers and their addresses in July 1937. There were many hundreds, if not thousands of original reports of speaker arrivals (including photographs), speaker interviews, official receptions and functions, general overviews of the Conference, proposed programmes, in-depth reports on individual speakers, summaries of speaker sessions, as well as other comment, including full editorials, opinion pieces, snippets of gossip and a significant number of letters to the editor. Then, many reports were syndicated nationally – and not just the South Island speaker reports in North Island papers and vice-versa, but as some speakers were offering different sessions in the two centres they were visiting, those reports were syndicated nationally as well. Unsurprisingly, newspapers also focussed on the more controversial and critical comments of the speakers and Zilliacus, as the delegation leader, had to ‘smooth the waters’ in the press on a number of occasions. Anyone in the country who read a newspaper could not have avoided seeing some aspect of the Conference during July 1937.

Besides newspaper reports, other publications publicised the Conference. There were also reports in official organs, journals and other publications. There were reports in the Department of Education’s official organ, the *Education Gazette*. There were reports in NZEI’s journal for teachers, *National Education*. There were interest pieces in the popular national weekly magazine, *The Weekly News*. There were even reports in the fairly short-lived monthly magazine, *Woman Today*.

Throughout July 1937 there were also a number of radio broadcasts on the Conference mainly by speakers or local committee members. At the April 1937 meeting of the National Committee it was reported that Beeby had met with the Director of Broadcasting to discuss the ‘live’ broadcasting of selected lectures. He

reported that this would not be practicable but it would instead be possible for speakers to be recorded in the studio and then broadcast later.²⁵ Consequently, there were a number of broadcasts on the national radio system – Auckland 1YA, Wellington 2YA, Christchurch 3YA, and Dunedin 4YA. These broadcasts publicised the events in the four main centres where the Conference was being held, but they also brought the Conference to those people who may not have been able to attend it. As Hunter put it, ‘thousands in remote districts were able to listen in to those lectures that were put on the air’.²⁶ [See *Appendix 13* for a listing of the radio talks.]

Additionally, of some amusement were two newspaper cartoons inspired by remarks made by two Conference speakers, Arthur Lismer and William Boyd. The first cartoon was based on comments Lismer made at an evening public lecture to a large audience on Thursday 1 July at the Auckland University College Hall on Art and the People. Lismer was critiquing the setting of artwork as a task for either children or adults which had turned the artist into ‘a purveyor of other people’s ideas’. As part of the lecture he proposed that children should also be allowed to decorate school walls themselves:

We have too many dead headmasters in wing collars and whiskers on the walls of the schools; the pupils should be trusted to decorate them themselves ... After all, they are their schools, and white-wash is cheap enough.²⁷

This comment provoked a quick response in the form of a cartoon in *The Weekly News*. See *The Young Idea*, 7 July 1937 below.

The second cartoon was based on controversial comments that Boyd made in an interview on the day the delegation left New Zealand. Boyd said that ‘New Zealanders were an intelligent people, but lacking somehow in forceful constructive thought. They were too docile’!²⁸ The comments were quickly reported nationwide and inspired this cartoon in *The Dominion*. Unfortunately for the cartoonist, the Springboks dominated during their tour of New Zealand. See *Untitled Cartoon*, 30 July 1937 below.

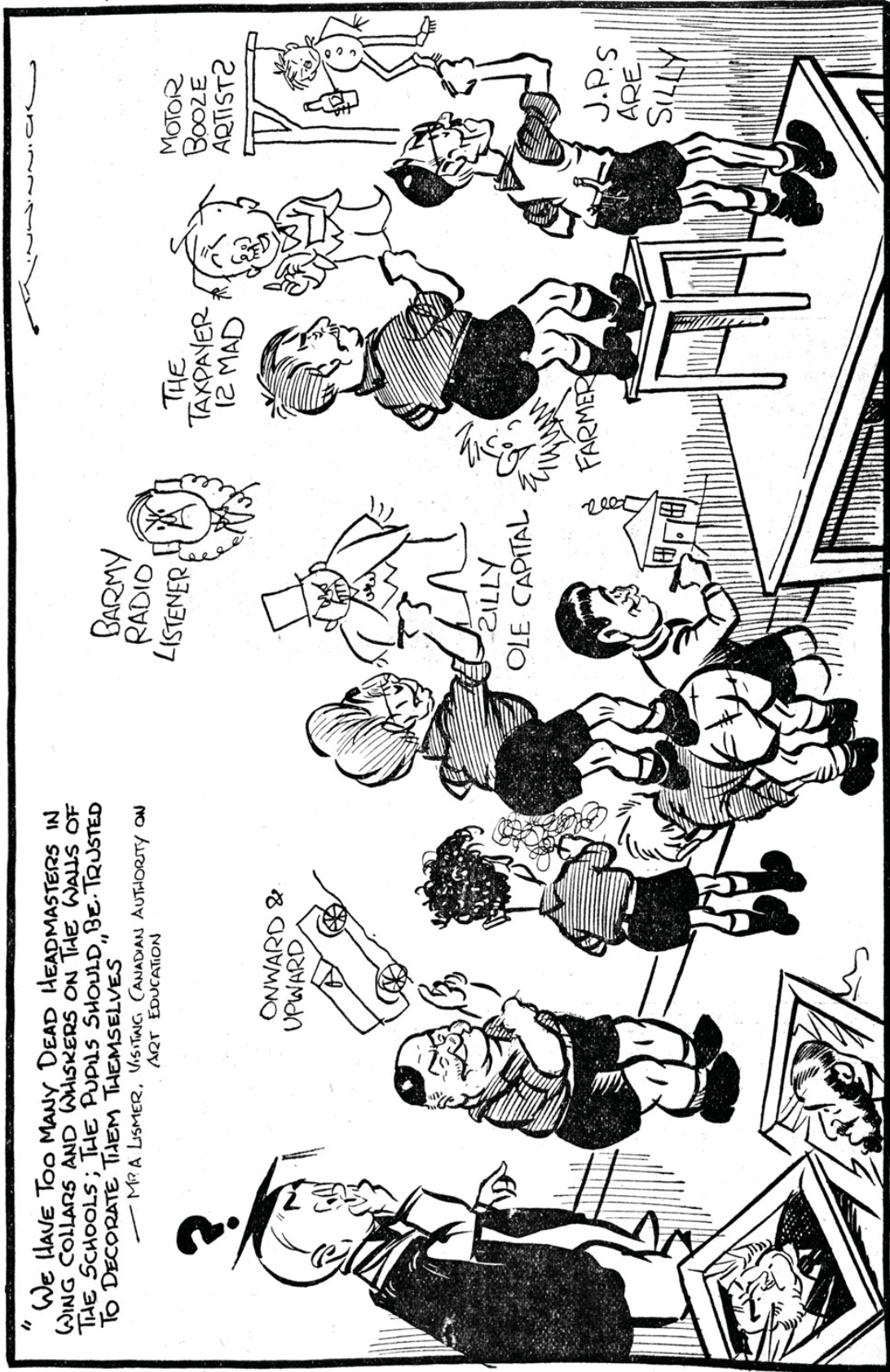


Figure 11-1 'The Young Idea', 7 July 1937²⁹

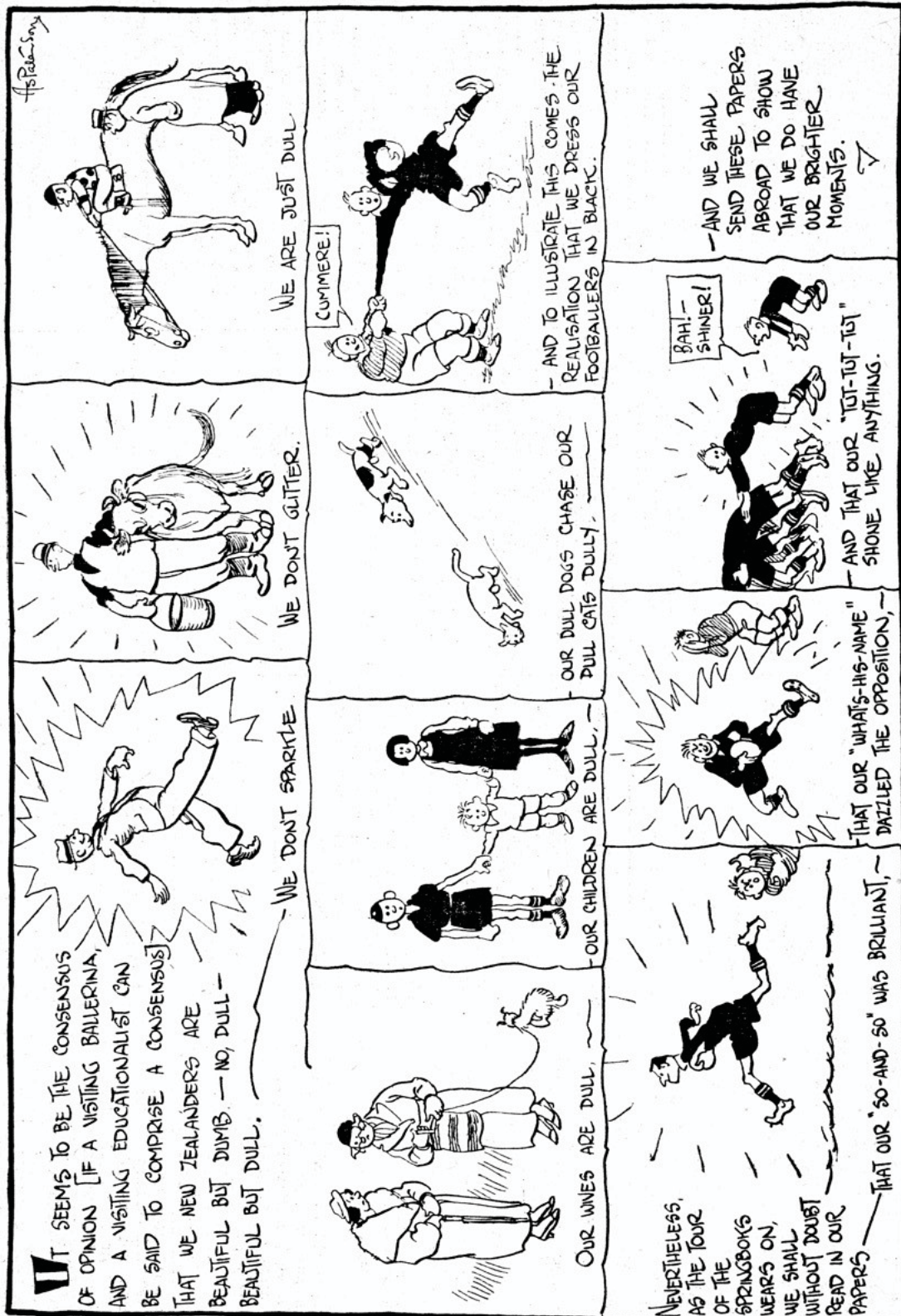


Figure 11-2 Untitled Cartoon, 30 July 1937³⁰

In addition to these reports and radio broadcasts there were large civic receptions in each main centre as well as a formal state reception at the end of the Conference. The state reception on July 26 was held at Parliament House and was attended by 550 guests.³¹ The reception was hosted by Peter Fraser and Mrs Fraser, and also present were Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, State officials, representatives from the teaching profession, members of education boards, and other educationists.³² Peter Fraser thanked the speakers and expressed the view that the delegates had inspired all those in education during their visit. He suggested that the matters considered during the Conference would ‘bear fruit as far as the future of education in New Zealand was concerned’, to which the audience responded, ‘Hear, Hear!’. He concluded that:

Their predominant message is that we must educate our people to take full advantage of the democratic system – to preserve its privileges, and defend it in every way possible ... That’s important, encouraging, inspiring.³³

Zilliacus, as chairman of the delegation, responded on behalf of the speakers. He recollected the enjoyable impressions they had of New Zealand, and the friendliness and kindness of its people. Zilliacus then thanked the Government and praised the thoroughness of the Conference organisation by Beeby, Davis, and Ashbridge. He finally praised the quality of newspaper reporting in New Zealand:

New Zealand seems to us to be not only a country where many of the values in democracy which are so threatened in many parts of the world are consolidated, but a country where the conception of democracy is taken seriously, and that means more than Parliamentary government.³⁴

As a result of all this publicity, the Conference around the country attracted widespread interest well beyond the normal educational community. It was enormously popular with parents and the general public and the largest halls available were often not big enough to seat those who wished to attend. As Hunter noted, for some of the more popular speakers and topics, ‘hundreds were turned away from halls that had seating capacity for over three thousand’.³⁵ Additionally, as Williams (1994)

reflected on the newspaper coverage for the Australian Conference (and this applied frequently in the New Zealand Conference), while ‘the more spectacular, controversial points were often seized on and torn from their context, this only served to further capture the public’s interest’ (p. 245).

The general public’s attention was probably also drawn to the Conference by the publicity coverage in three areas: Fraser’s on-going assertions that the Conference was going to play an important part in the Government’s reorganisation of education; the discussions around the closing of schools in each area; and, the desperate desire of the public to find out more about affairs in Europe. While it may not have been openly discussed that a world war was inevitable, there many worrying newspaper reports in 1937 concerning a number of international conflicts, the military state of various world powers (including Russia, Japan, Germany and Italy), coverage of allied military exercises overseas, and, the state and exercises of armed forces in New Zealand. While before the Conference started, Susan Isaacs was seen as the main draw-card (and she was very well received), ultimately, the most popular speaker was Paul Dengler and his talks on the state of Europe, events in Germany, and the worrying rise of fascism.

In sum, the publicity for the Conference achieved what it needed to achieve from both an educational and political perspective. It encouraged many teachers from all sectors to attend the Conference where they learned about new educational ideas. The publicity also informed the general public (including parents) that major educational reorganisation was about to occur, what the nature of the reforms might include, and that these educational ideas were legitimated by a delegation of international experts. Fraser’s support for the Conference was astute as it helped spread the progressive message and eased the path of educational reform both within the educational fraternity and in the wider community.

3) The Progressive Speakers of the New Zealand Conference

The Conference attracted some of the most ardent progressive educators in the world to Australasia. Due to the prolonged process by which speakers were chosen for the Australian and New Zealand legs of the Conference by ACER and NZCER, it wasn't entirely clear who was finally going to attend until very close to the New Zealand Conference. Ultimately, there were twenty-one official delegates, of whom fourteen of the more prestigious were able to visit New Zealand.

Those who only lectured in Australia were: Pierre Bovet (Professor of Pedagogy; Director J J Rousseau Institute for Educational Sciences, Geneva); Frank Debenham (Professor of Geography, Cambridge University);³⁶ Beatrice Ensor (Founder and President of the New Education Fellowship); H R Hamley (Professor of Education, Institute of Education, London University); F C Happold (Head Master, Bishop Wordsworth's School, Salisbury, England);³⁷ Yusuke Tsurumi (MP, and author and lecturer on international affairs, Japan); and, Anders Vedel (Principal, Krabbesholm Folk High School, Skive, Denmark). It could be argued that of these seven speakers, perhaps only two could have made a significant additional educational contribution to the New Zealand Conference over and above the 14 speakers who eventually came to New Zealand: Pierre Bovet, who was highly respected and widely published, and Anders Vedel, who had a specialist understanding of the Folk High School system.

The fourteen official delegates to New Zealand came from seven countries (Austria, Canada, England, Finland, Scotland, South Africa, and the United States) and were renowned educational experts and/or innovative administrators. The delegates were William Boyd, Edmund de S Brunner, Paul Dengler, Gerald Hankin, Frank Hart, Susan Isaacs, Isaac Leon Kandel, Arthur Lismer, Ernst Malherbe, Percy Meadon, Cyril Norwood, Harold Rugg, Ernest Salter Davies, and Laurin Zilliacus. [An overview of each of the speakers is provided in *Appendix 14*.]

These fourteen speakers were divided alphabetically by Dr Beeby into two touring parties with one group covering the Auckland and Wellington legs of the Conference and the other, the Christchurch and Dunedin sessions. This alphabetical approach to

the grouping was most likely based on simple pragmatics – there was little point in sorting the delegates by content areas because each speaker lectured on a surprisingly wide range of topics. Any combination of delegates, equally split between the two islands, would have provided the breadth of content necessary to achieve the aims of the Conference. In each area, the delegates responsibilities included running symposiums, giving lectures to Conference attendees, giving public addresses (often in large venues such as town halls), and undertaking other duties such as giving radio broadcasts and talks to local groups. [See *Appendix 15* for a detailed account of the Conference activities in each area.]

The North Island group that lectured in both Auckland and Wellington comprised: Dr William Boyd, Dr Edmund Brunner, Ernest [Salter] Davies, Dr Paul Dengler, Gerald Hankin, Dr Frank Hart and Dr Susan Isaacs. However, two of the accompanying wives – Mrs Boyd and Mrs Hart – gave a lecture and symposium each, as well as talks to community groups in both Auckland and Wellington. While not officially invited delegates, it is important to include their contributions. As a group, these nine lecturers participated in at least 67 seminars, 26 lectures, 6 symposiums, 12 talks to outside groups, a two day meeting with the Acting Prime Minister, a number of radio broadcasts, and a formal meeting with the DSIR.

The South Island group that lectured in both Christchurch and Dunedin comprised: Isaac Kandel, Arthur Lismer, Ernst Malherbe, Percy Meadon, Cyril Norwood, Harold Rugg and Laurin Zilliacus. As a group, these seven lecturers participated in at least 53 seminars, 18 lectures, 15 talks to outside groups, a two day meeting with the Acting Prime Minister, a number of radio broadcasts, and a formal meeting with the DSIR. The photograph below of the South Island group was taken in Christchurch on 13 July 1937 at the civic reception; only Arthur Lismer is missing. [See *Appendix 16* for a concise summary of the delegates' activities.]

Beeby kept in touch with the speakers with regard to travel arrangements (including baggage handling, accommodation, and transport types), and pertinent administrative affairs (such as programmes, the publication of lectures, radio broadcasts, postal addresses, and social engagements) through a series of Circular Letters to Speakers of which there were at least three. [See *Appendix 17* for information on the delegates' travel arrangements to and within New Zealand.]

Beeby also provided each of the speakers with:

- A relatively short and confidential Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System by Dr A G Butchers that was prepared at the request of the National Committee [see *Appendix 18*];
- A report published by NZCER on the reorganization of the education system in New Zealand prepared by the four local Institutes for Educational Research [see *Appendix 19*];
- A copy of the most recent *Education Gazette* which gave the Conference programmes for the four centres;
- A reprint of an article by Beeby, *The Education of the Adolescent in New Zealand*; and,
- A copy of the second annual report of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

The way that the Conference had been organised, then, ensured that the new education message brought by the international delegates was not just contained to one geographical area but was conveyed to the main regions of the country, from Auckland to Dunedin. In addition, for those in rural areas, there was wide newspaper and magazine reporting as well as a number of national radio broadcasts. The delegates' global message reached into all areas of New Zealand.



Photograph 11-4 The South Island Group
(L to R) E G Malherbe, P Meadon, C Norwood, I Kandel, H Rugg & L Zilliacus³⁸

There was no formal Conference photograph of the delegates to New Zealand. The official Australian photograph below of all the 21 delegates was taken in Canberra and this included the New Zealand contingent.



Photograph 11-5 ACER Hosts the International NEF Conference in Australia³⁹

Top – L to R: Brunner, Dengler, Lismer, Debenham, Vedel.

Middle – L to R: Bovet, Kandel, Malherbe, Happold, Hamley, Tsurumi.

Bottom – L to R: Boyd, Hankin, Salter Davies, Rugg, Ensor, Zilliacus, Isaacs, Norwood, Meadon, Hart

(a) The Speakers' Links to the New Education Fellowship

The fourteen speakers who comprised the official delegation of the New Education Fellowship were a diverse group. Eight of the fourteen speakers had been or were active in the NEF organisation itself, three were likely members of the NEF or PEA or at least progressive educators or administrators, and the remainder of the delegation were more outlying in their adherence to new education, as supporters or empathisers of particular aspects of new education ideals and/ or were 'roped in' to attend. In other words, most were NEF members but not all speakers were uncritical new education acolytes.

Those eight delegates who had been or were active in the NEF organisation itself were:

- *Laurin Zilliacus*. Zilliacus was the leader of the delegation as Chairman of the NEF and was also a member of the Executive Board. He was an experimental educator, and an active new education advocate.
- *Percy Meadon*. Meadon was Honorary Treasurer of the NEF international office at the time and an advocate of new education approaches.
- *Susan Isaacs*. Isaacs had been President of the English Section of the NEF and was a well-known experimental educator.
- *Ernest Salter Davies*. Salter Davies had been a President of the English Section of the NEF (1932-33), a regular speaker at NEF conferences and advocate of new education approaches.
- *William Boyd*. Boyd was a longstanding member of the Executive Board of the NEF, a staunch evangelist of new education and regular speaker at NEF conferences.
- *Arthur Lismer*. Lismer was a member of the Executive Board of the NEF, member of the Toronto branch of the NEF and an experimental art educator.
- *E G Malherbe*. Malherbe was also a member of the Executive Board of the NEF and was Organizing Secretary of the South African NEF Conference (1934).
- *Harold Rugg*. Rugg was Organizing Director of the NEF in the United States and strong advocate of new education ideals.

The three delegates who were likely members of the NEF or PEA, or at least progressive educators or administrators, were:

- *Paul Dengler*. Dengler had toured the United States giving talks on new education, was a speaker at NEF conferences, and was a regular author of progressive articles. He was the recipient of grants from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.
- *Gerald Hankin*. While Hankin was attending the New Zealand Conference as a representative of the English Board of Education, he was a keen new education advocate, and specialist in history teaching and civics and experimental approaches in school radio broadcasting.
- *Frank Hart*. Hart was an expert in educational administration and maintained strong links with colleagues at Teachers College, Columbia University. His focus on the freedom of the teacher, child-centred learning, home-school relationships, critical views on teacher grading, and his opposition of rigid curriculums and formal examinations resonated with the progressive ideals of the NEF and PEA.

The remaining three delegates were possibly more outlying in their adherence to new education: Norwood can be viewed as ‘an uncomfortable recruit’ to new education;⁴⁰ it is not entirely clear the extent to which Brunner could be classed a progressive educator; and, Kandel was, in the main, not an advocate of many aspects of new education.

- *Cyril Norwood*. Norwood has been depicted as ‘an uncomfortable recruit’ to new education due to his elitist and nationalistic perspectives. Despite this, his belief in higher spiritual values, world peace through education, educational reform, child-centred learning, and democratic participation resonated with the ideals of the NEF.⁴¹
- *Edmund de S Brunner*. It is not quite clear to what extent Brunner, of Teachers’ College, Columbia University, was a progressive educator. His

areas of expertise were religion and rural sociology and he had undertaken a significant amount of research on rural communities as well as international sociological surveys. His lectures and proceedings identified the need for change in rural schools and communities although such change could not be termed strongly progressive in nature.

- *Isaac Leon Kandel*. Kandel was not originally part of the NEF contingent. However, as the CCNY was funding his research visit to Australasia, and NZCER as its agent had been requested to organise the New Zealand leg, Beeby ensured that Kandel was available to join the delegation. Philosophically, Kandel was not a supporter of progressive new education but his views on innovative child-centred educational approaches within socially responsible curricula and his opinions on the international situation were not at all out of place in the diverse range of views expressed during the Conference. Of interest, Kandel was Malherbe's PhD supervisor when he was at Teachers' College, Columbia University.

In sum, the delegation was not an homogenous group and two of the delegates made that point clear during the Conference. Boyd argued that the speakers were not speaking with one voice but had a range of diverse opinions. They were, he observed, 'educational evangelists, [who] had done their best to stir them up and to put before them all sorts of new ideas'.⁴² Norwood humorously described the delegates as 'a syncopated orchestra which moves irregular from subject to subject in the cities where it sits down for a Conference'⁴³ while during his Dunedin lecture in the Concert Chamber of the Town Hall he asserted that they were not a 'company of cranks':

The New Education Fellowship ... was a company of enthusiasts, including teachers, representatives of universities, business and other interests who were conscious of a changing outlook and were anxious to see a new spirit in education that would meet the new demands that were arising.

They were not a company of cranks but a company of educationists who remarked the changes that were taking place and realised to what extent old standards in education were failing the world today.⁴⁴

(b) Overview of the Conference Topics

The range of backgrounds and professional expertise of the fourteen official speakers was also reflected in the breadth of their lecture and session topics. The twenty-one Australasian speakers were, in the main, initially selected by Cunningham for their general professional reputation and then availability. Beeby, left with only fourteen speakers who were available to come to New Zealand, initially attempted to balance the range of areas that those speakers were to lecture on while in New Zealand but finally, for more pragmatic reasons, chose an alphabetical split for the North and South Island groupings.

The New Zealand presentations, then, covered a broad range of progressive topics. The tentative programme outlined early in 1937 categorised these under the following eleven headings or themes: organisation and administration; aims and methods in modern education; education of the adolescent; educational and vocational guidance; the infant and pre-school child; psychology and physical and mental hygiene of the child; the teacher's professional life; adult education; rural society and its educational problems; education through art; and, educational movements and experiments overseas.⁴⁵

However, the session and lecture topics were also grouped in several other ways. For example, even given overlapping lecturers and topics, the editors of the two proceedings for the Australian and the New Zealand Conferences chose different sets of category headings from that listed above. Moreover, both of these proceedings contain substantive information on many of the speakers' addresses and are worth further investigation to gain a fuller idea of the sorts of progressive ideas that were being discussed in Australasia. [See *Appendix 20* for a listing of the speakers' articles published in the New Zealand and Australian Proceedings.]

These different groupings also support the argument here that it was the Conference on ‘new education’ itself that was *more* critical to educational change in New Zealand than either the specific progressive topics covered or the speakers who were available and chosen. In a sense, the various ways that the speakers’ lectures and sessions could be grouped reflected the fluid nature of the areas being considered in both the New Zealand and Australian Conferences and how the speakers and their progressive ideas were perceived in each country and even each local region.

For example, in the month after the Conference, the Secretary of the Christchurch NEF Organising Committee, J E Purchase,⁴⁶ sent Peter Fraser a four page report of the salient points made by the South Island group of speakers that summarised the core progressive ideals of the Conference.⁴⁷ [See *Appendix 22(b)*] These Organising Committee members recorded that there were five major themes at the Conference that related to education in a democracy, the teacher, the curriculum, the pupil, and administration.

- 1) *The Place of Education in a Democratic State*. The speakers argued that an enlightened view of education was required given the attacks on individual freedoms by totalitarian states. In addition, scientific discoveries needed to benefit the welfare of citizens and that education had a critical role in ‘keeping the democratic spirit alive’.
- 2) *The Teacher*. The speakers argued that teachers needed to be given more freedom with regard to the curriculum and teaching approaches. This included removing overly-centralised syllabuses, ensuring closer professional relationship between inspectors and teachers, and discontinuing external examinations (where possible) and replacing them with cumulative records of individual children’s progress. In addition, teacher training needed to be extended to three years, and specialist services and research opportunities and findings should be made available to teachers.
- 3) *Curriculum*. The speakers suggested that the current curriculum was inappropriate for modern living and needed to be brought closer to real life and the natural environment. In addition, more attention needed to be given to sociological and scientific studies and the expressive arts. Curriculum areas

needed to be more integrated and schools given more freedom to develop their own curriculum.

- 4) *The Pupil*. The visitors proposed that education should be viewed as a life-long activity and that different forms of provision were necessary for each stage. It was thought that primary schooling should finish at the age of 11, that the school-leaving age needed to be raised and that secondary education should be available for all children. In addition, there should be a wide range of secondary courses or secondary schools to allow for different educational paths and that 'generous provision' be made for adult education.
- 5) *Administration*. The speakers argued for stronger local autonomy, with the central authority interfering less and acting as 'a source of inspiration and leadership'. The visitors suggested that all types of education services in an area should come under the authority of one single local authority (while still preserving the individuality and autonomy of each school). Finally, the strength of schools in Great Britain and the United States lay in their diversity and that a uniformity of schools and educational practices was 'an obstacle to progressive effort'.

Of interest, as this thesis has previously pointed out, most of these core ideas had been raised by progressive educators and organisations in New Zealand over the last twenty years. However, the visiting speakers were able to make the same points with considerably more authority and this helped to raise the status of these progressive ideas in the eyes of the authorities, the teaching profession and the general public.

4) The Minister of Education at the Conference

While the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, heavily supported the Conference both before and after the event, he was also busy during the Conference. Even though he was also Acting Prime Minister at the time, he attended in at least Wellington and Christchurch many civic and state receptions, luncheons and parties, as well as a number of the Conference sessions, including all of the lectures in Wellington.⁴⁸ He was frequently asked to speak and his comments give an important insight into his

commitment to progressive education and his views on planned future educational reforms.

(a) Comments by the Minister of Education at the Conference

During the Conference, Fraser outlined the problems that faced the education system in New Zealand. He queried the extent to which the system had actually shackled education, what uses the primary schools could make of their new found freedom from the constraints of the proficiency examination, and whether the matriculation examination was having a cramping effect on the system. He also questioned the effectiveness of consolidated and intermediate schools and whether there should be secondary education for all. With regards to teachers, he wondered whether the current grading system was as good as the previous 'semi-patronage' approach.⁴⁹ These were important issues in New Zealand and ones that the overseas visitors were also posing. The questions also showed that Fraser had a genuine insight into educational problems in the country.

An important area that Fraser considered in more depth in another address at the Conference was that of the aims of secondary education. He argued that every pupil should have the opportunity of access to some form of secondary education. He was not in support of the current educational hierarchy and remarked that:

We are trying to give an equal opportunity for all, and to bring a measure of culture within the reach of everyone, with an appreciation of literature and art, regardless of occupation.⁵⁰

While Fraser was building on a progressive policy framework that had been in place for some twenty years, he had been keen for the First Labour Government to make some real progress in the area of education. As he concluded in his State address, the Conference had brought a unique opportunity and, 'I personally want to feel that during the period I am Minister of Education a real advance is being made'.⁵¹ Beeby had suggested that the Minister had become a little disillusioned early in his first term in office and that the Conference had re-energised him:

[Fraser] started out with pretty sound ideas on education, but 18 months as the head of a dreary Department must have made him doubt whether education could ever be anything very different from what it is. He has recovered, I think, the courage of his convictions.⁵²

Indicating to the press at the time his intentions, Fraser proposed that his Government was prepared to move forward in the area. However, he cautioned that this would only be possible if he could get the support of educators around the country and, ‘above all, the people’.⁵³ This was an area that the Conference had excelled at, giving nationwide exposure to progressive education to both educators and the public. The speakers also played a role, and Fraser summed up their effect on everyone they came into contact with:

The visit of the Conference delegates had had something of a Pentecostal fervour. They had spoken with tongues which appealed to the minds, intellects and hearts of the hearers.⁵⁴

Fraser became convinced that the Conference would allow him to continue with progressive reforms and he argued that the Conference had had the strong support of his Government colleagues, the Director of Education and his Department, as well as the inspectors. He concluded towards the end of the Conference that,

He had great hopes for the future – greater hopes for New Zealand in regard to education and in regard to other matters than he had for any country or any people in the world. New Zealand could profit by its mistakes, and he believed that it would be possible to build the best education system in the world.⁵⁵

(b) The Minister of Education’s Private Conference with the Speakers

Building on these high hopes, and Fraser’s genuine enthusiasm for educational reforms, the Minister met with a group of the speakers at the end of the Conference for a private two-day meeting. Fortunately, the questions he posed, who was in attendance, and the minutes of these days are still available.

The possibility of the Minister meeting with the speakers dated back at least to the beginnings of the official organisation of the Conference in June 1936. After the second meeting of the National Committee in June 1936, the Publicity Committee had written a lengthy article on the Conference published in *The Dominion*, which concluded that, Peter Fraser ‘has expressed a desire to take advantage of the presence of such men in the country to consult them regarding the reorganisation of education in New Zealand, and there is every reason to expect that the Conference will be successful from that and every other point of view’.⁵⁶ At the following meeting, it was resolved that the Minister of Education be approached as soon as possible by a delegation (comprising Hunter, Beeby and Ashbridge) to inform him of the tentative programme and to suggest that some speakers might be available to meet with Members of Parliament.⁵⁷ At the next meeting of the National Committee in November 1936 it was clear that arrangements had firmed up considerably and the draft itinerary outlined that both the North Island and the South Island groups would be in Wellington for meetings with the Minister and the Department from July 24-26.⁵⁸ At the final meeting in 1936 it was agreed that a delegation meet with Fraser to finalise arrangements for the Conference.⁵⁹ A delegation comprising Beeby, Gould, Ashbridge and Lambourne met with Fraser on the Saturday before Christmas, and the Minister suggested that the whole National Committee along with the Minister and his Department officers meet with the delegates.⁶⁰

The ministerial ‘Conference with the NEF Delegation’ was held on Saturday July 24 and Monday July 26. This was a ministerial Conference in the true sense of the word. The available records of the meetings specifically detail that the Minister ‘arranged’ the Conference with the NEF lecturers; that there were a list of pre-set questions that Lambourne (the Director of Education) had drafted ‘that the Hon. Acting Prime Minister intends to take up with the NEF Delegation’; that the Minister invited officers of the Education Board and the Education Department (and others interested in education) ‘so that they could have the benefit of the consultation *without actually participating in it*’ (italics added); and, that the Minister, for the most part, led the questioning during the Conference. In other words, Peter Fraser as Minister of Education wished to engage in a private ‘behind closed doors’ Conference with the NEF speakers to help him shape his views around the proposed educational

reorganisation of education. This intention clearly had been on his mind for at least a year.

On Saturday July 24 and Monday July 26, nine of the fourteen international speakers from the NEF Conference – Boyd, Brunner, Hankin, Kandel, Malherbe, Meadon, Rugg, Salter Davies, and Zilliacus – met on two days with the Minister, the Director of Education and Department officials, the chairman and secretary of the Wellington Education Board, and members of NZCER, and NZEI. Lambourne had drafted a set of forty questions for the Minister, presumably before the NEF Conference.⁶¹ There were nine sets of questions on the following topics: administration; staffing, salaries and grading of teachers; training of teachers; post-primary schools; examinations; vocational guidance; inspectorate; university; and, general. [See *Appendix 21(a)* for the complete list of questions]

A verbatim record was kept of the ministerial Conference on the Saturday and Monday.⁶² [See *Appendix 21(b)*] The Minister and the speakers comprised the majority of the transcript.⁶³ At the beginning of the Conference, Fraser welcomed those present and set the context for the Conference:

He felt that the question of re-organization of education in New Zealand was not a question for the Government alone. It was a question for everyone interested in education in the Dominion so that there could be the greatest measure of agreement and co-operation. He hoped that as a result of the consideration given to the re-organization of education they would have something in the nature of the consultative committees of the British Board of Education.

Four months later, a document summarising the verbatim record was written by the Education Department.⁶⁴ This document then went before the Cabinet for discussion. [See *Appendix 21(c)*]

It would be unusual today to contemplate a Minister of Education holding a private two-day Conference with a group of educational experts in order to inform the

Government's reorganisation of education. The Minister's Conference with the NEF delegation, the records kept of the discussions, and the summary of those discussions that were later considered by Cabinet, demonstrated just how important and significant the Minister viewed the NEF Conference and its speakers.

Conclusion

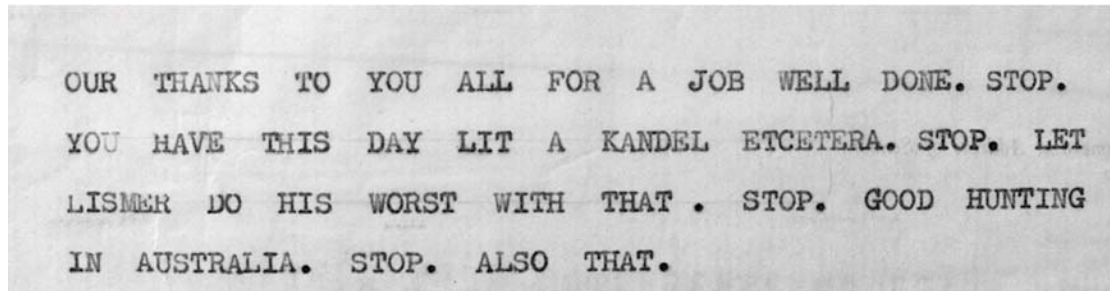
The NEF Conference 1937 was not just a progressive educational event but an important political vehicle for future Labour Government reforms. In both cases, it was a far greater success than anyone expected.

The Conference was organised by progressive educators and organisations around the country. It generated a large amount of publicity, including newspaper and magazine reports, and many radio broadcasts. This publicity reached well beyond the main centres in which the Conference was held. The visiting speakers were some of the most high profile progressive educators in the world and after being split into two groups, still managed to deliver their global message through multiple seminars, lectures and public addresses in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. The presentations throughout the country covered a broad range of progressive topics such that it was difficult to find agreement on the broad themes of the Conference. This supports the argument in this thesis that the Conference was primarily important not necessarily for the specific progressive ideals that each speaker might have conveyed (insightful though they were) but for the overwhelming progressive momentum that the event generated. In hindsight, there was little in terms of core progressive ideas that had not already been discussed or experimented with by New Zealand progressive educators and organisations previously in the interwar years.

What was particularly interesting was the heavy involvement of the Minister of Education before, during and after the Conference. Peter Fraser attended all of the Wellington lectures and met with nine of the visiting speakers for a private two-day Conference on the future of New Zealand education. It was argued at the time that the Conference re-energised his commitment to educational reform.

The Conference, then, was a large success in terms of the nationwide promotion of new education ideals, the involvement of educators and the public, and in cementing the political direction of the Labour Government. New education had finished its first phase and was well and truly on the path to becoming the mainstream educational approach in New Zealand.

Just as the Conference began with a telegram, so too did it end with a second, considerably less formal telegram. On 27 July 1937, Hunter and Beeby sent a final telegram from Auckland to 'Zilliacus, Passenger, Monowai, Auckland', with the following message:⁶⁵



OUR THANKS TO YOU ALL FOR A JOB WELL DONE. STOP.
YOU HAVE THIS DAY LIT A KANDEL ETCETERA. STOP. LET
LISMER DO HIS WORST WITH THAT . STOP. GOOD HUNTING
IN AUSTRALIA. STOP. ALSO THAT.

Notes

¹ *The Dominion*, 20 July 1937, p. 11.

² Boyd & Rawson (1965), pp. 110-111.

³ Telegram from Beeby to NZCER dated 9 July 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

⁴ The members of the National Organising Committee were: the Minister of Education – The Hon Peter Fraser; Director of Education – Mr N T Lambourne; Chief Inspector of Primary Schools – Dr J W McIlraith; Education Boards' Association – initially Mr Dewhurst and Mr G L Stewart, then Mr W V Dyer; New Zealand Council for Educational Research – Professor W H Gould ; New Zealand Educational Institute – Miss M E Magill ; Registered Private Schools Association – Rev Father J W Dowling; Secondary School Teachers' Association – initially Mr P Martin-Smith then W A Armour; Technical Education Association – Mr R G Ridling; Technical School Teachers' Association – Miss Beryl Jackson and P L James; and, the University of New Zealand – Professor T A Hunter. Membership of the national and local committees is detailed in Appendix 2 of Campbell (1938).

⁵ Source: NZCER Archives, AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ F. R. J. Davies was a key assistant of Beeby's behind the scenes in helping organise the Conference at NZCER. The Minutes of the 28 April 1937 (11.00 am) Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER reported that he had handed in his resignation effective from 1 August 1937. The reason for his leaving was that 'he cannot afford to risk losing his place in the [teaching] grading scheme'. AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

⁹ Frederick Ronald Jabez (Ron) Davies had completed his M.A. thesis in 1931 at the University of New Zealand/ Auckland University College, on *The Evaluation of the Right Content in Composition: A Study of Types of Writers by Means of Cue-Words Tests*. He later published in 1940: Redmond, M., & Davies, F. R. J. (1940). *The standardization of two intelligence tests* (Educational Research Series No. 14). Wellington: NZCER. After resigning from NZCER he was appointed headmaster of the Provincial School, Lodonu, in Fiji in 1938 and went on to become the Department's Officer for Island Education, retiring in 1968. Davies resigned this role at the end of August 1937 and H. C. McQueen replaced him from October 1937 until the winding up of the National Committee in July 1938.

¹⁰ It was also resolved that that the setting up of the local organising committees be left to Beeby and Ashbridge who were to ask the local Councils for Educational Research and the local branches of NZEI to convene the local committees. Minutes of the 30 June 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹¹ The four Local Committees would be responsible for: publicity in their area; suitable accommodation for seminars and public lectures; hospitality and transport for the speakers; private or hotel accommodation for the speakers as necessary, as well as for other NEF members from overseas; the billeting of teachers from the country; arranging chairmen for each session and prominent citizens to chair the public lectures; appointing a secretary for each main centre to facilitate arrangements and keep a record of each session; arranging morning and afternoon tea and lunch; putting up guide notices to lecture rooms and providing attendants to check and sell tickets;

providing an enquiry office at each centre as well as a temporary post office; arranging local exhibitions and demonstrations during the Conference; arranging local excursions for the overseas visitors; arranging social functions and civic receptions; and, approaching, in conjunction with the National Committee, local organisations who might wish to provide financial and other support; Minutes of the 15 September 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹² There was also instructions for the committees to be as parsimonious as possible.

¹³ Letter from J. H. Howell (President, Wellington Institute for Educational Research), W. H. Smith (President, Wellington Branch of NZEI) and A. E. Campbell (Acting-Secretary) to the Director of Education dated 4 December 1936; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26. It is unclear as to where the delay in getting these committees up and running had occurred – whether at the National Committee level (Beeby and Ashbridge) or at the local level with the local members of the branches of NZCER and NZEI (or both). Whatever the answer, after eight months of discussion, the local committees had only just started their work in earnest by February/ March 1937.

¹⁴ It is hard to know whether this level of autonomy and diversity between the four local committees was a philosophical or policy decision of the National Committee or a result of some level of disorganisation and urgency to just get the local aspects of the Conference in place in the few weeks before the sessions started.

¹⁵ Source: Auckland Local Committee NEF Conference Programme; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43. The full Auckland Local Committee comprised: President – Professor A B Fitt; Hon Secretary – Miss A Kennedy (7 King's Avenue, Auckland); and, Executive – Misses B E Carnachan, C Colegrove and E M Johnston; Dr E P Neale; Messrs A Bain, W H Fortune, F A Garry, Noel Gibson, P T Keane, C M Littlejohn, D M Rae and A C Rowe. The Auckland Local Committee also had a number of sub-committees: Hospitality and Transport (Mr F A Garry as chair, Mrs Victor Macky, Misses E Bennet, C Colgrove, Professor W A Sewell, Messrs A Bain and P T Keane); Finance (Mr W H Fortune as chair, Messrs D M Rae, G W Slane, and T U Wells); Publicity (D M Rae as chair, Miss E M Johnston, Dr E P Neale, Messrs E Blair and C M Littlejohn); Board and Accommodation (Mr A C Rowe as chair, Miss M Taylor, Messrs L Hogwood and E F Snell); Social Functions and Catering (Dr J H Murdoch as chair, Misses M Anderson, S Andrews, E Bayne, B E Carnachan, W Mansfield, Messrs B M Davis and G Drake); and, Programme and Halls (Mr Noel Gibson as chair, The Hon Bernard Martin, Messrs J H Hill, H C McQueen, H J D Mahon, and G J Park.

¹⁶ Source: Wellington Local Committee NEF Conference Programme; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43. The full Wellington Local Committee had a membership of fourteen people: Chairman – Mr Wm Martin; Hon Secretary – Mr A E Campbell (c/- Victoria College, Wellington); Treasurer – Mr G M Henderson (Wellington was the only local committee with a 'Treasurer' position); and, Executive – Misses M England and M Shortall; Professor F F Miles; Messrs L F de Berry, A N Burns, J H Howell and Max Riske. A report in *The Evening Post* also listed Mr J Fyfe on the committee as a representative of the Wellington School Committees' and Educational Federation.

¹⁷ Source: Christchurch Local Committee NEF Conference Programme; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43. The full Christchurch Local Committee had a membership of eleven people: Chairman – Dr J Hight; Joint Hon Secretaries – Messrs A J Campbell and J E Purchase (36 Leinster Road, Christchurch); and, Executive – Misses P Clark and K

Turner; Drs H E Field and D E Hansen; Messrs C T Aschman, J G Polson, C S Thompson and R J Richards.

¹⁸ In a letter from Somerset to Beeby dated 9 March 1937, Somerset wrote: 'If I can be of any use in Ch'Ch to stir up some enthusiasm please say so and I'll be glad to do what I can to help'; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁹ Vera Hayward became the first female President of NZEI in the 1950s (interview tapes with her are located in the NZEI oral archives)

²⁰ Source: Dunedin Local Committee NEF Conference Programme; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43. The full Dunedin Local Committee had a membership of nineteen people: Chairman – Mr A Hanna; Hon Secretary – Mr W F Abel (c/- Musselburgh School, Dunedin); and, Committee – Professor A G Strong, Misses V Hayward²⁰ and B Woodhouse; Professor R Lawson; Dr W J Boraman; Messrs W J Aldridge, L B Bradstock, D C Cameron, D Forsyth, H P Kidson, R G C McNab, J McK Miller, F Milner, W J Morrell, C Parr, W D Sutherland and N R Wilson.

²¹ Minutes of the 2 June 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

²² Minutes of the 15 September 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

²³ Minutes of the 12 November 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

²⁴ Minutes of the 15 December 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418 Box 30.

²⁵ Minutes of the 21 April 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

²⁶ Campbell (1938), p. xiii.

²⁷ *The New Zealand Herald*, 2 July 1937, p. 13.

²⁸ *The Evening Post*, 27 July 1937, p. 10.

²⁹ *The Weekly News*, July 7, 1937, p. 10; Source: ATL-NP-1611-10.

³⁰ *The Dominion*, July 30, 1937, p. 13; Source: ATL-NP-1609-13.

³¹ See penned note on the letter from A. E. Campbell to Lambourne dated 28 June 1937 re Ashbridge being involved in arranging this; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

³² *The Evening Post*, 26 July 1937, p. 10.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *The Evening Post*, 26 July 1937, p. 10. Of related interest was both Meadon's and Zilliacus's further praise of newspaper coverage in New Zealand. They weren't only impressed with the extensive and positive coverage of the Conference but the nature of the coverage and its tone. Meadon noted that the New Zealand newspapers were 'reputable' and 'clean' and gave more space to educational matters than English newspapers. He highlighted the importance of newspapers taking a balanced view and noted that English newspapers had been found wanting during the recent armaments enquiry: 'It might be called the gentle art of suppression, or emphasis or distortion'. *The Press*, 15 July 1937, p. 12. Likewise, Zilliacus observed that he had attended many Conferences but this was the first time that he had seen newspapers give a 'proper gist' of the sessions, and 'not merely to seize on sensation or to grind an axe'. He also praised the pithiness of the correspondence in the newspapers: 'It is as if the correspondents had dipped their pens in the salty brine that washes your coasts ... and not in the lifeless fluid that furnishes the ink for letters to the editors ... in older countries'. *The New Zealand Herald*, 20 July 1937, p. 10.

³⁵ Campbell (1938), p. xiii.

³⁶ According to Williams (1994, pp. 241-242), Debenham was 'a modest and effective member' of the delegation and his lectures greatly assisted geography teachers. Debenham was born in Bowral, New South Wales and was educated in Sydney. He was a member of Captain Scott's 1910 Antarctic expedition after which he moved to London where he pursued an eminent academic career.

³⁷ Connell (1980, p. 109) cites an insightful letter from Tate to Keppel dated 20 September 1937 (CCNY archives) concerning Happold. Apparently Cunningham found him to be 'full of his own importance' and he had irritated Tate with his prejudice for all things English to the extent that, on one occasion when Happold stated that, 'I hope you don't think I am unduly dogmatic', Tate responded, 'I don't object so much to your being dogmatic, but I do object to your being pig-matic'!

³⁸ Source: AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

³⁹ The reproduction of this photograph from the ACER collection is authorised for research and personal study purposes (<http://research.acer.edu.au/people>).

⁴⁰ McCulloch, G. (2007). *Cyril Norwood and the ideal of secondary education*. Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 122.

⁴¹ See Gary McCulloch's book on Cyril Norwood for a more detailed analysis of Norwood's educational views and achievements: McCulloch, G. (2007). *Cyril Norwood and the ideal of secondary education*. Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁴² *The Evening Post*, 22 July 1937, p. 10.

⁴³ *The Argus*, 27 August 1937, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 20 July 1937, p. 14.

⁴⁵ New Education Fellowship Conference: Tentative Programme Arranged; date-stamped 3 February 1937; E, Series 2, Box 193811c, Record 4110126.

⁴⁶ J. E. Purchase became principal of the *Christchurch Training College* from 1919 to 1931 and also sat on Lawson's Syllabus Revision Committee later in the 1920s.

⁴⁷ Letter Purchase to Fraser dated 26 August 1937; E, Series 2, Box 193811c, Record 4110126. The file also has McIlraith's initials on it indicating that he had read it.

⁴⁸ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 3 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

⁴⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, 21 July, p. 10.

⁵⁰ *The New Zealand Herald*, 15 July 1937, p. 5; for a longer report also see *The Press*, 14 July, 1937, p. 10.

⁵¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 21 July, p. 10.

⁵² Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 3 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

⁵³ *Otago Daily Times*, 21 July, p. 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *The Evening Post*, 24 July 1937, p. 10.

⁵⁶ *The Dominion*, 7 July 7, 1936, p. 8.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the 15 September 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁵⁸ Minutes of the 12 November 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁵⁹ Minutes of the 15 December 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418 Box 30.

⁶⁰ Verbatim Record of Meeting between Minister of Education (Hon. P. Fraser) and the National Organising Committee (represented by Beeby, Gould, Ashbridge and Lambourne), dated 19 December 1936; E, Series 2, Box 193811c, Record 4110126.

⁶¹ E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

⁶² While specific times were not detailed in the records, it is probable that the Conference started on Saturday afternoon July 24 (as no record is made of a break for lunch) where topics A, B and C were covered. The Conference was then adjourned to Monday morning July 26. The Minister did not attend on Monday morning and Lambourne led the discussion on topic D. After a break for lunch, topic E was discussed, Fraser joined the group mid-way through topic G, and then proceeded to lead the Conference for topics F, H and I.

⁶³ E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26. Those listed as present were: the Minister; nine NEF speakers – Boyd, Brunner, Hankin, Kandel, Malherbe, Meadon, Rugg, Salter Davies, and Zilliacus (missing were Dengler, Hart, and Isaacs from the North Island group and Lismer and Norwood from the South Island group); Lambourne (Director of Education) and Departmental Officers; from the Wellington Education Board were Dyer (Chairman) and Deavoll (Secretary); Beeby from NZCER; and, unspecified members of NZEI. The majority of the discussions recorded were between the Minister and the speakers, although Lambourne was also heavily involved, while McIlraith (Chief Inspector of Primary Schools) and Caradus (Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools) less so. The Wellington Education Board members, Beeby and the NZEI members were not listed as contributing.

⁶⁴ E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

⁶⁵ Telegram from Hunter and Beeby to ‘Zilliacus, Passenger, Monowai, Auckland’ dated 27 July 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

After the NEF Conference 1937

From evidence obtained on all sides it is beyond doubt that the zeal and enthusiasm for education aroused and consolidated by the New Education Fellowship visit to New Zealand is a permanent and not a passing phase of our educational activities.

(Peter Fraser to Beatrice Ensor, December 1937)¹

Introduction

While the New Zealand NEF Conference in July 1937 had been an overwhelming success, and the visiting speakers had moved on to the Australian Conference, there was much work left to do in the aftermath. Progressive educators in New Zealand had flocked to the Conference and many felt that their own new education experiments had been vindicated by what the overseas delegates were expounding. Educational administrators and inspectors were also heavily involved and there was a general view that educators and the public were ready for further educational reforms. The Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, attended all the lectures in Wellington and met with the speakers privately for a two-day meeting. The Conference had reaffirmed his resolve for progressive changes to the New Zealand education system and Dr Beeby was being viewed as the person who should lead these.

By 1938, the last acts of the National Committee unfolded. The Conference proceedings was completed and published, the *New Era* issue on New Zealand had been written and published, and the Educational and Library Trust Funds had been set up. Moreover, Beeby had been appointed Assistant Director of Education. The final meeting of the Committee in July 1938 was held and the allocation of the large Conference surplus to the trusts was finalised. The final act of the Committee was to wind itself up. The NEF Conference 1937 was officially over and it had been an educational, political and financial triumph.

1) Evaluations of the Conference

The Conference was finally over and the task for those who had organised it was to stand back and evaluate the Conference and whether its educational and political aims had been achieved. This section will briefly examine the reflections at the time relating to those progressive individuals and organisations that were most closely involved in ensuring its ultimate success. This private correspondence from a range of archives, in the main, revolved around Dr Clarence Beeby of NZCER and Dr Ken Cunningham of ACER.

(a) Carnegie Corporation of New York and Frederick Keppel

Within a week of the speakers leaving New Zealand, Dr Beeby was in contact with CCNY that was the primary funder of both the Australasian Conferences and, of course, NZCER and ACER at the time. In his fascinating letter to Keppel, Beeby recounted that, 'We are struggling with the usual posthumous flood of inward and outward letters of thanks and congratulations'. He reflected that, after the Conference, there was 'a semi-religious fervour for education that is almost embarrassing' and he observed that the Conference had been 'a huge success in every way'.² [Appendix 22(a) contains both Beeby's full letter and also Cunningham's letter which is a lengthy, frank and illuminating personal evaluation of the Australian contribution of each speaker.]

In passing, Beeby declared a strong admiration for Isaac Kandel: 'The best part of the whole Conference to me was contact with a mind as clear as his'.³ Keppel responded that Kandel had been a personal friend of his for some thirty years.⁴ A month later Keppel added that, 'I think you ought to know that the returning prophets are unanimous in expressions of appreciation of your share in the success of the New Zealand Conferences'.⁵ Beeby replied to Keppel just before Christmas noting that his 'kindly' letter had arrived at an apt time, when, 'in the middle of a string of meetings on a swelteringly hot day, I was cursing the hour I ever heard of education'.

With regards to the Conference's impact on Peter Fraser, Beeby reflected in August 1937 that, 'One of the most pleasing things has been the effect on the Minister of

Education ... He has recovered, I think, the courage of his convictions' and that, 'I have never before been as hopeful as I am now of something happening in education in New Zealand'.⁶ Four months later, Beeby added that he thought that there was going to be 'permanent after-effects' from the Conference visitors!⁷

(b) Department of Education and Peter Fraser

At the first National Committee meeting after the Conference, a resolution was passed to thank Peter Fraser for his personal support. Hunter and Beeby wrote:

It would be impertinent for us to thank you for doing something for education, but we may at least place on record our appreciation of your action, first of all in securing Government financial assistance, then in closing schools for the period of the Conference and, finally, in giving such close personal support to the sessions in Christchurch and Wellington. Your attendance, as Minister of Education, at lectures and discussions gave a feeling of reality to all the proceedings, and speakers, teachers and committees felt honoured that you should have thrown aside onerous State duties in order to attend ... we can only hope that the Conference has, through its effects on teachers and parents, repaid in some degree the generosity shown us by the Government.⁸

Fraser responded to the National Committee that it was a 'very' great pleasure to take part in the Conference and 'to have been in any way the means of its achieving such a great success'.⁹ In addition, the Christchurch Local Committee wrote to thank Fraser and included a summary of the key themes from the Conference. [See *Appendix 22(b)*].

Peter Fraser also wrote personal letters of thanks to both Ken Cunningham at ACER and Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus at NEF [see *Appendix 22(c)*]. The first relatively short letter of appreciation to Cunningham noted that, 'the enthusiasm manifested by teachers and the general public far exceeded our anticipations'. Fraser concluded that, 'By no means the least effect ... has been the creation of a deep public interest which makes reform possible and subsequent progress assured'.¹⁰

Fraser's second letter of thanks was to Ensor and was intriguing for two reasons; first, it verified Fraser's personal views concerning the benefits of the Conference, and second, it demonstrated the growing professional relationship between Beeby and Fraser from later in 1937. Beatrice Ensor had written to Fraser (and other Ministers of Education in Australia) in early September seeking a supporting letter that the NEF could use to make future applications for grants. She concluded by thanking the Department of Education and Fraser for his 'personal kindness'.¹¹

Fraser's Private Secretary, P J G Smith, was directed by Fraser in late September to write to Beeby stating that, 'He would be glad of any material you could furnish which would assist him in his reply'.¹² This demonstrated the growing professional relationship between Fraser and Beeby. Beeby responded two weeks later with what was, in effect, a ghost-written response for Fraser to use [*Appendix 22(c)* includes both Beeby's 'draft' and Fraser's final letters]. Beeby put the proposition this way:

Dear Mr Fraser,

Perhaps the simplest method of giving you the material you ask for in connection with the Conference is to write to you in the strain in which I personally should support the New Education Fellowship claim for financial assistance. After all, the really important facts concerning the Conference are not the attendance figures and the cash balance, but the effects on the minds of men. These can be gauged only from one's own experience, and my impressions may not tally with yours. However, such as they are, here they are. Facts first.¹³

Fascinatingly, the original of Beeby's letter on the Department files contains a number of corrections and additions presumably in Fraser's own handwriting. Of the six paragraphs that Beeby provided, Fraser selected the first two larger 'factual' paragraphs relatively unchanged and heavily summarised the four shorter following paragraphs on 'the effects on the minds of men' into a brief conclusion. Fraser added an introductory paragraph as follows:

Dear Mrs Ensor,

In reviewing the educational progress made in New Zealand during the year now drawing to its close, I am convinced that the most important event of the year, and indeed of many years past, has been the session of the New Education Fellowship Conference that took place in July. The Conference aroused considerable enthusiasm among teachers and others when in session, and sufficient time has now elapsed for the fact to be clear that the enthusiasm was not ephemeral, but expressed a deep and lasting interest in matters educational. I see so many indications in our schools of the influence of the Conference that I feel obliged to write to you in grateful appreciation ...

Fraser added, in relation to the Conference he held with the visiting speakers after the Conference that:

The value of these ... discussions so impressed me that I have arranged for a full report to be supplied to each member of the Education Committee of the House of Representatives for consideration in connection with the bill to be introduced next year for the reorganisation in certain particulars of our education system.

He concluded:

From evidence obtained on all sides it is beyond doubt that the zeal and enthusiasm for education aroused and consolidated by the New Education Fellowship visit to New Zealand is a permanent and not a passing phase of our educational activities ...¹⁴

(c) ACER and Ken Cunningham

By the time of the Conference, Ken Cunningham and Dr Beeby were on good terms. Cunningham had sent Beeby a telegram just before the New Zealand Conference

started, that read: 'BEST WISHES YOUR CONFERENCE NO FEARS YOUR SUCCESS BUT SOME YOUR SURVIVAL'.¹⁵ Beeby later repaid the compliment and sent a telegram to Cunningham that read: 'CONFERENCE GREAT SUCCESS HERE BEST WISHES FOR YOUR SHOW'.¹⁶

After the Conference, Cunningham wrote to Beeby to say that he had heard from the overseas speakers. They had mentioned 'very glowing reports of your New Zealand meetings and of the impression you yourself made on the overseas people'.¹⁷ Both Cunningham and Beeby also confided that the Conference had left them tired and stressed. Beeby revealed to Cunningham that, 'I have just had a week in bed with the 'flu. My quietest week for months and at times I thought my happiest'!¹⁸ Cunningham had also complained of 'rheumatic trouble' which had forced him to spend three months in bed.¹⁹ By Christmas 1937, Beeby disclosed to Cunningham that, 'Like you I am going to ... make a dash for the country before the telephone can ring again ... I have never wanted a holiday so whole-heartedly'.²⁰

Later in October 1937, Cunningham received a congratulatory letter from Duncan Rae who was still Principal of the Auckland Teachers' Training College and who had been on the executive of the Auckland Local Committee. Rae had written to Cunningham to thank him for 'the idea of convening such a Conference in New Zealand and in Australia'. Rae commented that he felt that the Conference had been a great success and noted that, 'I think the public had had a very fine opportunity of understanding in a popular way what the teacher is about'. He continued that this had not previously been possible in New Zealand as 'a prophet has honour save in his own country'. He explained that educationists in New Zealand had been 'voices crying in the wilderness, but the stranger has been able to say with authority what we could not manage to prove to our own people'.²¹

Even in April 1938, Cunningham was still praising the impact of the Conference in both Australia and New Zealand. He had just spent three weeks with Beeby on his first trip to New Zealand and wrote that, 'I thoroughly enjoyed the chance of getting to know him and his wife in person'. He found many indications of the Conference's after effects and he reflected that: 'I was much impressed by certain developments in

New Zealand under the present Minister and think that we in Australia will have to look to our laurels unless we are to be left behind in certain respects'. Cunningham concluded with an insightful observation of the worsening international situation and its impact on the antipodes:

[Australia] is a somewhat sheltered corner as far removed as is geographically possible from the hurly-burly of world events. This perhaps accounts for the general feeling of optimism which prevails, although those who are students of world affairs are naturally greatly concerned at the way things are going. There are signs, I think, that Australia is beginning to realise that her isolation (or insulation) from world events is rapidly disappearing.²²

(d) New Education Fellowship and Beatrice Ensor and Claire Soper

Beatrice Ensor wrote to Dr Beeby in late August 1937 congratulating him on the organisation of the Conference. She recounted that, 'I have had splendid reports of the Conference in New Zealand and all the delegates who were with you are unanimous in telling me how splendidly everything was organised and how well the Conference went. I am indeed sorry that I could not be with you'.²³ Beeby responded that, 'The Conference threw things rather out of gear in New Zealand and I have been struggling to get both personal and professional affairs back into normal running order'. Beeby added that the Conference had put him behind schedule in his own research and writing and he had to catch up on a range of reports and publications that he was working on.²⁴

Claire Soper at the NEF Headquarters, also regularly kept in touch with Beeby after the Conference. In October 1937 she wrote to him concerning *New Era* subscriptions and thanking him for the recent National Committee donation of £100 to the NEF. She concluded that she was looking forward to hearing more news 'when you have all recovered' and added: 'You certainly must not drop that baby!'.²⁵

The following April, Laurin Zilliacus (as President) and Percy Meadon (as Treasurer) wrote to Beeby to thank the National Committee for its further donation of £200 to the NEF. They concluded with a heart-felt declaration:

The success which you achieved has had a heartening effect on all of us in the NEF. The financial contribution which you have now made to the Fellowship's funds comes as a most encouraging evidence of the enthusiasm awakened in New Zealand for our common ideals, and of the vitality of the international spirit which inspires all our efforts.²⁶

(e) Institute of Education and Fred Clarke

Fred Clarke at the Institute of Education had assisted Beeby in organising the Conference and was a new education advocate. Beeby wrote to Clarke just after the Conference and reflected that, 'We are just in the process of recovering from the New Education Fellowship Conference, which was in every way a bigger success than we anticipated'. He concluded that, 'The country is oozing education at the moment and if things don't shift now they never will'.²⁷ Clarke responded the following month and added that Susan Isaacs had also sent him a 'long and enthusiastic' letter about the Conference.²⁸ Clarke was very astute and gave Beeby the following advice:

In fact, your risk in New Zealand just now ... is that of overdoing the enthusiasms. The moment of cool thought and cold action will have to come, and it is often very difficult to act wisely when expectations have been inflated. Still the Conference must have generated a good deal of steam, and there are people like yourself who will know how to capture and direct the valuable energy.²⁹

Again, in response to Beeby's reply, Clarke advised caution:

I like the picture towards the end of your letter of the New Zealanders standing with loins girt and staves in hand. The moment is not without its dangers, since when one is ready to march it is so easy to fall in behind the wrong lead. But I know that you and your friends will be watching that very carefully.³⁰

Later, in 1941, Clarke wrote a letter to A E Campbell (who by then had replaced Beeby as Director of NZCER) which demonstrated that he clearly had a strong relationship with and admiration for Beeby and his efforts in New Zealand. Clarke noted that he was pleased his book, *Education and Social Change* had been well received in New Zealand: 'My hope is that it will set going some movement of thought in this country which will bring it more into line with the outlook in the Dominions'. He concluded with, 'Give my warm remembrances to all old friends especially Beeby. I can understand that things have been happening since he got into action'.³¹ The following year, near the mid-point of the war, Clarke again wrote to Campbell, and observed, in relation to educational developments in New Zealand:

I have read through your report with increasing appreciation. I like especially the evidence it gives that New Zealand is now finding itself and giving up the poor relation tradition of a distant imitativeness. I see much in your situation which should enable you to avoid some of the pitfalls that have tended to bog English education. But I do hope that you will be successful in arousing opinion on the great issue of the 14's to 18's.

After asking Campbell again to give his remembrances to Beeby (and Hunter), he concluded that:

The time of Australasia has now come, and the long process of growing up has now to undergo its examination. You may be battered a bit as we are, but there is no doubt about your coming through. Into what kind of world nobody can tell.³²

(f) Frank Hart's Reminiscences of the Australasian NEF Conference 1937

In February 1938 the Hart's wrote their 'Blunderbuss Message' to all the New Zealand and Australian NEF Conference delegates that took the form of a personalised four page reminiscence of their travels (and Beeby and Cunningham were also sent copies). It gives some further interesting insights into the personalities and camaraderie of the group members, the nature and difficulties of their travels, and

the receptions and hospitality that they received. [See *Appendix 22(d)* for a full copy of the letter along with Ken Cunningham's response where he recounts his first visit to see Beeby at NZCER in March 1938.]

(g) Teachers' College, Columbia University and Isaac Kandel

In Dr Beeby's personal files at the Alexander Turnbull Library, there is some revealing correspondence from Isaac Kandel and E G Malherbe, written to him just after the Conference [see *Appendix 22(d)* for full copies]. Kandel's two page letter recounted the saga in Australia concerning the antics surrounding the awarding of the honorary degrees to the visiting speakers and he then humorously expressed his thanks to Beeby and the New Zealand National Committee:

Please convey to the National Committee the expressions of my deepest esteem for their expressions of deepest esteem conveyed to me by one to whom I herewith tender my expressions of deepest esteem, etc. I did enjoy my visit to New Zealand and a large part of that enjoyment was due to you. If I come back again I will survey the whole calendar of N.Z. engagements and come when there is no Conference!³³

(h) Ministry of Education, Pretoria, South Africa and E G Malherbe

Finally, E G Malherbe's frank six page letter to Beeby was written en route to Sydney three days after the speakers had set sail on the *Monowai*. The letter was written in an informal style and contained some highly critical comments about New Zealand education, some information regarding a confidential memo Peter Fraser had asked him to write, and Beeby's future role in education [see *Appendix 22(d)*]. Malherbe wrote:

I am still a bit hesitant about writing Fraser that confidential memo he asked me to do for him on N. Z. education. It seems rather ungracious to criticise, when the root of the trouble lies with persons – persons who were so gracious & kind to all of us overseas visitors.

Much of what is wrong with your system is mere out-of-date-ness clinging to outworn traditions due to an appalling lack of leadership at the top and an inertia of the old & staid in the front rank of your ed. dept. If I say anything to Fraser it will be to say: 'N. Z. must give her young men a chance'.³⁴

After further comments in this vein, Malherbe concluded that:

In discussing our diverse impressions of N. Z. we 'square heads' have come to one unanimous conclusion & that is that Beeby is by far the outstanding man in N. Z. education and is the only one really fitted to undertake the job of Director of Education.³⁵

After noting why he would be sorry to see Beeby as the Director of Education at that point (due to his work at NZCER being so important for New Zealand education), Malherbe reflected whether,

... it would not be possible in the meantime to get somebody like Hunter to take over the Directorship ... & thus lay the foundation for the team with which you can work & really do things when you take over later ... [in order to] find some remedy for the deadening inertia of the departmental machine.³⁶

These quite astounding comments written in late July 1937 raise a number of issues. It sounded as if it was known to a group of the speakers that Lambourne was nearing retirement and that some of the delegates thought that Beeby would be an excellent replacement. At that early date, this letter demonstrated that Beeby was already being encouraged to consider a career move only some two and a half years after his NZCER appointment.

It is unknown whether Fraser at that time was considering Beeby for the position of Director. However, two examples illustrate the growing professional interest by Fraser in Beeby directly after the Conference. In September 1937, Fraser consulting

Beeby over his written response to the NEF request for a testimonial (discussed above) and the inclusion of chunks of Beeby's material in Fraser's letter indicates, at the least, a growing professional respect by Fraser of Beeby. Probably one or two months after that, Fraser asked Beeby's private opinion on a proposal relating to the staffing, salary scales and grading of teachers and Beeby responded in a letter late in January 1938. He was critical of several aspects of the proposal (especially the grading proposals) and made a particular point of singling out areas of discrimination towards women.³⁷

It is not known what confidential recommendations Malherbe might have made to Fraser on education in New Zealand or with regard to Beeby specifically. However, it is clear that there had been a reasonable amount of communication between Fraser and Malherbe in the last six months of 1937.³⁸ This is apparent, for example, when in December, Fraser reviewed a letter drafted for him that was to be sent to Hon J H Hofmeyr, Minister of Education, Pretoria, South Africa. The purpose of the letter was to express his 'personal appreciation' for Malherbe's work at the Conference. The draft initially stated that Malherbe had 'exercised an influence upon our educational ideas and standards that has been very beneficial ...'. Fraser re-wrote the final paragraph of the draft in ink to better reflect the level of respect that he held for Malherbe and the nature and extent of their communications:

Original text – 'I had several conversations and some correspondence with Dr Malherbe. He has been most helpful.'³⁹

Fraser's corrections – 'I had several most interesting and helpful conversations with Dr Malherbe and have exchanged some correspondence with him. His visit to New Zealand has been most helpful to the cause of Education here, and I must convey my sincere thanks to you for enabling him to come to New Zealand.'⁴⁰

Concluding Comments

In sum, this flurry of private correspondence by the progressive individuals and organisations that were most closely involved in the Conference reveals a number of candid insights about the Conference, the visiting speakers, and its success. The Conference was unanimously deemed an educational, political and financial success. It created ‘a semi-religious fervour’ for new education amongst educators and the public. It not only brought together progressive educators but influential progressive organisations, including the NEF, CCNY, ACER, IOE, and Teachers’ College, Columbia University in a display of ‘international spirit’.

With regard to the novelty of the actual progressive content delivered by the visiting speakers at the Conference, Duncan Rae’s comment encapsulated the situation. He had observed that educationists in New Zealand had previously been ‘voices crying in the wilderness’ but that ‘the stranger has been able to say with authority what we could not manage to prove to our own people’.⁴¹

In hindsight, a critically important set of observations came out of this correspondence. Malherbe and others had observed that the education system in New Zealand was out-dated, it clung to outworn traditions, and that there was ‘an appalling lack of leadership at the top’.⁴² Malherbe and others had conveyed this message to Peter Fraser. After the Conference, the professional relationship between Fraser and Beeby appears to have blossomed and a sample of the private correspondence here reveals that Fraser was relying on Beeby for advice and this relationship ultimately led to Beeby’s appointment in 1938 to the especially created position of Assistant-Director of Education position.

Finally, several writers observed that the Conference would have ‘permanent after-effects’ and that it signalled the start of a more long-lasting phase of progressive educational activities. Related to this, it was commented that the Conference had re-energised the Minister of Education and had helped him to recover ‘the courage of his convictions’. As Peter Fraser added, one of the most important impacts of the Conference was ‘the creation of a deep public interest which makes reform possible

and subsequent progress assured'.⁴³ This clearly signalled the intent of the Labour Government to continue with progressive educational reforms into the future.

2) Winding up the Conference

The three most important tasks to formally wind up the Conference were the completion and publication of the Conference proceedings, the writing and publication of the *New Era* issue devoted to New Zealand, and the official closing of the National Committee. Each task was to contribute in its own way to the further development of progressive education in New Zealand.

(a) The Publication of the Conference Proceedings (May 1938)

The proceedings was the official record of the Conference and ran to over 520 pages. The contents of the proceedings provided a broad and representative record of many of the sessions and lectures for each of the fourteen official speakers.⁴⁴ In addition, it included a substantial amount of material relating to the organisation of the Conference and the speakers. The proceedings was edited by A E Campbell, with assistance from C L Bailey, and was finally published in May 1938 with the title: *Modern Trends in Education. The Proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference Held in New Zealand in July 1937*. It included a Foreword by the Hon P Fraser (Minister of Education) and an Introduction by Professor T A Hunter. It had a print run of over 3,000 copies.

The proceedings is the primary written legacy from the Conference of the main new education ideas considered by the visiting speakers. However, it should not be regarded as a fully trustworthy representation of what happened at the Conference. It was, like other NEF conference proceedings of the era, only a 'selection of synopses'. As the editor explained in his Editorial Note, the material was a collective patchwork of summaries, verbatim reports, excerpts, and was an incomplete record. In addition, not all of the material was provided by the speakers themselves, and some came from notes taken by attendees or rewrites of newspaper article. It did present the spirit of

what was delivered but was not always an accurately representation of what exactly might have been said or occurred in New Zealand.

Besides the editor, A E Campbell and his assistant, C L Bailey other progressive educators were involved in its production. Beeby spent a considerable amount of time going through the material before it reached type-script stage. George Ashbridge worked behind the scenes on the financial aspects of the proceedings. Harvey McQueen, as Beeby's assistant, was involved in considerable correspondence relating to the gathering of material and the production and eventual sales of the report. Finally, Dr J McIlraith, the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools at the time, provided advice as a member of the advisory committee for the proceedings.

Less than twenty New Zealand libraries now hold copies of *Modern Trends In Education*.⁴⁵

(b) The Publication of the New Zealand Issue of 'The New Era in Home and School' (June 1938)

Besides the publication of the Conference proceedings, the proposed issue of *New Era* dedicated to 'new education' activities in New Zealand was an important task for the National Committee to take on and support in their wrapping up of the Conference organisation in the early part of 1938. The issue showcased important New Zealand progressive educators and their experiments and brought them international recognition.

At the beginning of 1938, the January issue of *New Era* contained an 'Outlook Tower' editorial by Beatrice Ensor that mainly focussed on the Australian Conference. This was followed, in that issue, by a general article written by Janie Malherbe (wife of the Conference speaker E G Malherbe) on the New Zealand Conference. The groundwork for a later New Zealand issue was being laid.

The March 1938 issue was devoted to Australian education. That issue included the following nine articles that had an emphasis on experimental approaches and schools:

- Ken Cunningham – Education in Australia: A Brief Survey;
- Miles – The Correspondence System of Education in Western Australia;
- Frank Tate – Forestry: Self-endowment by the Rural School;
- Mary Matheson – A Children’s Leisure-time Movement in Australia;
- Rah Fizelle – Art in a Changing Society;
- J Halls – Creative Art in Tasmania;
- Esther Tuckey – Frensham: An Australian Boarding-school for Girls;
- R Darling – Geelong Church of England Grammar School; and,
- Allan M Lewis – Quest Haven: Sydney’s First Progressive School.

The June 1938 issue (Volume 19, Issue 6, pp. 149-175) was devoted to New Zealand education [see *Appendix 24* for a fuller account of the development of the issue]. In a similar vein to the Australian issue, there was a mix of articles on progressive school practices, curriculum innovation, experimental schemes, native schooling, and early childhood education. It included the following eleven articles:

- No author listed [The author was its editor, H C D Somerset] – Education in New Zealand: A Broad View;
- T A Fletcher⁴⁶ – Some Experiments in Native Education;
- Edna Scott – The Kindergarten Schools;
- H C D Somerset – School and Community: An Experiment in a Rural District High School;
- R Gilpin – Frank, Alex and Maurice: A Biological Adventure;
- John Johnson – The Workers’ Educational Association Box Scheme;
- Dorothy Baster – Some Project Work in a City Infant Department;
- E Strachan – The Story of a Rural Secondary School, Rangiora;
- J Campbell – Broadcasts to New Zealand Schools;

- J Wild – Feilding Agricultural High School; and,
- Gwendolen Somerset – The Ewe Fair.

H C D Somerset was appointed its editor and it was a difficult and long-winded task to structure the issue, solicit and edit the material, and finally send it off or publication.

It was clearly an exhausting exercise for Somerset and after posting the material off he ‘went out to Ryde’s & stayed in bed for 24 hours looking at Mt Oxford’.⁴⁷ He queried whether there were any NEF Conference profits left as he had a small bill for typewriting and around £2 ‘on a/c’ for the *New Era* work; although, he added that he wouldn’t like to see the cost born by any of the local NEF groups.⁴⁸ Approximately a month later Beeby responded that there was money left and advised him to put in an account as quickly as possible.⁴⁹ Somerset responded later in May 1938 with an account for out-of-pocket expenses ‘in connection with the N.E.F. magazine’.⁵⁰

In June 1938, the New Zealand issue of *New Era* was finally published, mainly due to the hard work of Somerset as well as Beeby. Beeby, consistent with his *modus operandi* for the whole organisation of the Conference, played a significant role behind the scenes over almost a year in facilitating the project and ensuring the academic integrity of the overall issue in *New Era*. At the final meeting of the National Committee in July 1938, the Committee allocated £3 to H C D Somerset for out-of-pocket expenses for his work on editing the New Zealand issue.⁵¹

c) Winding Up the National Committee (July 21, 1938)

The National Committee was formally established to organise the NEF Conference 1937 in June 1936 and it operated for two years. In that time, this group of progressive educators considerably raised the profile of progressive education in New Zealand. The Committee was also in the fortunate position, due to the high enrolments for the Conference, of having a large surplus which it then used for the benefit of new education in New Zealand and overseas.

There were four meetings after the Conference of the National Committee for the remainder of 1937.⁵² Besides more mundane tasks, the Committee devoted considerable time to matters relating to the New Education Fellowship and this raised the tricky issue of the precise relationship between the Committee and the NEF internationally and locally.

The National Committee decided to donate £100 and then a further £200 to the NEF International Headquarters in London. This first donation was initially to help cover the NEF's costs in organising the Conference. However, Laurin Zilliacus had written to the Committee as Chairman of the NEF asking for an additional donation as it was in financial difficulties at the time. The second donation, then, was solely intended to help the voluntary organisation carry out its progressive work internationally. In addition, the Local Committees had received a number of application forms and payments during the Conference for subscriptions to the *New Era* journal. These were collated by the National Committee and sent to London.

The National Committee also went out of its way to support the four newly formed local groups of the NEF in New Zealand. These actions went beyond the original 'brief' of the National Committee which was to just organise the Conference and it signalled a dilemma as to how to support the local progressive activities that came out of the Conference within the constraints of what the Committee was initially established to achieve. For example, the Auckland and Wellington Local Committees had applied to the National Committee requesting grants of £25 to help the progressive activities of the local NEF groups. This had caused 'considerable discussion' in the Finance sub-Committee and it was decided that £25 be allocated to each Local Committee 'to be used in organising future activities of the NEF'.⁵³

The underlying problem was what was the on-going role of the National and Local Committees and their relationship to the NEF organisation. These aspects were resolved substantively at the final National Committee meeting of 1937. At that meeting decisions were made on how to dispose of the large surplus from the Conference and what was to be the future of the National Committee. The Committee would have had Claire Soper's entreaty on their minds when they came to discuss the

matter: 'You certainly must not drop that baby!'.⁵⁴ In the meeting in mid-December, two resolutions were unanimously agreed:

- 1) The sum of £500 be put into a trust fund 'to be used for any purposes the trustees might determine'. The trustees would be the holders of the following positions: Director of Education, President of NZCER, Secretary of NZEI, and Professor of Education at Victoria University College.
- 2) The balance of the surplus be used 'to establish a central library of educational books which would further the ideals of the New Education Fellowship'.⁵⁵

In brief, it was proposed to set up two independent trust funds, one to support progressive initiatives and the other to create a central library of progressive literature for the benefit of the local NEF groups. This was to have an immediate impact on the development of 'new education' nationwide and the expansion and consolidation of the New Education Fellowship organisation throughout New Zealand.

In July 1938, the final brief meeting of the National Committee was held to wind up the committee.⁵⁶ It was primarily concerned with miscellaneous correspondence, the impending transition of responsibilities to the trusts, and the official winding up of the Committee.

Since their last meeting, two requests for funding from the Conference surplus had been received. The Dunedin NEF group applied for a grant of £400 to undertake experimental work in schools [see Professor Lawson's later experiments in *Appendix 6*]. Also, the Director of Education asked for a grant to support an NEF course on vocational guidance to be held in Christchurch. Both requests were declined as the Committee now did not have authority over those funds and the requests were referred to the trustees of the surplus funds.

The transition of responsibilities to the trusts were a major point of discussion. It was decided to name the two trusts: the Educational Trust Fund and the Library Trust Fund. Both Funds would retain separate bank accounts and the trustees were empowered to allocate administrative expenses at their own discretion. It was also

agreed that the trustees for both funds be the same: the Director of Education, the President of NZCER, the Secretary of NZEI, and the Professor of Education at Victoria University College.

The final act of the National Committee was the official winding up of the Committee. As the minutes record:

WINDING-UP OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Professor Hunter moved, and Dr Beeby seconded that:

- a) Any further business arising from the National Committee's activities be referred to the trustees.
- b) Records of the Committee be placed in Mr Ashbridge's hands for safe keeping.⁵⁷

Conclusion

The NEF Conference 1937 had been an overwhelming success in both New Zealand and Australia. The flurry of correspondence concerning how the Conference had been received and what its immediate impact was had collectively demonstrated this. Some argued it had created 'a semi-religious fervour' across the country for new education while others lamented why it was that educators and others listened intently to 'strangers' from overseas when they were only saying what local progressive educators had been pointing out for the last twenty years. In addition, there had been some serious critiques of the New Zealand education system and those in leadership positions at the top of the Department of Education. Others argued that the Conference had re-energised the resolve of the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, for future progressive reforms. It also was clear that Fraser had gained a great deal of respect for Clarence Beeby and his professional and political abilities. The Conference, then, had been an educational and political triumph.

After the Conference it took approximately another year to wind up the National Committee. After dealing with the immediate issues relating to the Conference, the

National Committee organised for the publication of the Conference proceedings in May 1938 and the writing and publication of the New Zealand issue of *New Era*. The final meeting of the National Committee dealt with finalising the allocation of the Conference surplus to two trusts – the Educational and Library Trust Funds – and the Conference officially ended when the Committee formally wound itself up in July 1938.

In conclusion, within the two year period that the National Committee was constituted, the profile of ‘new education’ and the New Education Fellowship rose significantly and most members of the educational community became considerably more aware of progressive thinking and practices, whether they were ‘believers’ or not. At a broader level, the Conference brought new education to the general public. This goal was important for the Labour Government at the time who had started a programme of educational reorganisation. The New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 left that legacy as well as two well-endowed trust funds that would continue the work of ‘new education’ and the New Education Fellowship.

Notes

-
- ¹ Letter Fraser to Ensor dated 22 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c.
- ² Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 3 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Letter Keppel to Beeby dated 1 September 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.
- ⁵ Letter Keppel to Beeby dated 18 November 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.
- ⁶ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 3 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.
- ⁷ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 15 December 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.
- ⁸ Letter Hunter and Beeby to Fraser dated 2 August 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.
- ⁹ Letter Fraser to Hunter dated 12 August 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.
- ¹⁰ Letter Fraser to Cunningham dated 27 October 1937; ACER, Box 4923, Folder 92.
- ¹¹ Letter Ensor and Zilliacus to Fraser dated 6 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c. The letter was typed on the Australian NEF Conference letterhead.
- ¹² Letter P J G Smith to Beeby dated 30 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c.
- ¹³ Letter Beeby to Fraser dated 12 October 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c.
- ¹⁴ Letter Fraser to Ensor dated 22 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c.
- ¹⁵ Telegram from Cunningham to Beeby probably sent in early July 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.
- ¹⁶ Telegram from Beeby to Cunningham probably sent late July or early August 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.
- ¹⁷ Letter Cunningham to Beeby dated 2 September 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.
- ¹⁸ Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 20 August 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.
- ¹⁹ Letter Cunningham to Hart dated 16 September 1938; ACER, Box 4925, Folder 96.
- ²⁰ Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 13 December 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ²¹ Letter Rae to Cunningham dated 9 September 1937; ACER, Box 4923, Folder 92.
- ²² Letter Cunningham to Lismar dated 5 April 1938; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 95.
- ²³ Letter Ensor to Beeby dated 25 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.
- ²⁴ Letter Beeby to Ensor dated 15 October 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.
- ²⁵ Letter Soper to Beeby dated 9 October 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.
- ²⁶ Letter Zilliacus and Meadon to Beeby dated 13 April 1938; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.
- ²⁷ Letter Beeby to Clarke, dated 9 August 1937; AAVZ, W3418 Box 23.
- ²⁸ Thorough searches in both the NEF and IOE files, and Susan Isaacs' personal files at the IOE Archives have not uncovered this letter.
- ²⁹ Letter Clarke to Beeby, dated 8 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418 Box 23.
- ³⁰ Letter Clarke to Beeby, dated 15 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418 Box 23. The perhaps personal letter from Beeby that Clarke referred to here has not been located.
- ³¹ Letter Clarke to Campbell, dated 9 April 1941; AAVZ, W3418 Box 23; this comment was in response to an earlier letter from Campbell (dated 6 February 1941) where he stated that, 'I have been meaning for a long time to let you have a report on education affairs here. Things have been happening, especially since Beeby became Director of Education'.
- ³² Letter Clarke to Campbell, dated 29 January 1942; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ³³ Letter Kandel to Beeby, 19 September 1937; ATL-MS-Papers-4562-18.

-
- ³⁴ Letter Malherbe to Beeby dated 30 July 1937; Beeby papers, ATL-MS-Papers-4585-2.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Letter Beeby to Fraser dated 27 January 1938; AAVZ, W3418 Box 25.
- ³⁸ Given Malherbe's conviction and standing amongst the delegates, and the time that they were yet to spend together in Australia, it would not be surprising to find that other delegates had given similar confidential recommendations to Fraser.
- ³⁹ Draft letter from Fraser to Hon J H Hofmeyr, Minister of Education, Pretoria, South Africa dated 21 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.
- ⁴⁰ Final version of letter from Fraser to Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Education, Pretoria, South Africa dated 22 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.
- ⁴¹ Letter Rae to Cunningham dated 9 September 1937; ACER, Box 4923, Folder 92.
- ⁴² Letter Malherbe to Beeby dated 30 July 1937; Beeby papers, ATL-MS-Papers-4585-2.
- ⁴³ Letter Fraser to Cunningham dated 27 October 1937; ACER, Box 4923, Folder 92.
- ⁴⁴ When the National Committee officially disbanded in June 1938 it delegated responsibility from that point for matters relating to the proceedings to the Library Trust Fund (itself being disbanded in the 1940s). Consequently, it was not possible to obtain permission to reproduce these selections from *Modern Trends in Education*.
- ⁴⁵ Source: <http://nzlc.natlib.govt.nz>; as at June 2013.
- ⁴⁶ Fletcher was Inspector of Native Schools in the New Zealand Department of Education.
- ⁴⁷ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 9 April 1938. Somerset added that, 'Hope I can find a similar place near Feilding, but I doubt if there's anywhere else quite like Ryde's'. AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.
- ⁴⁸ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 9 April 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.
- ⁴⁹ Letter Beeby to Somerset, dated 10 May 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.
- ⁵⁰ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 21 May 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.
- ⁵¹ Minutes of the 21 July 1938 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.
- ⁵² Minutes of the National Organising Committee meetings for 29 July 1937, 3 August 1937, 2 November 1937, and 14 December 1937.
- ⁵³ Minutes of the 30 August 1937 meeting of the Finance Committee of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.
- ⁵⁴ Soper was the NEF's International Secretary. Letter Soper to Beeby dated 9 October 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.
- ⁵⁵ A sub-committee comprising Magill, Gould and Beeby was set up with the following duties: formulate a plan for the library and submit this to the four local committees; immediately purchase some books to circulate amongst 'those interested in New Education Fellowship groups' and to approach public libraries to assist in this task.
- ⁵⁶ Minutes of the 21 July 1938 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.
- ⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the substantive records of the Committee could not be located at NZEI (or in the NZEI archives) or with Ashbridge's family; however, copies of the minutes of the Committee were located in NZCER's archives.

Conclusion – The End of the Beginning?

A new impetus has been given to education in this Dominion at a very critical stage in its history, for the Minister of Education has announced that he proposed during this Parliament to place a new Education Act on the Statute book. We are all anxiously awaiting the new measure to see how much its spirit has been influenced by the recent conferences and discussions.

(Professor T A Hunter, May 1938)¹

Discussions of the initial development of progressive education in New Zealand have traditionally revolved around Professor James Shelley in the interwar years and his protégée, Dr C E Beeby in the 1940s. A considerable body of literature, including insightful biographies, centre on these two leading figures and the discussions are often broadly framed around their battles against the conservative educational forces in place at the time. The problem with this approach is that it is only part of the story of progressive education in New Zealand.

Instead, this thesis joins a small body of work that addresses in depth the broader local, national and international contexts, and the key players and organisations that were actively engaging in new education activities in the interwar years in or relevant to New Zealand. In addition, there is a focus on the place of the NEF Conference 1937 in these and later progressive activities. Similarly, this Conference is not frequently discussed comprehensively. When it is mentioned, it is often described as a gathering of world famous progressive speakers whose ‘new’ message inspired a revolution in New Zealand education. This thesis also challenges this view.

Moreover, as this thesis contends, it is now clear that there was a large amount of progressive activity occurring throughout New Zealand during the interwar year. The policy environment was very encouraging of new education initiatives. Progressive teaching approaches were being trialled throughout the country and the Theosophical Society had even set up its own progressive school. Groups of the New Education Fellowship had been established locally in the 1920s and 30s and teacher organisations (such as NZEI) and the research institute NZCER were actively promoting progressivism. Progressive theories and approaches were being published

in huge quantities overseas and these were reaching the country in such forms as books, journals and newspaper articles. Many educators were travelling overseas to view progressive schools, including to the United States, Europe, Great Britain and India.

As well as this, there were a significant number of progressive educators across the range of influential education groupings who played their particular part in the initial development of new education in New Zealand. These included professors of education, training college lecturers, principals and rectors, teachers, administrators and inspectors. There were even New Zealand educators overseas who were making important contributions to the new education from afar. And, a number of important progressive educators had been visiting the country. Of particular note were the CCNY representatives who recommended substantive funding support for progressive initiatives across a range of areas.

Without doubt, progressive education during the interwar years was not the norm in the mainstream education system and traditional approaches continued. There were many constraints on the implementation of new education experiments. These included the influence of external examinations (such as the Proficiency Examination that was abolished in 1936), the rigid methods of the teacher inspection system, the rigid teacher grading system, the over-prescriptive syllabus (in 1929, a new syllabus was introduced that gave teachers considerably more freedom) and general conservatism across the system, from Department of Education staff and inspectors to members of the teaching force, especially the older teachers.

Despite these evident constraints, the whole educational milieu during the interwar years was considerably more progressive than many had realised. The NEF Conference 1937, then, fell on fertile ground. The new education messages of the visiting speakers were provocative and inspiring but it is likely that many of the attendees would have been nodding their heads and shouting 'Hear, Hear!' as opposed to being overwhelmed and astonished by the ideas the delegates were presenting.

Placing the Conference in the broader development of progressive education in New Zealand, this thesis has argued that far from signalling the beginning of new education in the country, the Conference actually represented the end of the first phase of progressive education and the beginning of its consolidation. The Conference legitimated nearly twenty years of the Department of Education's liberal progressive rhetoric, provided international corroboration for teaching experiments in the classroom, and gave a new impetus to the progressive education organisations operating in the country. Of note, this thesis proposed that it was the Conference itself that provided these benefits, as opposed to the specific progressive content delivered by the visiting speakers. After all, they were a diverse group who were not always in agreement with each other, they were not specifically chosen for their content areas, and it is probable that quite a different group of speakers (and topics) may have come to New Zealand if circumstances were different.

The Conference was certainly the largest educational event in New Zealand's history, although few would have predicted this beforehand. Besides attracting well-known visiting delegates, the Conference was a nation-wide affair with sessions in all the main centres. The schools were closed in each area allowing over 6,000 teachers to attend. There was huge publicity, including radio broadcasts and many articles in the leading newspapers, as well as a series of public lectures in each centre. This publicity ensured that the Conference message moved well beyond educators and into the general public in all parts of the country.

In addition, the First Labour Government and the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, had fully backed the Conference from the beginning. The Minister had gained a Government guarantee against potential losses, he had persuaded the Department of Education and the inspectors to support it, and he had personally attended many of the sessions and all of the lectures in Wellington. Not only that, Fraser met with the speakers for two days in a private conference to ask their advice on a number of educational issues facing the country. The Government had already begun a series of educational reforms and the hope was that the Conference would bring more teachers on board and 'soften up' the general public for future progressive initiatives. It achieved both of these goals.

The Conference was, therefore, not only an educational but a political success. It provided a considerably stronger educational and political platform for the Government to continue with its progressive reforms in the late 1930s and into the 1940s. Seen in this light, the Conference heralded the start of the second phase of the gradual consolidation of the new education throughout the education system. It ultimately signalled ‘the end of the beginning’ for progressive education in New Zealand.

It is interesting to speculate on the timing of the Conference in this regard. If the Conference had been held in the early 1930s (before the establishment of NZCER and the First Labour Government) would it have had the same impact? It may well not have. For example, the NEF ideals at that point were still more openly spiritual (which may not have appealed to educators in a secular education system), the new syllabus had only just been introduced and teachers were yet to grasp its potential for progressive practice, and the combined weight of ACER, NZCER and NZEI would not have been in place to help make the Conference a success. What if it had been held later, after World War Two? By that time, many of the most influential and ardent progressive educators both in New Zealand and overseas had either retired or died. In addition, NZCER was then struggling with the loss of CCNY funding and may not have been in a position to help run the Conference, while the political and post-war financial situation may not have been conducive. Certainly, progressive reforms may have taken longer to get established in the mainstream education system. Finally, what if the Conference had not happened at all? The Labour Government would have probably taken longer to persuade teachers and the general public to accept progressive reforms. In addition, Dr Beeby may not have come to the attention of Peter Fraser so quickly and this may have delayed or stopped his ability to become the influential and progressive Director of Education that he became. Far from being insignificant, these questions illustrate that the success of the Conference in consolidating New Zealand educators’ thinking and its impact on future progressive reforms was highly dependent on one fortuitous factor: its timing.

Two final matters are worth adding relating to the private archival correspondence after the Conference and the distribution of the large surplus from the Conference. In reading the correspondence after the Conference three important points become clear. First, the Conference brought together progressive educators and influential progressive organisations and these networks helped to further promote new education in the country. For example, Beeby was now highly respected and on personal terms with many of the leading educators at ACER, CCNY, IOE, NEF, and Teachers' College, Columbia University. Second, the speakers not only provided a useful critique of the New Zealand education system to Peter Fraser, but they also recommended Dr Beeby for higher things. Peter Fraser was by then already well aware of Beeby's capabilities and this international support would have confirmed his views. Beeby's role in supporting progressive education as Director of Education was pivotal to its acceptance and success in the 1940s and beyond. Finally, the Conference helped Peter Fraser recover 'the courage of his convictions'. The Conference provided him with the confidence to continue with progressive educational reforms into the future.

The second matter relates to the Conference surplus. With the larger than expected number of attendees throughout the country, there was a significant surplus. The National Committee donated £300 to the NEF International Headquarters in London to support their international progressive education initiatives. The National Committee also supported the newly-formed local NEF groups with seeding money. The bulk of the money was distributed to two trust funds on the winding up of the National Committee in July 1938. The Educational Trust Fund was established to support new education experiments. The Library Trust Fund was established to create a central library of educational books which would 'further the ideals of the New Education Fellowship'. These were large sums of money in the 1930s and helped support a number of new education initiatives well into the 1940s.

Finally, it is hoped that this thesis makes a useful contribution to the growing literature on progressive education and the NEF both in New Zealand and internationally. There were many areas touched upon that would benefit from further research. It would be helpful to understand better the nature and motivations of the

progressive policy direction of successive governments in the interwar years. More research is needed on those districts and schools that chose to trial experimental teaching methods, such as the Montessori Method and the Dalton Plan. There are many unanswered questions relating to specific progressive educators, including Clarence Farnsworth Stratford, Richard Lawson, Norman Jacobsen, Francis Garry, and Brian Knight. Of particular interest, more research is needed on the Darrochs and the Vasanta Garden School in Auckland as well as Reverend Ryburn and the Christian Boys' School in Kharar, India. This thesis has opened the door to many areas of progressive education in New Zealand and hopefully will serve as a solid foundation for further investigations.

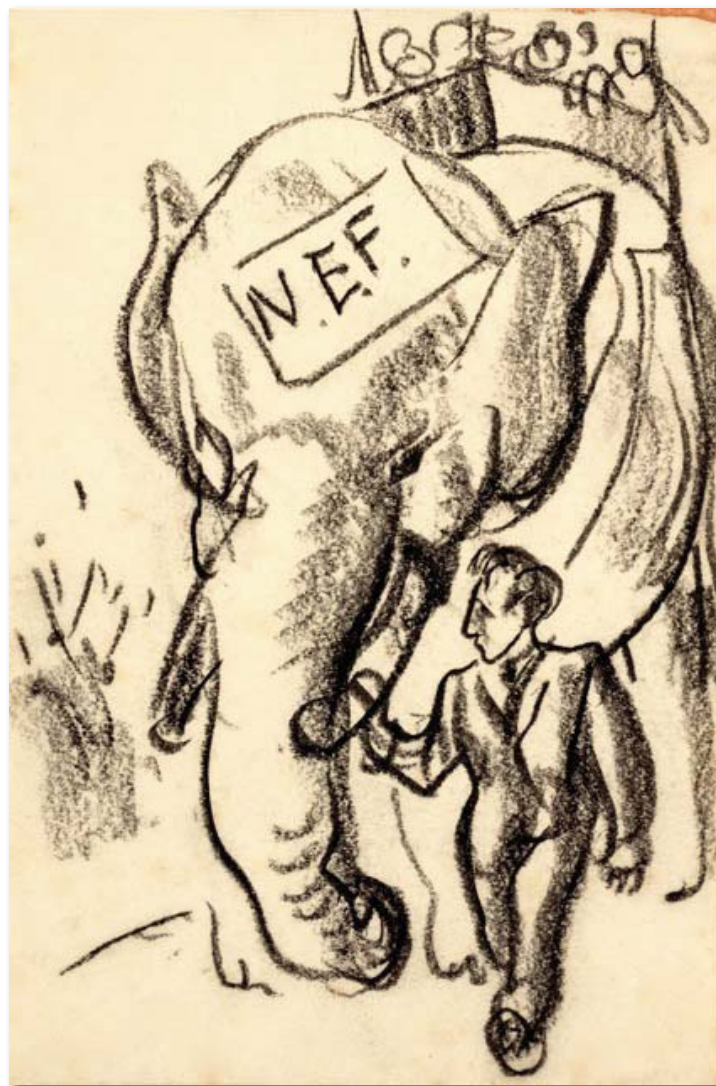


Figure C-1 The NEF Elephant by Arthur Lismar 1937²

In conclusion, the primary focus of this thesis has been the rise of ‘the new education’ in New Zealand in the interwar years with particular reference to the NEF and the NEF Conference 1937. What has emerged has been a greater understanding of the depth of progressive policy and practice across the country than many had previously thought. Moreover, the NEF, as the largest global progressive organisation at the time, influenced educators in New Zealand in both the 1920s and 1930s through its progressive activities and its local groups. By 1937, the ‘elephant’ that was the NEF Conference was the culmination of these progressive endeavours and the influence of the NEF. As such, the new education ideas of the Conference fell not on uninformed educators but on fertile ground. The Conference, then, served to legitimate the previous progressive policy directions, new education experiments, and the activities of progressive organisations. It also attracted a large amount of publicity and reached out to the general public throughout the country.

As a consequence, the Conference served to draw to a close the first phase of progressive education adoption during the interwar years and signalled the beginning of its consolidation. In addition, the event re-energised Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education, and provided the educational and political platform for the Government to confidently continue with its progressive reforms in the late 1930s and 1940s, with Dr C E Beeby at the helm. In sum, the Conference was ‘the end of the beginning’ for new education in New Zealand.

Prologue – New Education Moves into the Mainstream Education System

The next stage of new education following ‘the end of the beginning’ was a remarkable period in New Zealand’s educational history. In 1938, Dr Beeby was appointed to the re-established position of Assistant-Director of Education under the Director, N T Lambourne, and became Director in 1940 when Lambourne retired. Beeby was one of three candidates short-listed by a public service sub-committee comprising Hunter, Shelley, Lambourne and Armour, and chaired by the Solicitor-General, H H Cornish.³ Beeby was ‘officially’ chosen because he best met the position requirements: ‘preferably under fifty years old, who had high academic

attainments, a wide knowledge of education, and familiarity with the New Zealand and overseas education systems'.⁴ Unofficially, as has been discussed throughout this thesis, Beeby had also gained the respect of the teaching profession, had demonstrated his organisational abilities and research knowledge as Director of NZCER, and, as organiser of the NEF conference, had gained the overwhelming support and confidence of influential overseas experts. In addition, and critically, Beeby had impressed Peter Fraser both during and after the Conference and presumably Fraser had become convinced that he was the best person to lead the next phase of the Labour Government's progressive educational reforms.

Beeby's appointment was publicised in July 1938 and he started the position on 1 September 1938 accompanied by a prolonged period of induction into the Public Service. Less than six months later, Beeby faced the first major test of his acumen and the faith that the educational hierarchy had shown in him. Beeby recounted that during the preparation of the 1938 Annual Report of the Minister of Education for parliament, Fraser had refused to sign-off the draft report submitted to him by Lambourne and requested that it included more substantive material. Lambourne required the additions the following day.⁵ Beeby, articulating what he thought would have been Fraser's sentiments, wrote the first two pages of the report and briefly outlined the educational achievements of the previous three years as well as articulating in more depth the overarching policy objectives that the Labour Government was seeking to achieve.

While Beeby 'wrote' the statement in haste, he reported that he attempted to 'read Fraser's mind' as well as drawing on his own educational background and knowledge. He cited the influence of Shelley, Nunn, Fraser, his own broad reading, and the NEF Conference 1937.⁶ Irrespective of whether the statement is viewed as Beeby's or Fraser's or both; it was, in fact, a skilfully composed summary of the progressive ideals that had driven new education in New Zealand and internationally in the interwar period. As Beeby later broadly reflected, 'it must be read against the social and economic background of the 1930s'.⁷ And, it must also be read more specifically as an extension of the political philosophy of the socialist roots of the Labour Party,⁸ the educational policy of the Labour Government,⁹ NZEI's educational policy at the

time, and the principles of the NEF and the PEA – similar phrases are frequently to be found in those sources.¹⁰

The Fraser-Beeby statement was inspired by the ideology of social equity and clearly articulated the Labour Government's ideals of citizenship rights, social justice and equality of opportunity.¹¹ Its second sentence, below, is now widely quoted and acknowledged as one of the most powerful declarations of the liberal progressive educational tradition:

The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers.¹²

This 1939 statement went on to become recognised as a powerful 'myth' statement – The Myth of Equality of Opportunity – that endured for the remainder of the 20th century.¹³ It also heralded the onset of the next stage of new education in New Zealand, and its widespread expansion into the mainstream education system.

Notes

¹ Source: T A Hunter's Introduction. Campbell, A. E. (Ed.). (1938). *Modern trends in education. The proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference held in New Zealand in July 1937* [assisted by C. L. Bailey]. Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research; pp. xiii-xiv.

² Source: NZEI Lister Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-035.

³ Alcorn (1999).

⁴ Alcorn (1999), p. 90.

⁵ See Beeby (1992), Chapter Six.

⁶ Beeby (1992), p. 123.

⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

⁸ For example, see Alcorn's comments in Chapter Six.

⁹ For an extended discussion of that, see: Massey, L. E. (1968). *The educational policy of Peter Fraser, the New Zealand Labour Party's first Minister of Education 1935-1940. A survey and evaluation*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Auckland.

¹⁰ Renwick (1998) adds that Beeby's dominance of 'the collective memory of the teaching profession' should not overshadow Peter Fraser's major contribution in providing the 'political context and the policy framework that enabled Beeby to be a great educational administrator' (p. 68).

¹¹ See, for example, Clark (2005), for a broader discussion of the ideology of social equity in New Zealand education.

¹² AJHR, E-01, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year Ended 31st December 1938*, pp. 2-3.

¹³ For a broader discussion of 'myth' statements, see, for example, Clark (2004b).

References

- Abbiss, J. (1998). The 'New Education Fellowship' in New Zealand: Its activity and influence in the 1930s and 1940s. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 33, 1, 81-93.
- Adams, J. (Ed.). (1924). *Educational movements and methods*. London: George Harrap.
- Alcorn, N. (1992). NZCER: The first four years. In G. McDonald & R. Benton (Eds.), *The Beeby fascicles* (Vol. 4, pp. 1-35). Wellington: Te Aro Press.
- Alcorn, N. (2003). *To the Full Extent of his Powers: C. E. Beeby's Life in Education*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Aldrich, R. (2002). *The Institute of Education 1902-2002: A centenary history*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.
- Aldrich, R. (2006). *Lessons from history of education: The selected works of Richard Aldrich*. London: Routledge.
- Aldrich, R. (2009). The new education and the Institute of Education, University of London, 1919-1945. *Paedagogica Historica*, 45(4-5), 485-502.
- Aldrich, R., & Gordon, P. (1989). *Dictionary of British educationists*. London: Woburn.
- Anchen, J. O. (1956). *Frank Tate and his work for education*. Melbourne: ACER.
- Ash, M. (1998). *Gestalt psychology in German culture, 1890-1967: Holism and the quest for objectivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Badley, J. H. (1917). *Education after the war*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Badley, J. H. (1923). *Bedales: A pioneer school*. London: Methuen.
- Badley, J. H. (1955). *Memories and reflections*. London: Methuen.
- Bailey, C. L. (1946). In memoriam – Professor Gould. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], 6-7.
- Barrowman, R. (1999). *Victoria University of Wellington, 1899-1999*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

- Bassett, M., & King, M. (2000). *Tomorrow comes the song: A life of Peter Fraser*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Batt, C. A. (1925). *The Kingdom of Cram: An Unconventional Criticism of School Aims and Practices*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker.
- Batt, C. A. (1926). *Hands off the child: With a short account of individual methods in the schoolroom*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker.
- Batt, C. A. (1931). *The new idolatry and other matters*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Batt, C. A. (1931). *Tabloid talks: Concerning health ... physical, mental and moral*. Wellington: New Zealand Worker.
- Beaglehole, E. (1953). Obituary, Sir Thomas Hunter, MA, MSc, HonLitt.D. *Bulletin of the British Psychology Society*, 4(21), 1-2.
- Beeby, C. E. (1979). Psychology in New Zealand fifty years ago. In R. St George (Ed.), *The Beginnings of psychology in New Zealand: A collection of historical documents and recollections*. *Delta Research Monograph*, 2, 1-6.
- Beeby, C. E. (1992). *The biography of an idea*. Wellington: NZCER.
- Bell, N. M. (1921). *Education for freedom*. Greymouth: National Peace Council of New Zealand.
- Board of Education. (1926). *Report of the consultative committee on the education of the adolescent*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Boyd, M. B. (1984). *City of the plains: A history of Hastings*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Boyd, W. (Ed.). (1930). *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.
- Boyd, W., & Rawson, W. (1965). *The story of the new education*. London: Heinemann.
- Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. *Faiths and Education*. Paper presented at the XIX International

- Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.
- Brehony, K. (2001). A 'socially civilising influence'? Play and the urban 'degenerate'. A paper given at, Urbanisation and Education: The City as Light and Beacon? International Standing Conference for the History of Education XXIII, University of Birmingham, UK, July 12-15 2001.
- Brehony, K. (2004). A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education 1921–1938. *Paedagogica Historica*, 40, 5 & 6, 733-755.
- Brown, L. B., & Fuchs, A. H. (1969). *The letters between Sir Thomas Hunter and E. B. Titchener*. Wellington: Department of Psychology, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Cabot, I. B. (1969). Appendix on creativity as a function of the type of education. In M. Ash (Ed.), *Who are the progressives now? An account of an educational confrontation*. London: RKP.
- Cabot, P. S. de Q. (1940). A long-term study of children: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. *Child Development*, 11, 143-151.
- Campbell, A. E. (Ed.). (1938). *Modern trends in education. The proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference held in New Zealand in July 1937* [assisted by C. L. Bailey]. Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Campbell, A. T. (Ed.). (1981). *The years between: Christchurch Boys' High School, 1881-1981*. Christchurch: Christchurch High School Old Boys' Association.
- Carter, I. (1993). *Gadfly: The life and times of James Shelley*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Cell, J. (1992). *Hailey: A study in British imperialism, 1872–1969*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chambliss, J. J. (Ed.). (2009). *Philosophy of education: An encyclopedia*. NY: Routledge.

- Chand, D. (1952). *Autobiography of hockey wizard Dhyan Chand*. Chennai, India: Sport & Pastime.
- Church, R. (1948). *Kent*. London: Robert Hale.
- Clark, J. A. (2004a). Rigorous eclecticism: The Ministry of Education's bizarre philosophy of the curriculum. In A. M. O'Neill, J. Clark, & R. Openshaw (Eds.), *Reshaping culture, knowledge and learning* (pp. 127-140). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Clark, J. A. (2004b). Educational myths as a framework for education policy: Towards a new myth. *New Zealand Annual Review of Education*, 13, 5-19.
- Clark, J. A. (2005). The aims and functions of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. In P. Adams, R. Openshaw, & J. Hamer (Eds.), *Education and society in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 130-154). Melbourne: Thomson Dunmore.
- Clarke, F. (1935). A Plea for the Autonomous School. *National Education*, August 1, 319.
- Collins, J. (2010). Expanding women's work in the University and beyond – Carnegie Connections, 1923-1942. *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, 7, 2, 171-183.
- Connell, W. F. (1980). *A history of education in the twentieth century world*. NY: Teachers College Press.
- Cremin, L., Shannon, D., & Townsend, M. (1954). *A history of Teachers College Columbia University*. NY: Columbia University.
- Cummings, I. (1959). *Glorious enterprise: The history of the Auckland Education Board 1857-1957*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Cunningham, K. S. (Ed.). (1938). *Education for complete living. The proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference held in Australia, August 1 to September 20, 1937* [assisted by W. C. Radford]. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press in Association with Oxford University Press.
- de la Mare, F. A. (1946). Professor Sir Thomas Alexander Hunter. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], 23-24.

- De Normann, B., & Colmore, G. (1918?). *Ethics of education*. London: Theosophical Publishing House.
- Dewey, J. (1915). *The school and society* (rev. ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dixon, J. (2001). *Divine feminine: Theosophy and feminism in England*. Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.
- Dowden, R. A. (2007). *Curriculum integration for early adolescent schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand: worthy of serious trial*. A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, Massey University, New Zealand.
- Downs, R. (1975). *Heinrich Pestalozzi: Father of modern pedagogy*. Boston: Twayne.
- Dubow, S. (2006). *A commonwealth of knowledge: Science, sensibility, and white South Africa, 1820-2000*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Duignan, P., & Gann, L. (1984). *The United States and Africa: A history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dunlop, A. R., & Dakin, A. E. (1958). *Southland Boys' High School – Old boys' register*. Invercargill: Southland High School Old Boys' Association.
- Education Department. (1928). *Syllabus of instruction for public schools*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Ellerton, N., & Clements, M. (2005). A mathematics education ghost story: Herbartianism and school mathematics. In P. Clarkson, A. Downton, D. Gronn, M. Horne, A. McDonough, R. Pierce, & A. Roche (Eds.), *Building connections: Theory, research and practice* (Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Mathematics Education Group of Australasia, Melbourne, pp. 313-321). Sydney: Mathematics Education Research Group of Australasia.
- Ensor, B. (1930). Crusades in the realm of education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.

- Evans, R. (2007). *This happened in America: Harold Rugg and the censure of Social Studies*. NY: Information Age.
- Ewing, J. L. (1970). *The development of the New Zealand primary school curriculum 1877-1970*. Wellington: NZCER.
- Findlay, J. J. (1924). Eurhythmics. In J. Adams (Ed.), *Educational movements and methods*. London: George Harrap.
- Fleisch, B. (1993). *American Influences on the Development of Social and Educational Research in South Africa, 1929-1943*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Atlanta, GA, April 1993). ED370843.
- Fleisch, B. (1995). Social scientists as policy makers: E.G. Malherbe and the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 3, 34-39.
- Garden, D. (1982). *The Melbourne teacher training colleges: From training institution to Melbourne State College, 1870-1982*. Victoria: Heinemann.
- Gardner, W. J., Beardsley, E., & Carter, T. (1973). *A history of the University of Canterbury 1873-1973*. Christchurch: University of Canterbury.
- Georgiadou, M. (2004). *Constantin Carathéodory: Mathematics and politics in turbulent times*. NY: Springer.
- Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Gregg, A. (1993). The hope of the future: The Kindergarten Union and the campaign for children's libraries in Western Australia. *Issues In Educational Research* 3(1), 17-33.
- Grigor, A. (2002). *Arthur Lismer: Visionary art educator*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Gutek, G. L. (Ed.). (2004). *The Montessori Method*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Harding, G., & Williams, D. (2000). *New Zealand and South Africa: The struggle for rugby supremacy. Toughest of them all*. Auckland: Penguin.

- Hayward, F. H., & Freeman, A. (1919). *Spiritual foundations of reconstruction: A plea for new educational methods*. London: P. S. King.
- Hazlehurst, C., Whitehead, S., & Woodland, C. (1996). *A Guide to the papers of British Cabinet Ministers, 1900-1964*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hemmings, J., & Soper, C. (1952). *The New Education Fellowship*. London: NEF.
- Henderson, J. (1955). The Conscience of Nazi Germany: Adolf Reichwein. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 4, 1, 57-61.
- Henderson, J. (1978). *Irregularly bold – A study of Bedales school*. London: André Deutsch.
- Hollow, P. G. M., & Allardyce, T. B. (Eds.). (1965). *We Remember – Being reminiscences of J. E. Strachan and his school*. New Zealand: Privately published and copyrighted by the editors.
- Holmes, E. (1911). *What is and what might be: A study of education in general and elementary education in particular*. London: Constable.
- Hunter, T. A. (1917). *Education or Downfall? An address delivered under the auspices of the Wellington Branch of the Social Democratic Party on Sunday evening, February 18, 1917*. Wellington: 'Worker' Print.
- Hunter, T. A. (1952). The development of psychology in New Zealand. *Bulletin*, 3, 118, 101-111.
- Irvine-Smith, F. L. (1949). *The streets of my city – Wellington New Zealand*. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Jacobsen, N. R. (192x). *Heat: A great traveller*. Wellington: Distributed by Gordon and Gotch.
- Jinarajadasa, C. (Ed.). (1925/ 2003). *Golden book of the Theosophical Society*. Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.
- Johnston, C., & Morton, H. (1976). *Dunedin Teachers College: The first hundred years*. Dunedin: Dunedin Teachers College.

- Jupp, V., & Norris, C. (1993). Traditions in documentary analysis. In M. Hammersley (ed.), *Social research: Philosophy, politics and practice* (pp. 37-51). London: Sage.
- Kandel, I. (1937). *The strife of tongues*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press in association with Oxford University Press.
- Kandel, I. (1937). *Impressions of education in New Zealand and Inverted snobbery and the problems of secondary education* [Studies in Education No. 2]. Wellington: NZCER.
- Kandel, I. (1938). *Types of Administration: With particular reference to the education systems of New Zealand and Australia* [Educational Research Series Number 7]. Wellington: NZCER.
- Kasinski, K. (2003). The roots of work: Definitions, origins and influences. In A. Ward, K. Kasinski, J. Pooley & A. Worthington (Eds.), *Therapeutic communities for children and young people*. London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association.
- Kilpatrick, W. H. (1918). The Project Method: The use of the purposeful act in the educative process. *Teachers' College Record*, 19(4), 3-18.
- Kimmins, C. W. (1924). The Dalton Plan. In J. Adams (Ed.), *Educational movements and methods*. London: George Harrap.
- Kinnear, M. (2004). *Woman of the world: Mary McGeachy and international cooperation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kiste, R. (1998). *He served: A biography of Macu Salato*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Knight, B. (1940). *Nine to Three and After*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- Kowhai Intermediate School (1972). *Golden jubilee 1972*. Auckland: Author.
- Kuß, S. (2004). *Carl Heinrich Becker in China: Reisebriefe des ehemaligen Preussischen Kultusministers 1931/32*. Berlin, Germany: LIT Verlag.

- Lawson, R. (1919). *Classical gold in English renderings (with an introduction by Frank Tate)*. Melbourne: MacMillan.
- Lawson, R. (1928). Social curricula in relation to social needs. In R. Lawson (Ed.), *Public lectures on social adjustment*. Dunedin: University of Otago.
- Lawson, R. (1942). *Fragmenta Animi, 1894-1941 (First Series)*. Dunedin: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Lawson, R. (1948). *Fragmenta Animi (Second Series)*. Dunedin: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Lee, H. (2005). The New Zealand District High School: A case study of the conservative politics of rural education. *Education Research & Perspectives*, 32, 1, 12-51.
- Lester, R. (1941). *Forty years of Carnegie giving*. NY: Scribner.
- Ley, G. (2007). *The theatricality of Greek tragedy: Playing space and chorus*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Louis, W. (2006). *Ends of British Imperialism: The scramble for empire, Suez and decolonization: Collected Essays*. London: Tauris.
- Lundbak, H. (2003). *Danish Unity: A political party between Fascism and resistance 1936-1947*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- MacDonald, M. (2010). *Elwyn Richardson and the early world of art education in New Zealand*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Canterbury.
- MacMunn, N. (1914). *A path to freedom in the school*. London: Bell.
- Macrakis, K. (1993). *Surviving the swastika: Scientific research in Nazi Germany*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Malherbe, E. G. (1981). *Never a dull moment*. Cape Town: Timmins.
- Malherbe, E. G. (Ed.). (1937). *Educational adaptations in a changing society: Report of the South African Education Conference held in Capetown and Johannesburg in July 1934, under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship*. Cape Town: Juta.

- Markham, S. F., & Richards, H. C. (1933). *A report on the museums and art galleries of Australia and New Zealand*. London: The Museums Association.
- Massey, L. E. (1968). *The educational policy of Peter Fraser, the New Zealand Labour Party's first Minister of Education 1935-1940. A survey and evaluation*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Auckland.
- Matthew, H. C. G., & Harrison, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Oxford dictionary of national biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (in association with the British Academy). Oxford: OUP.
- May, H. (2011). *I am five and I go to school. Early years schooling in New Zealand, 1900-2010*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- McClune, H. F., & Lord, G. H. (1916). *Democracy in the schoolroom: A guide to primary school work*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- McCulloch, G. (2004). *Documentary research in education, history and the social sciences*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- McCulloch, G. (2007). *Cyril Norwood and the ideal of secondary education*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McCulloch, G. (2011). *The struggle for the history of education*. London: Routledge.
- McCulloch, G., & Richardson, W. (2000). *Historical research in educational settings*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.
- McEldowney, W. J. (2006). *Geoffrey Alley: His life and works*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- McKenzie, D. (1992). Ideas are necessary but not sufficient. In G. McDonald & R. Benton (Eds.), *The Beeby fascicles* (Vol. 5, pp. 45-64). Wellington: Te Aro Press.
- McLeish, J. A. B. (1956). *September gale. A study of Arthur Lismar and the Group of Seven*. London: Dent.
- Meding, D. (1997). *Courageous hearts: Women and the anti-Hitler plot of 1944* [Translated by Michael Balfour & Volker R. Berghahn]. Oxford: Berghahn.

- Middleton, S. (2014). *Henri Lefebvre and education – Space, history, theory* (see Everyday life: ‘New Education Fellowship’ activists, 1928-1948, pp. 57-82). Oxford: Routledge.
- Mission Committee of the YMBC Union. (1947). *Front line men*. Auckland: Mission Committee of the YMBC Union.
- Mitchell, F. W. (1967). *Sir Fred Clarke. Master-Teacher, 1880-1952*. London: Longmans.
- Montessori, M. (1930). The Montessori Method. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.
- Morrell, W. P. (1969). *The University of Otago: A centennial history*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Munn, R., & Barr, J. (1934). *New Zealand libraries: A survey of conditions and suggestions for their improvement*. Christchurch: Libraries Association of New Zealand.
- Munz, P. (1995). Vote of thanks. *Stout Centre Review*, March, p. 7.
- Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories. Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: AUP.
- New Zealand Council for Educational Research. (1936). *First Annual Report 1934-35*. Wellington: author.
- Oliver, W. H. (1960). Momento of Harry Scott. *New Zealand Monthly Review*, 1, 16.
- Palmer, J. A. (Ed.) (2001). *Fifty modern thinkers on education: From Confucius to Dewey*. London: Routledge.
- Parkhurst, H. (1922). *Education on the Dalton Plan*. London: Bell and Sons.
- Parkhurst, H. (1930). The Dalton Plan. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.

- Pearce, R. (1982). *The turning point in Africa: British colonial policy, 1938-48*. London: Routledge.
- Pepper, S. (1996). *Radicalism and education reform in 20th-Century China: The search for an ideal development model*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Percy Nunn, T. (1930). The basic principles of the new education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.
- Philps, R. (1996). *Prisoner doctor: An account of the experiences of a Royal Air Force Medical Officer during the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia, 1942 to 1945*. London: Book Guild.
- Powers, E. (1949). An experiment in prevention of delinquency. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 261(1), 77-88.
- Prentis, M. D. (2008). Minister and dominie – Creating an Australasian Scottish world? *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 33, 7-36.
- Pugh, M. (1971). The New Zealand Legion, 1932-1935. *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 5(1), 1971, 49-69.
- Rawson, W. (Ed.). (1931). *Education in a changing commonwealth: Report of a British Commonwealth Education Conference, July 1931*. London: New Education Fellowship.
- Rawson, W. (Ed.). (1935). *The examination tangle and the way out. Report of the International Commission on Examinations of the New Education Fellowship*. London: NEF.
- Reddie, C. (1900). *Abbotsholme (1889-1899)*. London: George Allen.
- Redmond, M., & Davies, F. R. J. (1940). *The standardization of two intelligence tests* (Educational Research Series No. 14). Wellington: NZCER.

- Renwick, W. L. (1992). Portrait of a reforming director. In G. McDonald & R. Benton (Eds.), *The Beeby fascicles* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-29). Wellington: Te Aro Press.
- Renwick, W. L. (1998a). Clarence Edward Beeby (1902–1992). *Prospects*, 28(2), 335-48.
- Renwick, W. (1998b). Fraser on education. In M. Clark (ed.), *Peter Fraser – Master politician* (pp. 67-90). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee set up by the Minister of Education, the Hon. R. A. Wright (1926-28)*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Rochester, M. (1981). The Australian and New Zealand response to CCNY grants for library development. *NZ Libraries*, 43, 109-113.
- Rogers, C. A. (1966). Obituary – Emeritus Professor Arthur B. Fitt. *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, 19(62), 44-47.
- Röhrs, H. (1985). Profile: Ovide Dacroly. *The New Era* 66(4), 102-103.
- Röhrs, H. (1988). The emergence of the progressive education movement (1855-1955). *New Era in Education*, 69, 1, 14-25.
- Rousseau, J. J. (1762/1979). *Emile or On Education* (Introduction, translation and notes by Allan Bloom). London: Perseus.
- Rousseau, J. J., & Boyd, W. (1956). *Émile for today; the Émile of Jean Jacques Rousseau, selected, translated, and interpreted by William Boyd*. London, Heinemann.
- Rusk, R. (1952). The Scottish Council for Research in Education. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 1, 1, 39-42.
- Rusk, R. (1961). Sir John Adams – 1857-1934. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 10(1), 49-57.
- Rusk, R. (1979). *Doctrines of the great educators* (5th ed. revised by James Scotland). London: Macmillan.
- Russell, B. (1926). *Education and the good life*. NY: Liveright.

- Ryburn, W. M. (1931). *Young India – A record of high school life at Kharar, India*. Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom.
- Ryburn, W. M. (1938). *The progressive school: A Study in methods of education and teaching*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Ryburn, W. M. (1946). *Creative education: A Study in educating for democracy in India*. London: Longmans.
- Ryburn, W. M. (c.1951). *Christian High School, Kharar, 1891-1951*. Punjab: Marsa'l Press.
- Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom.
- Sadler, M. (1935). *John Adams – A lecture in his memory*. London: University of London Institute of Education.
- Salter Davies, E. (1932). The Reorganization of State Education in England. In W. Rawson (Ed.), *Sixth World Conference New Education Fellowship: Full Report*. London: New Education Fellowship.
- Samuel, R., & Hinton Thomas, R. (2003). *Education and society in modern Germany*. London: Routledge.
- Scalmer, S. (2011). *Gandhi in the West. The Mahatma and the rise of radical protest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.). (1924). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific 1925* (2nd ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press.
- Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.). (1932). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (3rd ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press.
- Scholefield, G. H. (Ed.). (1941). *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (4th ed.). Wellington: Rangatira Press.
- Selleck, R. J. W. (1968). *The new education. The English background 1870-1914*. Melbourne: Isaac Pitman.
- Selleck, R. J. W. (1972). *English primary education and the progressives, 1914-1939*. London: RKP.

- Selleck, R. J. W. (1982). *Frank Tate. A biography*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Shaw, L. (2006). *Making a difference: A history of the Auckland College of Education, 1881-2004*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Shuker, M. J. (2004). The historical evolution and contemporary status of Montessori schooling in New Zealand, as an example of the adaptation of an alternative educational ideal to a particular national context. PhD Thesis. Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Shuker, R. (1987). *The one best system? A revisionist history of state schooling in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore.
- Simon, B. (1972). Introduction. In R. J. W. Selleck, *English primary education and the progressives, 1914-1939*. London: RKP.
- Simon, B. (1974). *The politics of educational reform 1920-1940*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Simons, J. (2001). *A civilising mission? Perceptions and representations of the Native Schools System*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Sinclair, K. (1983). *A history of the University of Auckland, 1883-1983*. Auckland: Auckland University Press & Oxford University Press.
- Skidelsky, R. (1969). *English progressive schools*. London: Penguin.
- Small, J. (2000). *Almost a century – Educational studies at the University of Canterbury 1904-1999*. Christchurch: University of Canterbury.
- Smart, P., & Knight, C. (1985). *Pathfinders in education: Seven Canterbury educators*. Christchurch: Canterbury Institute for Educational Research.
- Smith, A. (1918/19?). *Some ideals in co-education and an attempt to carry them out*. London: The Theosophical Publishing House.
- Smith, D. T. (1997). *The Kowhai School 75th jubilee book*. Auckland: Kowhai School 75th Jubilee Committee.
- Spaull, A. (1990). *Biography of John Smyth (1864-1927)*. Australian Dictionary of National Biography. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University.

- Stackpole, S. (1963). *Carnegie Corporation Commonwealth Program 1911-1961*. NY: Carnegie Corporation of New York.
- Stewart, W. (1972). *Progressives and radicals in English education, 1750-1970*. London: MacMillan.
- Strachan, J. E. (1938). *The school looks at life: An experiment in social education*. Wellington: NZCER.
- Strachan, J. E. (1940). *New Zealand observer – A schoolmaster looks at America*. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Sutherland, G. (1984). *Ability, merit and measurement: Mental testing and English education 1880-1940*. London: OUP.
- Sutherland, O. (2013). *Paikea: The life of I L G Sutherland*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.
- Sweetman, E. (1939). *History of Melbourne Teachers' College and its Predecessors*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Tate, F. (1908). *Preliminary report of the director of education upon observations made during an official visit to Europe and America*. Melbourne: Department of Education.
- Tate, F. (1925). *Investigation into certain aspects of post-primary education in New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Education.
- Teitelbaum, K., & Reese, W. J. (1983). American socialist pedagogy and experimentation in the progressive era: The socialist Sunday school. *History of Education Quarterly* 23(4), 429-454.
- The Education Department of Victoria. (1922). *A history of State education in Victoria*. Melbourne: The Education Department of Victoria.
- Thomas, W., Beeby, C., & Oram, M. H. (1939). *Entrance to the university*. Wellington: NZCER.
- Tröhler, D. (2001). Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, 1746-1827. In J. A. Palmer (Ed.), *Fifty modern thinkers on education: From Confucius to Dewey*. London: Routledge.

- von Meding, D. (1997). *Courageous hearts. Women and the anti-Hitler plot of 1944*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Walsh, D., Chung, S., & Tufekci, A. (2001). Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel, 1782–1852. In J. A. Palmer (Ed.), *Fifty modern thinkers on education: From Confucius to Dewey*. London: Routledge.
- Waugh, L. O. (1954). *The historical development of Kowhai Intermediate School*. M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand.
- Wild, L. J. (1938). *An experiment in self-government*. Wellington: NZCER.
- Wild, L. J. (1938). *The head's letters to the school – From Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and USA, 1937*. Feilding: Tolan.
- Wild, L. J. (1946). *The valedictory address of the retiring headmaster*. Feilding: Feilding Agricultural High School.
- Williams, B. (1994). *Education with its eyes open. A biography of Dr K. S. Cunningham*. Melbourne: ACER.
- Wolfe, J. (2002). *Learning from the past: Historical voices in early childhood education* (2nd ed.). Alberta, Canada: Piney Branch Press.
- Wright, L. (1970). *History of the NZ University Students' Association (1929-1969)*. Wellington: NZUSA.
- Zilliacus, L. (1930, December). An analysis of the new education. *The New Era*, 11, 170-172.
- Zilliacus, L. (1935). The modern movement in education. In E. D. Laborde (Ed.), *Education of to-day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zilliacus, L. (1938). Rector Laurin Zilliacus on Santiniketan, *The Modern Review*, February, 228.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

‘New Education’ Teaching Methods

The third crusade of the new education involved the adoption of new education methods and approaches by pioneering teachers in state schools around the world.¹ Four methods in particular were used throughout New Zealand in the interwar years and a considerable body of literature on the methods became available in New Zealand on them – The Montessori Method, The Dalton Laboratory Plan, The Project Method and The Eurythmics Method. All the key developers of these methods were progressive educators and key members of the PEA and NEF. These methods will be discussed in this Appendix.

1) The Montessori Method – Maria Montessori (1870-1952)

Maria Montessori was a founding member of the New Education Fellowship in 1921 and a stalwart of the organisation for some decades after that. A physician, educator and theosophist, she developed the Montessori Method in Italy in the early years of the 1900s while working with children with special needs. Her published work on the method gained international attention and from 1910 onwards her method was adopted by educational institutions around the world.

In 1911, Edmond Holmes, a Chief Inspector of Schools and theosophist, was sent by the English Board of Education to observe Maria Montessori’s methods in Rome. His report of the visit in 1912 was highly supportive and he became a strong advocate of Montessori education thereafter. After this visit to Italy, Holmes founded the progressive New Ideals in Education group that became a primarily Montessori-focussed organisation and they held a series of influential conferences in England just before the start of the First World War. Beatrice Ensor (later the founder of the NEF), and the theosophical Fraternity in Education group to which she belonged, attended

these conferences and Montessori education had a long-lasting impact on her. During the war years, Ensor took up the position of Managing Director of the Theosophical Educational Trust in the United Kingdom and the Trust went on to set up a number of theosophical schools that primarily adopted the Montessori Method and the Dalton Plan as their main pedagogical approaches.²

Underpinning the Method was Montessori's view that the child's environment should above all reflect the most important aspect of human life; it should be 'oriented with respect to its highest development. First, the spirit: all else subject to it'.³ She had become concerned with the over-riding emphasis on hygiene (including clean objects, fresh air, reformed clothing and food etc.) and argued that, 'People who think only in terms of hygiene should remember the fact that the child must develop in accord with his spiritual life'.⁴ To illustrate this point, she noted that Montessorians preferred small well-proportioned houses with windows at child height (as opposed to large hospital- or prison-like buildings with high ceilings and windows) and small gardens that children can easily access themselves and touch (instead of large parks and constant supervision). She cited Dewey who had searched New York and had concluded that 'the child's environment did not exist'.⁵ She concluded that children not only needed to be cared for but that they needed to learn to do things for themselves: 'the spirit first, then the body'. She explained that in Montessori schools,

The school becomes a place in which the child can learn to look after himself; and the whole environment is constructed to correspond to his activities. He had light movable furniture, cupboards whose doors he can open himself; materials for keeping the furniture clean ... The children do something different from merely living in a hygienic environment.⁶

Montessori developed a learning environment that was 'attractive and abundantly varied' where children of much the same age could be 'left to find their way about ... themselves without adult help'.⁷ The environment comprised a broad range of activities (e.g., writing, movement), exercises and a set of specially designed apparatus that reflected the Montessorian view of learning that a young child 'learns

through his motor activities, not through his intellect'.⁸ This apparatus was grouped into different sets of objects, each focussing on a particular characteristics such as length, colour, shape or feeling with attention drawn to identification, contrasts and relationships. These apparatus, activities and exercises were designed to encourage children to learn through experimentation and to facilitate their moving, 'from fact to theory', instead of learning theory and then applying it.⁹

One advocate (Lili Roubiczek of the Montessori School in Vienna) pointed out that the Montessori apparatus is frequently misunderstood as it was compared to other similar looking pedagogic equipment. She clarified that it should be viewed as just 'the complement of a richly varied environment, supplying guiding motifs by which the creative activity and life of children learns how to function'.¹⁰ Another advocate (Miss C W Tromp, Principal of the Preparatory Montessori School in Amsterdam) added that there was no official curriculum, 'so that spontaneous activity could have full play, and the laws of psychic life, with its ebb and flow of interests and activities, could be fully observed and taken as a guide'.¹¹ The learning environment of specially designed apparatus, activities and exercises, then, was conceptualised by Montessorian educators as primarily having a spiritual and child-centred foundation. As Montessori concluded, in relation to the teacher's role and how children's thinking should be approached:

Teachers must learn how to respect the mentality of the child. What he thinks is his secret. The key of education in freedom is to think only of the periphery, providing materials to the child's hand which enable him to mature his ideas and to advance of his own free will.¹²

2) The Dalton Laboratory Plan – Helen Parkhurst (1887-1973)

Progressive educators and schools often chose the Montessori Method for use with younger children and followed that with the complementary Dalton Plan for older children. The Dalton Plan was developed by Helen Parkhurst in 1910, a progressive teacher who taught in the small town of Dalton, Massachusetts. Parkhurst sought to

reconstruct society through education by bringing ‘the school into line with everyday life’;¹³ and Parkhurst meant this quite literally: ‘In life everyone has a job ... so the school that follows this plan arranges the work for the child in the form of a job’.¹⁴ Parkhurst worked on the structure of the Plan from 1910 to 1913 before studying with Maria Montessori in Italy in 1914 and from 1915, ‘looked after her interests in America’ founding a Montessori Teachers’ Training School. She again returned to developing the Plan from 1918, moved to the Children’s University School of New York and published a book on the method in 1922.¹⁵ The Plan was a flexible individualised task-based approach that focused on child development as opposed to instruction.¹⁶ It operated within a school’s existing programme and could be adapted to suit specific educational contexts. As Percy Nunn put it in 1922:

Everywhere reformers are now busy opening up and exploring new ways of conducting the ancient work of education. Some are ‘wilder comrades’, sworn to cut themselves off from the older tradition and everything that belongs to it ... But to less adventurous spirits, who would hasten slowly and keep on firm ground, the ‘Dalton Plan’ offers a path of progress which may be safely taken by all who have the gifts of intelligence, devotion and enterprise.¹⁷

One adaptation of the Plan, detailed by Boyd and Rawson, involved timeslots put aside in the classroom timetable (up to a whole morning) for monthly class projects within which individuals could choose topics to complete with the support of adult ‘advisors’, and where their progress was regularly charted. The individual needed to negotiate specific tasks and a ‘contract’ with the advisor, plan their time, carry out the projects, and complete monthly assignments on time. Each individual pupil was free to organise their time within the timeslots as they best saw fit and were able to move to different curriculum classrooms (‘Laboratories’) during the timeslot to seek assistance from specialist teachers (e.g., geography, science, mathematics). The Plan did not necessarily have to involve project work but could also be adapted to suit more prescribed curriculum work with the key being an emphasis on individualised learning and freedom for pupils to work at their own pace, follow their own interests and access the resources of the whole school.

The Plan became widely endorsed by progressive educators and by the 1920s and it was estimated that several hundred schools in America and 1,500 schools in England were using the Plan (and, it was also popular in New Zealand).¹⁸ For example, in 1924, the Chief Inspector of the Education Department of the London County Council (C W Kimmins) explained that the strength of the approach, particularly at the elementary school level, was that ‘the teacher gives practically the whole of his time to the subjects which he is specially qualified to teach’ while his role also changes to that of a supporter and facilitator.¹⁹ Kimmins listed the main advantages of the Plan as:

- 1) ‘The natural cultivation of the ‘will to learn’;
- 2) An increased interest in school life ...;
- 3) The development of a greater sense of responsibility in consequence of the children’s possession of freedom to work along lines determined by themselves;
- 4) The more harmonious and intimate relations between teacher and pupil ...;
- 5) The special opportunities offered to children of widely different types of mental ability;
- 6) The social effect of children organising their own work, forming sound judgments, cultivating resourcefulness, and co-operating with others ...;
- 7) The solution of the problems of the child absent from school for a period’.²⁰

The popularity of the Plan declined as progressive educators and schools adopted aspects of its pedagogy into their mainstream practice. One example of this was at the progressive school of Bedales, where the Plan was trialled for two years before being officially abandoned for a similar individualised work approach. Of relevance, Carlton Washburne (the Superintendent of Schools in Winnetka, Illinois and later President of the NEF) travelled to Europe and observed the adapted approach in the early 1920s and was very impressed by the school.²¹

3) The Project Method – William H Kilpatrick (1871-1965)

While the Montessori and Dalton Methods focussed more on individualising the learning of a curriculum, the Project Method was intended to make the interests of children (as opposed to what should be learnt) the main focus.²² In 1918, Professor William Heard Kilpatrick (Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University), a strong follower of Dewey's ideas, published an article titled, *The Project Method: The Use of the Purposeful Act in the Educative Process*.²³ In the article Kilpatrick explained that the term 'project' or its use in education, was not his invention; however, he set out his definition of the term and placed it in a Deweyan perspective as a 'purposeful activity'. Kilpatrick's defined the 'project' as 'wholehearted purposeful activity proceeding in a social environment, or more briefly, in the unit element of such activity, the hearty purposeful act' (p. 4). Kilpatrick continued by outlining a framework of types of activities that a 'project' might comprise:

- 1) 'Where the purpose is to embody some idea or plan in external form' (such as 'building a boat, writing a letter, presenting a play');
- 2) 'Where the purpose is to enjoy some (esthetic) experience' (such as 'listening to a story, hearing a symphony, appreciating a picture');
- 3) 'Where the purpose is to straighten out some intellectual difficulty, to solve some problem' (such as 'to find out whether or not dew falls'); and,
- 4) 'Where the purpose is to obtain some item or degree of skill or knowledge' (such as 'learning the irregular verbs in French'. (p. 16)

Kilpatrick argued that if such projects, so defined, were undertaken in education then it would help make individuals into better and more critical citizens. Children would be: 'alert, able to think and act, too intelligently critical to be easily hoodwinked either by politicians or by patent-medicines, self-reliant, ready of adaptation to the new social conditions that impend' (p. 18). Underpinning his Project Method was the view that while children were 'naturally active' there was a danger of pandering to

their whims and allowing unstructured or free project work to occur that ultimately would create ‘selfish individualists’ as well as the ‘aimless dawdling’ of schools. Instead, Kilpatrick concluded that ‘wholehearted purposeful activity in a social situation as the typical unit of school procedure’, under the guidance of a skilful teacher, was the best way to support children’s interests and abilities (p. 18).

4) The Eurythmics Method – Émile Jacques-Dalcroze (1865-1950)

Eurhythmics, also known as the Dalcroze Method, was developed around 1905 by the Swiss composer and music educator Émile Jacques-Dalcroze and it quickly gained world-wide popularity. Dalcroze was Professor of Harmony at the Geneva Conservatoire who was concerned about the quality of music education and music appreciation and he developed three techniques to achieve this which collectively were termed eurhythmics. The most well-known of the eurhythmics techniques was rhythmic gymnastics – a form of dance expression designed primarily to promote the learning of musical elements such as rhythm (the second was an ear training technique that focussed on pitch and tonality, and the third was employed by the eurhythmics teacher who freely improvised rhythms on an instrument to ‘direct’ the dance movements of pupils). Dalcroze’s approach to rhythmic gymnastics, as Boyd and Rawson explained, aimed at developing physical responses to mental impressions where time was represented by the movement of the arms and duration by the body and feet. In practice, eurhythmics allowed pupils ‘to express the[ir] feelings in an ever fresh variety of new rhythmic forms, and the body becomes an instrument of beauty and harmony in tune with the artistic imagination’ (the photograph later in this thesis of the ‘classical Greek’ eurhythmics session at the Auckland Vasanta Garden School conveys this clearly).²⁴

Initially developed as a part of musicianship training, after collaboration with the medical doctor Edouard Claparède (who was a progressive educator in the mould of Montessori and Decroly), Dalcroze realised the approach had a wider appeal in general education for facilitating ‘responsive appreciation’ and the ‘externalisation of emotions’. It could, drawing on new education ideals, provide ‘an active harmony of

body and spirit' with the development of 'mental and physical poise' as well as a 'well-ordered expression of feeling and thought'.²⁵ As J J Findlay pointed out, eurhythmics wasn't either a form of physical calisthenics or conversely 'free expression' but was more akin to Plato's dictum, 'the entire life of man stands in need of right rhythm' ('eurhythmics' being the Greek term for 'good rhythm').²⁶ Eurhythmics, then, was both artistic movement that was shaped by though subordinated to music while it was also a form of 'making' music using the body. Dalcroze was a regular presenter at NEF conferences in the 1920s and regularly featured in *New Era*.

Notes

¹ See Ensor, B. (1930). Crusades in the realm of education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 2.

² Maria Montessori maintained strong links with theosophy and just before World War Two visited the Theosophical Society headquarters in Madras, India in 1939 where she stayed until 1946. Montessori was interned by the British at the Society headquarters as an alien along with Annie Besant and her followers.

³ Montessori, M. (1930). The Montessori Method. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 139.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.; p. 140.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.; p. 141.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.; p. 154.

¹⁰ Roubiczek's comments in: Montessori, M. (1930). The Montessori Method. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf; p. 144.

¹¹ Tromp's comments in: Montessori, M. (1930). The Montessori Method. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on*

the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929. London: Knopf; p. 154.

¹² Ibid.; pp. 154-155.

¹³ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 38.

¹⁴ Parkhurst, H. (1922). *Education on the Dalton Plan.* London: Bell and Sons; p. 166.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Parkhurst, H. (1930). The Dalton Plan. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929.* London: Knopf; p. 166.

¹⁷ From Percy Nunn's Introduction to Parkhurst, H. (1922). *Education on the Dalton Plan.* London: Bell and Sons; p. xvi.

¹⁸ Boyd and Rawson (1965), pp. 38-39.

¹⁹ Kimmins, C. W. (1924). The Dalton Plan. In J. Adams (ed.), *Educational movements and methods.* London: George Harrap; p. 45.

²⁰ Ibid.; pp. 46-48.

²¹ Badley, J. H. (1955). *Memories and reflections.* London: Methuen; p. 183.

²² See Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 41.

²³ Kilpatrick, W. H. (1918). The Project Method: The use of the purposeful act in the educative process. *Teachers' College Record*, 19(4), 3-18.

²⁴ Boyd and Rawson (1965), pp. 51-52.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 52.

²⁶ Findlay, J. J. (1924). Eurhythmics. In J. Adams (ed.), *Educational movements and methods.* London: George Harrap; p. 63.

Appendix 2

Organisations that Supported 'New Education'

The fourth crusade of the new education related to organisations that supported and facilitated the spread of new education globally. There were existing and newly founded organisations that were established for *other* purposes but which supported new education aims as well as educational organisations that were established *solely* to meet the needs of the new education movement, particularly the Progressive Education Association (PEA) and the New Education Fellowship (NEF). Many of these organisations had an impact on education in New Zealand during the interwar years through such means as their official publications, their professional networks, funding support for progressive initiatives in New Zealand, as well as visits by New Zealand educationists overseas under the auspices of the organisations and by representatives of the organisations visiting New Zealand. Significant examples from these two groups of organisations will be considered in this Appendix.

1) Existing and newly founded organisations that were established for other purposes but which supported new education aims

From the end of the 19th century and into the first half of the 20th century, there were many philanthropic organisations, universities, educational research institutes and professional organisations that facilitated and supported the new education movement.

The philanthropic organisations most influential on the growth of the new education were undoubtedly those established by Andrew Carnegie (discussed in more depth in later chapters). Carnegie founded many trusts but the most relevant to this thesis were the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, and his largest, the

Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) tasked with the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. These trusts supported the new education movement in many ways, including the direct funding of new education organisations (such as the NEF), the funding of research projects and publications (such as Isaac Kandel's educational research study of Australian and New Zealand in the 1930s), the founding of research institutes (such as NZCER), the funding of conferences (such as the NEF Conference 1937 in Australia in New Zealand), the provision of travel grants (granted to many progressive New Zealand educators in the 1930s), the supplying of cultural materials (such as the art and music sets distributed to secondary schools in New Zealand in the 1930s), and grants to build and/ or provision libraries (many New Zealand public libraries were founded Carnegie grants in the early 1900s and later, the main university libraries received grants from CCNY to enlarge their book collections in the 1930s).

Many universities, and particularly the staff of their education departments and their 'laboratory' and 'model' schools, taught and promoted new education ideas and a number are frequently mentioned in this thesis. In the United States, the University of Chicago and the Teachers College, Columbia University were probably the most significant in relation to the early development of new education. The School of Education at the University of Chicago supported many early progressive endeavours including Colonel Francis Parker's Cook County Normal School (1883) and John Dewey's Laboratory School (1896). Dewey, in particular, established a strong progressive tradition at the University and subsequent new educators with links to the University included George Counts (up to 1926) and Carleton Washburne as well as the Winnetka schools and the expansion of Dewey's Laboratory Schools.¹

However, for progressive education, the most influential university department in America was undoubtedly Teachers College, Columbia University in New York (and the attached Horace Mann, Lincoln and Speyer model schools). The College attracted and educated the leading American progressive educators in the first half of the 20th century, and those relevant to this thesis included John Dewey (from 1904), James Earl Russell, Edward Thorndike, William Kilpatrick, Patty Smith Hill, Paul Monroe, George Counts, Florian Znaniecki, Frederick Keppel as well as the speakers who

attended the NEF Conference 1937, Harold Rugg, Edmund de S Brunner and Isaac Kandel.²

John Dewey, in particular, cast a long shadow over progressive education globally while at Columbia University and played a critical role in each of what Beatrice Ensor termed the three ‘crusades’ of the NEF – 1) the formation of pioneering or new schools, 2) the rise of new educational thinkers, and 3) the development of new education teaching methods.³ Initially, while Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago, he and his wife Mary had founded their progressive Laboratory School in Chicago in 1896 and his research there led to the publication of *The School and Society*. In the early 1900s, Dewey was appointed Chair of Philosophy at Teachers’ College, Columbia University where he went on to become arguably the most influential American progressive philosopher, publishing many works in the area. He also played an important role in inspiring the development of one of the foundational progressive teaching methods – the Project Method – first popularised in 1918 by Professor William Heard Kilpatrick (Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University) who was a strong follower of Dewey’s ideas.⁴

From the 1920s, Dewey’s ideas spread around the globe in the form of publications, journal articles, conference lectures, newspaper articles, and pieces in professional journals. In New Zealand in the interwar years, his books were prescribed reading in training college and university college courses⁵ and they were recommended reading for teachers in the progressive Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools (the ‘Red Book’).⁶ His ideas and works were canvassed in local newspapers. For example, in 1920 the Auckland educator F C Brew wrote an extended piece on Dewey (‘the greatest living educationist’) where he criticised education in New Zealand and argued for the adoption of Dewey’s view that, ‘education should prepare children for participation in the social life of a democratic community, and that the school cannot do this unless it reproduces within itself the typical conditions of social life’.⁷ In 1929, F L Combs drew heavily on Dewey’s (‘the world’s greatest living educational thinker’) ideas in a series of articles on education where he was arguing for education to include more real-life experiences and to be seen as a life-long process.⁸ In the

1930s, in the lead-up to the NEF Conference 1937, Dewey was increasingly cited in newspaper reports concerning educational reform, including his views that ‘education was not a preparation for life, but life itself’⁹ and ‘what the best and wisest parent desires for his own children that must the community desire for all its children’.¹⁰

In NZEI’s official journal for primary teachers, *National Education*, Dewey is mentioned in passing in the first years of the 1920s but from 1928, his ideas are canvassed in more depth (following a similar pattern to the local newspaper reports). For example, in the August 1928 issue is an article ‘By John Dewey’ where it is argued that the most valuable asset of the teacher was their philosophy and it included a discussion around the headings: Education is Life, Education is Growth, Education is Social Process, and Education is the Continual Reconstruction of Experience.¹¹ In the 1930s, and particularly from 1934 to 1937, there were a number of important articles that drew heavily on Dewey, including: a discussion of freedom in progressive schools in 1934;¹² a powerful article by the President of NZEI (Mr O A Banner) on the democratic ideal and educational inequality in 1935 (‘Every child, no matter what the financial resources of his parents are or what his own economic destiny may be, should be given the opportunity to grow to his full stature as a self-respecting and civilized human being’);¹³ a plea by Professor A B Fitt in 1935 for a complete overhaul of post-primary education;¹⁴ an article on reconstructing learning and knowledge by H C D Somerset in 1936;¹⁵ and, a reprint of an article by Boyd H Bode in 1937 on education as growth and educational reconstruction.¹⁶

In addition, Dewey was a keynote lecturer at the world and regional conferences of the NEF and while at Teachers College, Columbia University he personally inspired many up-and-coming progressive Australasian educators, such as Ken Cunningham and Norman Jacobsen. Ken Cunningham studied at Columbia University from 1925 to 1927 and was influenced by Dewey and in 1934 (in the role as the Executive Officer of ACER) he attended the regional NEF conference in South Africa where Dewey gave a keynote lecture.¹⁷ It was at that conference that Cunningham started planning the NEF Conference 1937 and he was especially keen to have Dewey attend. Cunningham later sent a formal invitation to Dewey and also asked Keppel to broach the matter with him personally. Unfortunately, Dewey was unable to attend.¹⁸ The

New Zealand training college lecturer, Norman Jacobsen, appears to have developed a close relationship with Dewey while studying for a doctorate at Teachers College, Columbia University in the early 1930s. In his application for the Executive Officer position at NZCER in early 1934, Jacobsen included a testimonial from John Dewey. Jacobsen added that he had spent many hours in 'intimate discussion' with Dewey who apparently told him, 'Jacobsen, you have brought more to education in practice than I have ever written'. Of note, Dr Beeby was also influenced by Dewey, though from a distance. Beeby's personal library included Dewey's *Democracy and Education* that he had studied in-depth as a student at Canterbury University College in the early 1920s and Beeby's copy of the book contained substantial margin annotations in his own handwriting.¹⁹ Beeby was later to write that Dewey (amongst others) had helped to shape his thinking in the 1920s before he left to study at Manchester.²⁰ In his autobiography, Beeby cited an extract from Dewey that he suggested summed up Dewey's basic beliefs:

Our net conclusion is that life is development, and that development, growing, is life. Translated into its educational equivalents, this means that the educational process has no end in itself; it is its own end, and the educational process is one of continued reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming.²¹

Besides attracting and educating the leading American progressive educators (such as John Dewey), Teachers College, Columbia University also hosted visiting lecturers (including Sir Michael Sadler then at Oxford University and Carl Becker of the University of Berlin) and visiting professors (including Ellwood Cubberley from Stanford University, and the NEF Conference 1937 speakers, Arthur Lismar from Canada and Frank Hart from the University of California). Of the many students that attended the Teachers College, those relevant to this thesis included E G Malherbe, H R Hamley, Frank and Louise Hart, A G Strong and Mrs P S de Q Cabot (William Boyd's daughter). Additionally, Ken Cunningham from Australia studied there in the 1920s while New Zealand students included P S de Q Cabot, A L M Perry and Norman Jacobsen (each discussed in later chapters). New Zealand progressive

educators who also visited the College included D M Rae, J E Strachan, L J Wild, J Hight, and Nancy G Parsons.²²

In England, two universities stand out as early institutions that supported progressive ideas. The University of Manchester had attracted two prominent new educators, J J Findlay and Michael Sadler (Sadler later went on to become Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University then Master of the University College, Oxford, 1923-1934) and had established the progressive Fielden Demonstration Schools. The child psychologist Susan Isaacs briefly lectured there (in logic) as did James Shelley who was an Assistant Lecturer in Education there before moving to New Zealand and becoming a progressive stalwart as Professor of Education at Canterbury University College (discussed in a later chapter; Findlay had recommended Shelley for the professorship). Pertinent students who studied at the university included the NEF Conference 1937 speakers Susan Isaacs and Isaac Kandell, and the New Zealander C E Beeby, who gained his doctorate there.

The most influential university on the growth of the new education in England and the United Kingdom, however, was the Institute of Education, London University (and its accompanying demonstration schools). Like Teachers College, Columbia University, the Institute had attracted a powerful group of progressive educators whose reputation as progressive researchers and educators was world-renown. The Directors of the Institute were John Adams, Percy Nunn and then Fred Clarke, while eminent staff included Susan Isaacs (the head of the Department of Child Development at the Institute of Education), and the educational psychologists H R Hamley and Cyril Burt. Two of the three pre-1937 Directors of the Institute carried out influential lecturing tours of New Zealand where they lectured on progressive education: Professor Sir John Adams in 1924 and Professor Sir Fred Clarke in 1935. Fred Clarke was first appointed at the Institute as Adviser to Overseas Students (a position and role that had attracted substantial funding from CCNY) and students attracted from New Zealand included A L M Perry, Ralph Winterbourn, Doris Potter, W W Bridgman and R B Curry while Australian students included Frank Mitchell (who went on to become Professor of Education at the University of Otago and biographer of Fred Clarke) and T L Robertson (who later became Director of Education in Western Australia). There

were also many visitors to the Institute, and among the progressive educators that gave guest lecture series during the interwar period were the NEF Conference 1937 speaker E G Malherbe, Kurt Hahn (the Jewish founder of the progressive Schloss Salem Schools in Germany who was forced to move to England in the 1930s where he founded the progressive Gordonstoun School in Scotland),²³ Professor Carl Heinrich Becker (German NEF member, progressive educator and statesman), the psychoanalyst Melanie Klein (who was an associate of Susan Isaacs), and Professor Godfrey Thomson (the eminent educational psychologist and Professor of Education at the University of Edinburgh that both D M Rae and Thomas Hunter visited in the early 1930s). The Institute hosted *The Yearbook of Education* journal and maintained very close links with other progressive educators and organisations worldwide, including CCNY, Teachers College, Columbia University, the New Education Fellowship, and in New Zealand, Dr Beeby and NZCER.²⁴

There were, of course, many other universities worldwide in the interwar period that supported and promoted progressive education. Of relevance to this thesis were the contributions of William Boyd's Department of Education at Glasgow University and Godfrey Thomson's Department of Education at the University of Edinburgh. Additionally, in New Zealand, from the 1920s, the four new professors of education at the university colleges – Fitt (Auckland), Gould (Wellington), Shelley (Canterbury) and Lawson (Otago) – formed the mainstay of progressive reforms during the interwar period. As a group, these four professors supported, influenced and promoted core progressive reforms and were magnets for other progressive students and educators over this whole period (these professors and their contributions are considered in more depth in later chapters).

In addition to philanthropic organisations and universities, educational research institutes also facilitated and supported the new education movement. While many research institutes were established globally during the interwar period, four are relevant to this thesis for their support of progressive research and researchers. In Scotland, in 1927/8, the new educator William Boyd helped found the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) with the support of the Educational Institute of Scotland (the teachers' union of Scotland that had a similar role to NZEI)²⁵

and the Scottish Association of Directors of Education. SCRE was awarded substantial Carnegie grants and maintained a close relationship with the Department of Education at Glasgow University.²⁶ In 1929, the South African Union Department of Education established the South African National Bureau for Educational and Social Research and E G Malherbe was appointed its director. Again, it obtained large grants from CCNY to conduct educational and social research.²⁷ The Bureau and Malherbe organised the 1934 regional NEF conference in South Africa that attracted many eminent NEF educators from around the world, including Pierre Bovet, William Boyd, Mabel Carney, Fred Clarke, John Dewey, Gerald Hankin, Arthur Lismer, Bronisław Malinowski, Helen Parkhurst, Eustace Percy, Harold Rugg, J J van der Leeuw, and Ken Cunningham from ACER.

In 1930, the Australian Council for Educational Research was founded in Melbourne at the instigation of, and with substantial financial support from CCNY. Progressive educators were appointed to key positions: Frank Tate as President and Ken Cunningham as Executive Officer. After attending the 1934 regional NEF conference in South Africa, Ken Cunningham initiated the planning for the NEF regional conference in Australia which later included New Zealand. Finally, at the end of 1933, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research was formally constituted with Thomas Hunter as its Chairman and Dr C E Beeby was appointed to the position of Executive Officer in June 1934 (with his first day at NZCER on 1 November 1934). In a similar process to the establishment of ACER, the CCNY had spent over three years investigating the possibility of funding a research institute in New Zealand and they provided an initial five years of seeding funding. With a Council of mainly progressive educators, and the educational and political wisdom of Beeby, NZCER quickly became a powerful progressive force on the New Zealand educational landscape from 1935 onwards. As the planning for the regional NEF conference progressed at ACER, Beeby and NZCER agreed to host a New Zealand leg of the conference and NZCER took on the responsibility for programme while NZEI undertook to be responsible for the finances. Ultimately, the Conference was extremely successful and cemented Beeby's career and the mid-term future of NZCER as an independent educational research institute.²⁸

Besides these philanthropic organisations, universities and educational research institutes, there were many other organisations that facilitated and supported new education in the interwar years. Organisations also discussed in this thesis included the Theosophical Society, the Quaker movement, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Austro-American Institute of Education, the League of Nation's International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and the Geneva-based J J Rousseau Institute, International Bureau of Education and the short-lived Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles. In New Zealand, NZEI had been the service agent for the NEF before the founding of NZCER and had actively promoted progressive ideas throughout the organisation and in their journal, *National Education*. In addition, training colleges in the main centres also had appointed progressive educators and advocated progressive methods (discussed in later chapters).

2) Educational organisations established solely to meet the needs of the new education movement

While there were many groups and organisations around the world that espoused new education ideals in the interwar years, the two largest and most important were the Progressive Education Association (PEA) founded in 1919 and the New Education Fellowship (NEF) founded in 1921. The NEF is considered in depth in Chapter Two and the PEA will be briefly discussed in this section.

The Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education (renamed as the Progressive Education Association in 1920) was founded at a meeting of educators interested in the new education that was held in the public library at Washington D C in April 1919.²⁹ The meeting was organised by Stanwood Cobb and Marietta Johnson and besides Cobb, four of those attending gave speeches to the meeting on new education: 1) Eugene Randolph Smith (the founding headmaster of the progressive Park School that had opened in 1912 in Baltimore); 2) Anne George (at the time the principal of the Washington Montessori School and had studied in Italy with Montessori in 1910/11, founded her own Montessori school in New York and was the first to translate *The Montessori Method* into English); 3) Otis Caldwell (the first director of the Lincoln School which was attached to Teachers College Columbia

University; in 1919, Caldwell had just appointed Harold Rugg as the school's educational psychologist starting in 1920 before he took up a teaching position at the Teachers College in 1922);³⁰ and, 4) Marietta Johnson (who had founded her first progressive 'organic' school in 1907).

The broad principles and aims of the PEA were developed in 1920 and published in each issue of the Association's journal, *Progressive Education*. The principles, ostensibly developed by Eugene Smith (President from 1923-24), were: 1) freedom to develop naturally; 2) interest, the motive of all work; 3) the teacher a guide, not a task-master; 4) scientific study of pupil development; 5) greater attention to all that affects the child's physical development; 6) co-operation between school and home to meet the needs of child-life; and, 7) the progressive school, a leader in educational movements. The overall aim of the PEA in the 1920s was, 'the freest and fullest development of the individual, based upon the scientific study of his physical, mental, spiritual, and social characteristics and needs'.³¹ The specific roles for the Association in meeting these principles and aims was: 1) 'To propagate the principles of progressive education' (through publications, articles and lectures); 2) 'To influence public education towards progressivism by education the public to demand it'; and, 3) 'To be of service to laymen and educators' (through such means as supporting those who were founding progressive schools, encouraging training colleges to teach progressive methods, and acting as a clearing house for progressive literature).³² Throughout the 1920s, and until these statements were revised in 1929, these principles and aims were the main guide not only for the Association but also for progressive educators across America.

The PEA in America performed a similar role to the NEF in the United Kingdom. Neither organisations argued that they had created new or progressive education but both had brought together and energised new educators and given progressivism, as Cobb (who was President from 1927-29), argued for the PEA, 'form and body'.³³ However, there were some significant differences of emphasis between the organisations. While both the PEA and the NEF had a very strong focus on individual freedoms and development, the NEF arguably had a broader agenda that included a greater emphasis on global citizenship, spiritual development and the creation of a

global democratic fellowship of educators and affiliated organisations. Graham conversely argued that the PEA had been better able to facilitate the incorporation of progressive approaches into the public school system of America in the 1920s and 1930s more successfully than the NEF had been able to achieve in the United Kingdom, where many of the NEF's most significant gains had been in privately-funded schools. Irrespective, both organisations struggled with internal philosophical conflicts towards the end of the 1920s and the early years of the 1930s, with revisions of their principles and aims to better balance their individualistic focus with a stronger emphasis on the recognition of the importance of schools' social contexts and the importance and responsibility of education in social reconstruction.³⁴

With both the PEA and the NEF being established solely to meet the needs of and promote new education, it is not surprising to learn of overtures for both organisations to work more closely together. As early as 1924, Stanwood Cobb was inviting Beatrice Ensor to be a guest speaker at PEA's next convention and in 1925 Marietta Johnson and Miss Hartman attended the third international conference of the NEF (after Calais and Montreux) in Heidelberg. In 1926, Ensor was a guest speaker at the PEA's annual convention and unsuccessfully raised with the PEA some form of affiliation between the NEF and that organisation. As Cobb later explained, 'Mrs Ensor was ambitious to have the whole world under her banner. Why should we be swallowed up?'.³⁵ While Cobb also argued that Ensor lacked integrity and had socialist views, Harold Rugg had pushed for an affiliation in order to help gain foundation grants.³⁶ After the PEA sent representatives to the Locarno (1927) and Elsinore (1929) world NEF conferences the NEF again raised the issue of an affiliation with the PEA. While the PEA again decided not to reassess its relationship with the NEF in 1929, this was against the general views of the over 200 Americans who attended the Elsinore conference, including Harold Rugg and W Carson Ryan (who was Secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching). In the 1930s, with the increasing influence in the organisation of progressive educators such as Carson Ryan (President from 1937-39), Harold Rugg, Carlton Washburne (President from 1940-42) and Frederick Redefer (Director from 1932-1942), the PEA worked more closely with the NEF. In the 1940s the PEA became an official section of the NEF and the Association officially changed its name in 1944 to the American

Education Fellowship.³⁷ Graham concluded that the demise of the PEA in 1955 was caused by ‘its inability to provide a viable alternative to the traditional curriculum it opposed; its refusal to consider many crucial educational problems; its leaders’ increasing isolation from contemporary pedagogical developments; its difficulty in applying progressive methods on a wide scale; and its predominant interest in the educational problems of the upper middle class’. Some of these criticisms also led to the decline of the popularity of the NEF and its reorganisation into the World Education Fellowship.³⁸

Notes

¹ See the *Encyclopedia of Chicago* for a brief overview of progressive education in Chicago: www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1012.html

² Although Kandel was certainly not a ‘progressive’ he was hugely influential as an educational reformer and comparative educator. He was heavily involved with the International Institute of Education at the College (set up with a large grant from the Rockefeller Foundation) that aimed to foster peaceful relations through international understanding, comparative research, the teaching of international students, and the publication of the *Educational Yearbook* (that Kandel edited from 1924 to 1944).

³ Ensor, B. (1930). Crusades in the realm of education. In W. Boyd (Ed.), *Towards a new education: A record and synthesis of the discussions on the new psychology and the curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*. London: Knopf.

⁴ Kilpatrick, W. H. (1918). The Project Method: The use of the purposeful act in the educative process. *Teachers’ College Record*, 19(4), 3-18.

⁵ Renwick, W. L. (1998a). Clarence Edward Beeby (1902–1992). *Prospects*, 28(2), 335-48.

⁶ Education Department. (1928). *Syllabus of instruction for public schools*. Wellington: Government Printer.

⁷ *The New Zealand Herald*, 28 February 1920, p. 1.

⁸ *The Evening Post*, 7 May 1929, p. 8.

⁹ *Auckland Star*, 12 February 1937, p. 9.

¹⁰ *The Evening Post*, 15 July 1936, p. 7.

¹¹ *National Education*, 1 August 1928, pp. 296-298.

¹² *National Education*, 1 November 1934, pp. 462-463.

¹³ *National Education*, 1 June 1935, pp. 185-188.

¹⁴ *National Education*, 1 November 1935, pp. 466-467.

¹⁵ *National Education*, 1 February 1936, pp. 33-35.

¹⁶ *National Education*, 1 August 1937, pp. 287-290.

¹⁷ See Williams (1994) for an account of his studies at Teachers’ College.

¹⁸ Williams (1994).

¹⁹ See ATL, Beeby's Library Books & Publications, 92-190-Box 1.

²⁰ Beeby (1992), p. 70.

²¹ Beeby (1992), pp. 50-51. Beeby was quoting from Dewey's *Democracy and Education*, pp. 59-60.

²² For further information on the College see: Cremin, L., Shannon, D., & Townsend, M. (1954). *A history of Teachers College Columbia University*. NY: Columbia University.

²³ The progressive English educator Phillip Smithells (whom Beeby appointed as Advisor of Physical Education and who was educated at Bedales) corresponded frequently with Hahn (see Hocken, MS-1001/044) as well as with J. H. Badley of Bedales (see Hocken, MS-1001/151).

²⁴ For further information on the Institute see: Aldrich, R. (2002). *The Institute of Education 1902-2002: A centenary history*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.

²⁵ George Ashbridge (the General Secretary of NZEI), during his Carnegie Travel Grant trip in the late 1930s visited the Educational Institute of Scotland.

²⁶ See Rusk, R. (1952). The Scottish Council for Research in Education. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 1, 1, 39-42.

²⁷ See Fleisch, B. (1995). Social scientists as policy makers: E.G. Malherbe and the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 3, 34-39.

²⁸ For an account of the first four years of NZCER, see Alcorn (1992).

²⁹ For a thorough analysis of the history of the PEA, see: Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University. Of note, Graham's Dissertation Committee was chaired by Lawrence Cremin.

³⁰ Evans, R. (2007). *This happened in America: Harold Rugg and the censure of Social Studies*. NY: Information Age; pp. 19-20.

³¹ Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University; p. 39.

³² *Ibid.*; p. 38.

³³ *Ibid.*; p. 27.

³⁴ For further information on these debates, and especially between Counts and Dewey, see Röhrs, H. (1988). The emergence of the progressive education movement (1855-1955). *New Era in Education*, 69, 1, 14-25; Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University.

³⁵ Cited in Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University; p. 59.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ For further information on the relationship between the PEA and the NEF see: Röhrs, H. (1988). The emergence of the progressive education movement (1855-1955). *New Era in Education*, 69, 1, 14-25; Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University; pp. 58-60.

³⁸ Graham, P. (1964). *A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*. PhD Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University; p. i.

Appendix 3

Beatrice Ensor's Educational Achievements Prior to the Founding of the NEF

The inspiration for the founding of the NEF came from a dedicated theosophist and remarkable progressive educator – Mrs Beatrice Ensor (née Beatrice Nina Frederica de Normann).¹ Far from being a distant educational figure, Beatrice Ensor became known as a progressive leader in New Zealand from the early 1920s through her editorship of the *New Era* journal, from her role as President of the New Education Fellowship (and the accompanying publicity that attracted) as well as her role in organising the NEF Conference 1937 in Australasia. While she did not visit New Zealand during the Conference she corresponded with educational leaders as well as with the Acting Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, after the Conference.

1) Beatrice de Normann's/ Ensor's Early Years

Beatrice Ensor was born in Marseilles on 12 August 1885 to British parents.² Her father worked in shipping and was involved with the British Consulate while overseas. As a child, the family lived first in France and later in Italy and Beatrice became fluent in both the French and Italian languages as well as in English. Beatrice then attended boarding school in England before training and then teaching as a domestic science teacher in Sheffield. In 1908, Beatrice joined the Theosophical Society after reading a theosophical text left at her home and becoming absorbed in its philosophy.

Her school teaching attracted much attention and in 1910, Beatrice was appointed the first woman inspector of the Glamorgan County Council (Wales) followed four years later by an appointment as inspector of schools (HMI) under the English Board of Education. However, she was opposed to the overly regimented discipline of many of

the schools she inspected and while undertaking a visit to a Montessori school in Cheltenham she was left, instead, with a lasting impression of the importance of the valuing of self-discipline and self-development in students. She studied the work of Maria Montessori and also met and corresponded with her. In 1914, she attended the conference of the New Ideals in Education group (see below) where the theme was, The Montessori Method in Education. In 1915, she founded the Theosophical Fraternity in Education that comprised a group of like-minded new educators from within the Theosophical Society and also took up the position of Organising Secretary for the Theosophical Educational Trust (see below). These experiences help shape her future views on new education.

In 1916, Beatrice married Captain Robert Weld Ensor ('It was theosophy that brought them together'),³ one of the Canadian troops who had arrived in England during the war before embarking on the Murmansk Expedition. In the trenches, Captain Ensor had met troops from South Africa who encouraged him to visit the country after the war and subsequently the Ensors purchased a farm in South Africa (farming fruit trees, wheat, sheep, strawberries). Robert farmed the property until his untimely death in 1934 of gastric fever. During the interwar years, Beatrice Ensor divided her time between South Africa and England in order to follow her educational ideals. After her husband's death in 1934 she based herself in South Africa in order to manage the farm and was forced to leave much of the NEF work to her colleagues. Her only child, Michael, was born in 1919 and he later studied at the University of Oxford in the late 1930s.⁴ Michael Ensor's godparents were the ardent theosophists and social reformers, Annie Besant, Curuppumullage Jinarajadasa (who visited New Zealand in 1919) and Harold Baillie-Weaver.⁵ Jinarajadasa was Vice-President of the Theosophical Society (Adyar) from 1921 to 1928 (later President) and was married to the English feminist Dorothy M Graham (who had, in 1917, founded the Women's Indian Association with Annie Besant). Baillie-Weaver was General Secretary of the Theosophical Society (England) from 1916 to 1921 and married to the feminist Gertrude Colmore with whom Ensor authored *The Ethics of Education* around 1918.

2) The Theosophical Educational Trust

In 1915, during the war, Beatrice Ensor resigned as an inspector of schools under the English Board of Education to take up the position of Director and Organising Secretary of the British arm of the Theosophical Educational Trust (in Great Britain and Ireland) Ltd.⁶ The Theosophical Educational Trust (India) had been founded by Annie Besant in India in 1913, and the English theosophists Ada Rea, Josephine Ransom, and Haden Guest were granted support from Annie Besant to form a Theosophical Educational Trust in England in 1913 in order to work towards opening theosophical schools in the United Kingdom. The business manager and secretary of the Trust was Beatrice Ensor's husband Robert while the chairman was William Baillie-Weaver.⁷ The Trust was involved in founding a number of philanthropically financed, private progressive schools that were all situated in beautiful country surroundings and that educated the children from the Montessori stage to matriculation. The schools were co-educational and non-sectarian (though with broad Christian values) and focussed on the holistic development of the individual. The schools blended more traditional new education principles with theosophical ideals and broadly followed the model of the early new or pioneer schools. The Trust's three initial schools were the Garden City Theosophical School, the Brackenhill Home School and, in Edinburgh, the King Arthur School.⁸

The first theosophical school was the Garden City Theosophical School at Letchworth ('the Garden City') in Hertfordshire was founded on 20 January 1915. It was initially known as Arundale School after the President of the Theosophical Society (Adyar) and its founding principal was the well-known new educator, Dr Armstrong Smith. The school was situated on ten acres of ground in beautiful countryside. The school was a co-educational boarding and day school, lessons were given outdoors as far as possible, and the diet was vegetarian. The school was non-secular and religious instruction was an important part of the curriculum with a 'broad tolerance' for other faiths being taught.⁹ The approach to discipline was 'free' and the curriculum comprised large components of art, eurhythmics, handicrafts, music, nature study, and organised games.¹⁰ The school changed its name to St Christopher School from 1920

when the school shifted to new buildings and the principal then was Isabel King (although Beatrice Ensor apparently also had a strong influence on the teaching of the school to the extent of effectively being the co-principal).



Photograph A3-1 Arundale House Letchworth (1924)¹¹

The Brackenhill Home School in Bromley, Kent was a ‘free’ school ‘for children suffering from home disabilities’ and the New Zealand Theosophical Society sponsored one of these children.¹² The school, previously a home for handicapped, illegitimate and sick children was founded by the radical feminist Kate Harvey (supported by her partner and fellow theosophist, Charlotte Despard).¹³ It was reorganised under the Theosophical Educational Trust and its principal was Miss Maude Broughton Head (she had previously taught at the Garden City Theosophical School in Letchworth and had married Iwan Hawliczek who went on to become secretary of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education). Its object was to give children the opportunity to develop into ‘the best type of citizen’.¹⁴ The school initially catered for 35 war children and was run as a co-educational community home along Montessori lines, with self-government and vegetarianism principles. Its religious approach was similar to the Garden City Theosophical School and the curriculum aimed to develop happy, healthy, and morally sound children.¹⁵ Later the school was absorbed into St Christopher School.¹⁶

The King Arthur School was founded somewhere around 1918 by the Trust initially at Dunard, Edinburgh. In the following year it shifted to Musselburgh (near Edinburgh). Its first principal was Miss E H C Pagan and the co-educational boarding school was run along similar lines to the other theosophical schools, including teaching in the open air and the primary aim of the school being ‘the healthy, happy development of faculty’. The school had specialist staff in such areas as art, music, literature, languages, mathematics, science, and Swedish gymnastics.¹⁷

Later in 1925, after tensions in the Letchworth theosophical community, Mrs Beatrice Ensor and Isabel King left St Christopher School (taking many of its pupils with them) and founded the Frensham Hill (now called Frensham Heights) boarding school with substantial funding from a rich benefactor, Mrs Edith Douglas-Hamilton.¹⁸ Frensham Hill School was not presented as a theosophical school but a model school for new education and the NEF.¹⁹ Frensham Heights is still successfully in operation and their web site provides some interesting information and insights on its values and history (while boasting superb facilities and curriculum opportunities).²⁰ The Good School’s Guide sums the school up as follows: ‘No uniforms, no bullying, no competition, no house points, no prize-givings. Creative learning, creative thinking. Teachers and students all on first-name basis’.²¹ The school’s ethos is listed as: ‘Every child is an individual and has a right to be regarded as an individual; the aim of education should be the fullest possible development of that individual’s personality and talents ...’.²² In addition, the first prospectus of the school is quoted as offering, besides dancing and opportunities for cycling, riding and cultural activities: ‘An unusually wide choice of leisure occupations under qualified teachers; these include dramatic work, photography, practical work in the workshops, including carpentry, metalwork, weaving, leather work, jewellery, collections, gardening and team games’.²³ The school’s site noted that, ‘Many of the school’s first pupils were fleeing from Nazi Germany. Others have come to escape different tyrannies ... All have found a home in this civilised, tolerant, genuinely liberal school’.²⁴

Tensions in the Letchworth theosophical community from 1925 signalled the demise of the Theosophical Educational Trust in the United Kingdom. The termination of Robert Ensor at the Trust in 1925 also played a part in Beatrice Ensor and Isabel King

leaving St Christopher School and establishing Frensham Hill School. Five years later, the Theosophical Educational Trust folded.²⁵

3) The New Ideals in Education Conferences and the Theosophical Fraternity in Education

In 1915, the same year that Beatrice Ensor was appointed Organising Secretary of the Theosophical Educational Trust in Britain, she also founded within the Theosophical Society the Fraternity in Education. The Fraternity in Education comprised a group of progressive new educators who also held theosophical beliefs. Beginning as a small group in 1915 it grew into a larger progressive education organisation with international sections and arguably was a model for the later global development of the NEF.

Up until 1920, the Fraternity in Education group met at the conferences of the complementary New Ideals in Education organisation. The New Ideals in Education organisation was primarily a Montessori-focussed group that first gathered for a weekend conference in East Runton in July 1914 (this was the first Montessori conference held in England). The aim of the conference was to bring together in a spirit of ‘fellowship’ those interested in promoting Montessori education and: to link up the various experiments from around England; to encourage pioneering experiments; to unite new educators; and, to consider the best ways of unfolding ‘the latent energy and capacity for good in every child’.²⁶ The conference was attended by approximately 270 people, of which 50 were members of the Montessori Society (which had 230 members). Speakers at the first conference included the Earl of Lytton, Miss Lillian de Lissa, Mr Norman MacMunn, and Mr Homer Lane with notices also read from Maria Montessori and Edmond Holmes (who had been ill). During the conference a committee was formed to organise further conferences and to widen the representation of the conferences to include other ‘kindred movements’ – this was the formal beginnings of the New Ideals in Education group and their conferences which attracted an increasingly wider audience.²⁷

The New Ideals in Education group had as its president the renowned progressive educationist, writer and theosophist Edmond Holmes. Holmes was a Chief Inspector of Schools and also a strong advocate of Montessori education after being sent by the Board of Education in 1911 to visit Maria Montessori in Rome. Holmes reported the findings of his visit in a widely read report published by the Board in 1912. Holmes was also the author of such educational and metaphysical works as *The Creed of Christ*, *The Creed of Buddha*, *The Silence of Love*, *The Triumph of Love* and in 1911, the influential and frequently cited *What Is and What Might Be: A Study of Education in General and Elementary Education in Particular*. This latter work was a critical treatise on the urgent need for the educational reconstruction of Western education that drew on Eastern philosophy, Christianity, and New Education ideals. Holmes stated in the Preface that his aim in writing the book was:

to show that the externalism of the West, the prevalent tendency to pay undue regard to outward and visible 'results' and to neglect what is inward and vital, is the source of most of the defects that vitiate Education in this country, and therefore that the only remedy for those defects is the drastic one of changing our standard of reality and our conception of the meaning and value of life.²⁸

Holmes concluded that education had two stark choices:

We must now make our choice between two alternatives. We must decide, once and for all, whether the function of education is to foster growth or to exact mechanical obedience. If we choose the latter alternative, we shall enter a path which leads in the direction of spiritual death. If we choose the former, we must cease to halt between two opinions, and must henceforth base our system of education, boldly and confidently, on the conviction that growth is in its essence a movement towards perfection, and therefore that self-realisation is the first and last duty of Man.²⁹

While Beatrice Ensor is not listed in the conference reports as attending either the 1914 or 1915 New Ideals in Education conference she is listed as a member of the organising committee for the July 1916 conference in the name of Miss de Normann ('late H. M. Inspector of Schools'). That committee also included Edmond Holmes, C W Kimmins, Homer Lane, Albert Mansbridge, T P Nunn, and Michael Sadler. Beatrice was on the 1917 organising committee as Miss de Normann ('late H. M. Inspector of Schools'), the 1918 committee as Mrs R W Ensor ('late H. M. Inspector of Schools') and the 1919 committee as Mrs Ensor (this time, 'Director, Secretary and Organiser of the Theosophical Educational Trust').³⁰ While the Fraternity in Education gained inspiration and support through attendance at the New Ideals conferences, by 1921 Beatrice Ensor was no longer involved in organising those conferences and in 1920, the Fraternity in Education held their own conference in Letchworth. Apparently, according to Ensor, the New Ideals in Education organisers had started to resent the Fraternity attending their conferences as a large group 'with our own ideas and so we branched out'.³¹

The Theosophical Fraternity in Education, then, was formed in 1915 from within the English Theosophical Society and became the precursor of the NEF. While early NEF material listed the founding of the NEF as 1921, later material frequently mentioned the organisation's founding as 1915. As Beatrice Ensor reminded the Committee of the NEF in the 1930s:

... she had founded the International movement under the title of the Fraternity in Education in 1915 and had launched the New Era in 1920. Through the New Era and Fraternity members in different countries she had called the first International Conference at Calais in 1921 under the title of the New Education Fellowship ... during the Conference it was decided to re-organise the Fraternity, to adopt the title New Education Fellowship and draft new principles.³²

The Fraternity in Education had two broad aims: 1) To further the Ideal in all branches of education; and, 2) To secure conditions which will give freedom for its expression. Its motto was, 'Education as Service' and the group sought to draw

together 'in fellowship' members from all areas of the teaching profession.³³ The Fraternity espoused new education principles and stood for: 'reverence for the child's individuality; self-discipline and self-government; co-education; vital non-sectarian religious teaching; co-operation; recognition of the highly honourable nature of the teaching vocation; and closer co-operation between all grades of teachers and between parents and teachers'.³⁴

The short-lived Fraternity (1915-1925) had sections in America, Australia, Belgium, England, France, India, Switzerland and New Zealand. These sections operated under the auspices of the Theosophical Society, which even by 1907, had 655 branches worldwide.³⁵ For example, during Curuppumullage Jinarajadasa's visit to New Zealand in 1919 on Theosophical Society business, he addressed the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand section of the Fraternity in Education in Auckland on December 31 and outlined the work of the Fraternity, its role within the Society, the contribution of Maria Montessori and Edmond Holmes, and the critical importance of raising the status of teachers.³⁶ Critically, as Boyd and Rawson (1965, p. 66) pointed out:

When the time came for the launching of the New Education Fellowship, with the Theosophical Fraternity helping in the background, this internationalism was one of the central features carried forward into the new association.

The officers of the Fraternity were Mr G S Arundale (the then general secretary of the Theosophical Society of England and Wales) who was the International President.³⁷ Beatrice Ensor initially took the role of secretary and this was later taken over by Iwan Hawliczek.³⁸ Apparently, Philip Henry Wicksteed (1844-1927), the British economist, member of the Fabian Society, Unitarian theologian and classicist, was also an early founder of the Fraternity.³⁹ By 1920, the Fraternity had a membership in England of over 500 members and was able to hold its own conference at Letchworth from which the seeds of the NEF developed.⁴⁰

4) Education for the New Era

In 1920, building on the ideals and organisational structure of the Fraternity in Education, Beatrice Ensor founded *The New Era* journal, which later became one of the official organs of the NEF. The first issue of *Education for the New Era. An International Quarterly Journal for the Promotion of Reconstruction in Education* was published in January 1920. The journal sought not just educational change but, like the recently constituted League of Nations, aimed to be a part of a new era where ‘there would be no more war and peoples of the world would work together for the common good’.⁴¹ The first issue of *Education for the New Era* listed two aims for the journal: 1) to promote International Education, and 2) to promote the growth of Experimental Education in order to ‘foster that wider spirit of democratic brotherhood springing to life in so many movements of to-day’ (p. 4). Considering spiritual matters, Ensor wrote that during and since the war:

There has been growing in each nation a realisation that beauty, and truth, and harmony are born only of the free intelligence and understanding of the human soul ... [and that] the spirit of man through suffering and endurance has grown and gathered like the great light of dawn spreading in the heavens ... [while] Freedom, and Tolerance, and Understanding have burst the doors so carefully locked upon them in the secret chambers of the souls of men, and are spreading abroad under the restlessness and destruction of these times. (p. 4)

The journal, then, was intended to reinforce both educational and spiritual reconstruction globally through encouraging freedom and tolerance between children, parents and teachers, facilitating the ‘free interchange of ideas’ between nations, fostering international friendship, publishing accounts of the experimental work of new educators, and to ‘make such pioneers feel that they are members of a widely-scattered brotherhood’ (p. 5). In addition, Ensor noted that two sets of guiding principles were at play there: 1) those of ‘self-development, self-government, and democracy in Education’, and 2) a broader understanding of religion and a true

patriotisms, 'giving love to the Motherland'; concluding that, 'On all these things is the world of To-morrow being moulded' (p. 5).



Figure A3-1 Cover of Volume 1, Issue 1, 1920 of *Education for The New Era*

The *Education for the New Era* journal was widely distributed internationally in 1920 not only through the Fraternity's international sections but through the broader personal and professional networks of progressive educators. As signalled in the first issue, work was also occurring behind the scenes to organise an International Fellowship of Teachers who would meet annually in conference while Ensor was re-evaluating the focus and scope of the journal to include parents and others interested in education. From 1921, the journal's name was changed to *The New Era in Home and School* to reflect this and membership to the journal and the upcoming Calais conference was opened to include parents, psychologists, social workers, administrators, doctors as well as educators.⁴² Beatrice Ensor continued to retain ownership of the journal (separate from the NEF) until her retirement and she was the

lead editor (with the assistance of other distinguished editors such as A S Neill). As she explained to Beeby in 1937 when he enquired about its role for members of the proposed NZ Section of the NEF: 'The magazine is still my private property and for the moment our Executive considers that it is best that it remain so. But it is recognised as the official organ of the Fellowship in English speaking countries'.⁴³ The journal was initially published out of the Theosophical Society headquarters at 11 Tavistock Square, London.

Notes

¹ The sources of the main biographical information in this section is: 1) Beatrice Ensor's handwritten biography dated 10 March 1948, WEF/A/1/1 – Beatrice Ensor; 2) Beatrice Ensor's Wikipedia page that was primarily written by her grandson Jeremy Ensor (personal communication) – http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatrice_Ensor; 3) Magazine article on Beatrice Ensor written by the Janie Malherbe, wife of the NEF Conference 1937 delegate E G Malherbe: Die Brandwag Onderwysdeskunde en Boeretannie [Educational Expert and Farmer's Wife]. This was presumably written after their return to South Africa in 1937 for a local newspaper (unnamed). Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library E. G. Malherbe Collection; File 279. Where there was a discrepancy in dates, Ensor's handwritten biography was given preference.

² Beatrice de Normann also had two brothers: Albert Wilfred Noel de Normann and Sir Eric de Normann (K. B. E., C. B.).

³ Beatrice Ensor's Wikipedia page; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatrice_Ensor.

⁴ Source: Magazine article on Beatrice Ensor written by the Janie Malherbe, wife of the NEF Conference 1937 delegate E. G. Malherbe: Die Brandwag Onderwysdeskunde en Boeretannie [Educational Expert and Farmer's Wife]. Presumably written after returning to South Africa in 1937 for a local newspaper (unnamed). Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library E. G. Malherbe Collection; File 279.

⁵ Beatrice Ensor's Wikipedia page; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatrice_Ensor.

⁶ The chronology on the Besant Theosophical College web site lists the Theosophical Educational Trust as being founded by the leading theosophist Dr. Annie Besant in India in 1913 (www.btcollege.org/chronology.html, retrieved September 27, 2007).

⁷ Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. Faiths and Education. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.

⁸ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 67.

⁹ There is an interesting blog page by 'Judith' who attended the school during the second world war with some anecdotes on what life was like in this progressive

school (<http://judith-lifestory.blogspot.com/2007/05/st-christopher-school-1.html>, retrieved 21 October 2013).



Self Portrait 1941



Self Portrait 2006

My brother and I did not have very long to explore and enjoy our new territory. Before the end of September, we had to make the journey to our new boarding school, where my brother had already spent two terms. St Christopher School in Letchworth, Hertfordshire, is the school which I really can remember vividly, and which I often revisit in my dreams. It was where I was extraordinarily happy, and where I remained until I left school for good at the end of the war.

Our parents must have chosen this school very carefully. This was before the 1944 Education Act, which made secondary education free for all pupils in the UK, thereby opening up secondary schooling to girls as well as boys. The educational possibilities available to families living in the depths of the country must then have been very limited, and I think my parents must have cared deeply about finding the right school for both of us, to send us each term from Worcestershire to Hertfordshire to attend this particular establishment.

St Christopher described itself, in its advertisement in the *New Statesman*, as 'a community of some 350 children and adults', and in those days it was recognised as a 'progressive' school, or somewhat less flatteringly by some as a 'crank' school. My cousin Mirabel, who went to a similar school called Bedales, used to refer to them affectionately as 'lettuce and brown sugar schools'.

So what made 'Chris' progressive in its time? In the first place it was coeducational, which was relatively unusual then in private schools, and so was a more natural community than single sex schools, thus enabling us to develop intellectually, socially and emotionally in a more rounded way. Indeed, in some respects it was a better place for growth and development for my brother and myself than our home in the country, where we were isolated, both by distance and by the war, from intellectual, social and cultural stimulus, other than what our parents and a very limited social circle could provide.

Secondly, it was vegetarian, though on health grounds rather than on ethical principle. In addition to extra cheese and nuts, thanks to our special ration books, our diet included masses of vegetables and salads; wholemeal bread, and wholemeal rice, pasta and flour for cooking, and strictly **no** strong seasonings such as pepper and vinegar. I seemed to thrive on this diet, and was convinced I would remain vegetarian when I left school – but in fact I didn't.

My schooling ended as the war ended, in the summer of 1945. The school community celebrated the end of war in Europe in May with a two-day holiday. On the first day there were picnic parties, then later a gigantic bonfire, home-made

fireworks, dancing round the blaze with linked arms, and a sing-song, while we waited for midnight and the official moment when peace would begin. The following day no one had to get up for breakfast, and buffet meals were served on the school field. Most of us passed the day in outdoor activities, or simply idled the time away. In the evening there was dancing again, ending with Auld Lang Syne and three cheers for the head teachers. Throughout the celebrations the Senior School House, Arundale, was the object of an unforgettable piece of floodlighting devised by senior boy electricians. [I am indebted for the details of this account to Reginald Snell, whose book *St Christopher School 1915-1975* has done much to remind me of why I was so happy during my senior school years.]

... Another 'progressive' aspect of St Christopher was a much more free and easy atmosphere than I imagine was the norm in private boarding schools at the time. Staff were called by their first names or nicknames, and I would say that there was a sense of partnership between staff and pupils, rather than a strictly authoritarian relationship. School uniform was abandoned for ever during the war, except for the wearing by games teams of the school colours (dark green and gold) for the playing of matches against other schools.

We were encouraged to develop a strong sense of personal responsibility, and there was much more self-determination than at standard schools. In the senior school, instead of daily homework we were given assignments of work, which we were expected to complete within a fortnight. This gave us more flexibility in planning the use of our time. It led however to the reading out at the morning assembly of the dreaded 'blacklist', the names of all those who were behind in their assignments. There was also a senior school council, made up of children of the full age range (11-17) and staff, and this was empowered to make disciplinary decisions, among others. The Head used to say the only two things over which he retained the absolute right of veto, were the curriculum, and the vegetarian diet.

The headteachers, Lyn and Eleanor Harris, were Quakers, though it was not officially a Quaker school. There was however an optional Sunday chapel service which was based on Quaker meetings. Also the school gave sanctuary to conscientious objectors who were 'persona non grata' in other places, but were able to get teaching posts at our school. Young male school-leavers who were conscientious objectors were prepared there for their tribunals, which they had to go through if they were not to be obliged to join the armed forces. There were a number of German refugee children in the school too, some of whom were advised to anglicise their surnames before going off to fight in the British Army.

I think I was happy there because my life was full and well-rounded: I was stretched academically and allowed to develop socially and emotionally. I liked, admired and respected the headteachers and the large majority of the school staff, and I have always considered myself lucky to have been there. My family was still not well off at the time, and it was our good fortune that the head teachers believed so strongly in what they were doing, that when they realised how much our parents wanted us to attend the school, they did a special deal, as it were, by taking both my brother and myself at a discount price – 'buy one, get one half price' as it were.

¹⁰ This information was in an advertisement for Arundale School placed in a book written by Beatrice Ensor and the feminist Gertrude Colmore: De Normann, B., & Colmore, G. (1918?). *Ethics of education*. London: Theosophical Publishing House.

¹¹ This postcard image of children playing hockey at Arundale House in 1924 is used with permission of the Hertfordshire genealogy site (www.hertfordshire-

genealogy.co.uk/data/education/letchworth-st-chris.htm). On the reverse is written: 'Have just been attending an Educational Conference at Letchworth and am now on my way to another ... in Holland, May A[?]rewerton'.

¹² An interesting excerpt on the Brackenhill Theosophical Home School (and its relation to New Zealand) is to be found in the *Theosophy in New Zealand* magazine (July 1922):

The Brackenhill Theosophical Home School, at Letchworth, England, is the Theosophical effort to rescue at least a few children from slum conditions. Twenty-six children are supported and trained there, among them is George Hurt, who is maintained by members of the New Zealand Section.

Subscriptions are collected through Lodge secretaries between April and June, and so far we have been able to send fifty pounds each year. The Editor will be glad if Lodges will send in their subscriptions for this year not later than July 15. From recent letters we believe that George Hurt, our protege, may be ready to finish his schooling and take to farm life in New Zealand somewhat earlier than we expected. So if there is some farming Theosophist who has a suitable place for George, he should communicate with the Editor of this magazine. George is 'an out-door boy', liking manual work, very fond of animals and destined, we think, to make a good Colonial.

During a Conference of the Educational Fraternity, Mrs. Hawliczek, Principal of the School, and Mrs. Ensor, Director-Secretary of the Educational Trust, gave interesting particulars of the tempestuous early days at Brackenhill.

Mrs. Ensor said: 'There is a great danger in giving freedom, to children who have been brought up along the old lines. I shall never forget the first few months at our experimental school, Brackenhill. We had children of the poorer classes who came from bad homes and who had been previously to ordinary schools. There was wholesale rowdiness and destruction from morning till night. They had been unaccustomed to a garden, so they picked the flowers and broke the shrubs; the windows of the house were broken; the walls were covered with scribbles. There was chaos, because the children had been given sudden freedom after a long period of drastic repression under the old system. We have won through, but it has been done by gradually giving freedom as the children proved themselves ready. If you go to Brackenhill now you will find a most wonderful atmosphere of freedom. The children have taken themselves in hand and are self-disciplined'.

Mrs. Hawliczek said: 'You have been told of the condition of Brackenhill a few years ago. It was even worse than that. It seemed to me that the children were in a continual state of nervous excitement, which prevented them from sleeping, and from acting in any way normally. I felt that very drastic methods were needed and I put all thought of self-government out of my mind for the time being and made rigid rules. ... I promised freedom as soon as I could trust them. In six months' time two of the elder ones came to me and said that they felt that they were ready to be trusted in the shrubbery ... We called a meeting of the senior school and asked the children what rules they ought to observe. They made three rules: (1) That they should not go outside the Drive into the road; (2) That they should not hang over the wall and shout at the people down below; (3) That they should not destroy the flowers or shrubs. I have only once had to prevent the children from going into the shrubbery to play and that was about five months ago when they seemed to have become temporarily Bolshevistic. After a fortnight they came to me and said that they were ready to come into line again. The interesting thing is that the shrubbery is so beautifully kept that

visitors ask if the children ever play there, and they will scarcely believe it when I say that they play there every day ...

About six months after I took over the school the children proposed self-government. I had never suggested it to them in words, though, of course, it was in my mind. They came to it themselves. They wanted a Cabinet. They elected three children, a senior teacher, my husband and myself ... The school went on gaining self-control, the children exercising a certain amount of authority, and if difficulties arose they came to me for advice or called a Cabinet meeting ...

The spirit of service is very strong, especially amongst the elder Montessori children. They have very keen observation; and little acts of kindness, which do not occur to the elder children, are habitual with them. I am sure that when these children come into the upper school there will be another great step forward made in the school's self-government'.

Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/inspired-articles.html>

¹³ See, for example, Women's Suffrage Movement: The Story of Kate Harvey, www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/womens-suffrage-movement-the-story-of-kate-harvey-516710.html.

¹⁴ Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. *Faiths and Education*. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.

¹⁵ This information was also in an advertisement for the school placed in the book written by Beatrice Ensor and the feminist Gertrude Colmore: De Normann, B., & Colmore, G. (1918?). *Ethics of education*. London: Theosophical Publishing House.

¹⁶ Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. *Faiths and Education*. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.

¹⁷ This information was also in an advertisement for the school placed in the book written by Beatrice Ensor and the feminist Gertrude Colmore: De Normann, B., & Colmore, G. (1918?). *Ethics of education*. London: Theosophical Publishing House.

¹⁸ Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. *Faiths and Education*. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ See www.frensham-heights.org.uk for further information on the school including the facilities, its curriculum, history, ethos and governance.

²¹ See www.frensham-heights.org.uk.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Also see this article for further information on the relationship between the Indian and English Theosophical Educational Trust: Brehony, K. (2012). To Letchworth via India: The Transformation of the Theosophical Educational Trust. Paper to be presented at ISCHE 34 – SHCY-DHA, Internationalisation in the Field of Education, 18th-20th centuries. University of Geneva, June 27-30th, 2012.

²⁶ Report of the Montessori Conference at East Runton, July 25-28th, 1914; p. iii.

²⁷ Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. *Faiths and Education*. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997.

²⁸ Holmes, E. (1911). *What is and what might be: A study of education in general and elementary education in particular*. London: Constable; p. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; p. 92.

³⁰ Reports of the New Ideals in Education Conferences, 1915-1919.

³¹ Cited in Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. *Faiths and Education*. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997; p. 32.

³² Excerpt from Minutes of Committee Meetings 1929-1936; WEF|A|1|34.

³³ According to Boyd and Rawson (1965) these stated values were relatively generic but there was also a deeper interpretation that could be drawn relating to three aspects of theosophical doctrine. First, the primary objective of the Theosophical Society was 'to form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour' (p. 65). Second, theosophists believe fundamentally in reincarnation where in relation to education there is 'a conviction of an impulse to perfection on the part of the Ego, implying the essential goodness of the child's nature, the vital importance of free, happy conditions for the right development of the individual in his present incarnation, the furthering of the brotherhood of man' (pp. 64-65). Third, while theosophists themselves believe in the 'Ancient Wisdom', they also acknowledge that 'humanity has had many Masters' and this ensures that activities such as the Fraternity need to be carried out with 'kindred spirits of other faiths' for the overall good of humanity.

³⁴ De Normann, B., & Colmore, G. (1918?). *Ethics of education*. London: Theosophical Publishing House; p. 75.

³⁵ Stewart, W. (1972). *Progressives and radicals in English education, 1750-1970*. London: MacMillan; p. 192.

³⁶ Excerpt from Curuppumullage Jinarajadasa's address to the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand section of the Fraternity in Education in Auckland on 31 December 1919 and reported in *Theosophy in New Zealand*, January 1920:

'This movement was started in England to bring together Theosophists who happened to be in the teaching profession, so that they might know and bring into their work the new ideals in education. There probably never was a time when educational ideals were so much discussed or with such enthusiasm, especially by teachers.

The old method, in its most ideal form, was a conception that the child was to be made a good citizen. We formed a picture of the average good citizen, and tried to mould the child to that pattern. The beginning of the new method appeared with Froebel and Pestalozzi, and the new idea of self-expression for the child was expected to be fostered by the kindergarten system. This system has, however, developed some rigidity, so that the child is almost forced to play, even when he does not want to play. The next stage in the direction of realising that the child is an ego, with his own characteristics, was made by Madame Montessori. In her system you see the child working at his own things, with only a very little guidance. But Madame Montessori had to postulate that there was an individuality in the child. She did not know where it came from.

The first to go a step further was Mr. Edmond Holmes, a man greatly respected in England. In his books he has definitely postulated the theory of reincarnation. Our educationalists, therefore, are rapidly approaching the edge of the great sea of Theosophical knowledge. We know that in dealing with a child you are not writing on a clean slate, you are dealing with a character that has lived in many past lives and who has a seed of divinity in him, with all kinds of wonderful but latent attributes. You are dealing fundamentally with a fully grown ego ...

What we want to do in public life is to change the status of the teacher. There was a time in the ancient history of India when the highest person was the teacher. Before the guru, even the king stood. There was no distinction between sacred and secular knowledge. I remember that when studying law at Cambridge I was also reading some of the Sanscrit law-books, and these Sanscrit jurists looked upon the law as the revelation of the divine mind in all systems of jurisprudence. Education was thought of as for the spiritual unfolding of man and for man's greater co-operation with God ...

You must raise the status of the teacher. He should not be regarded as merely a member of one among the many professions, but as one who contributes a most important service in moulding the great citizens. In the old days the poverty of the teacher was compensated by the great honour which was paid to him. I should like to introduce, wherever possible, a little more sanctity into our ideas of education. There was a time when to begin one's education was a really sacred event. I remember my first going to school. First, the astrologer has to find the most auspicious day; then you go to the teacher on that day with a little present: I took a few betel leaves. He had a board on which he had written one of the sacred texts, then repeating some words, in praise of learning, and a divine invocation, he took the first finger of my right hand and wrote the first letter of the alphabet. That was all the first day. You were introduced to the Goddess of Learning. Such a method makes a deep impression. We ought to feel that learning is a sacred thing; one way of approaching nearer to the divine wisdom. I remember when I was taken to be taught the old language by one of the yellow-robed monks. Once again I had to give the preceptor a little present, but the Buddhist monks are not allowed to possess worldly goods, so I took him a little towel, which, being of trifling value, it was possible for him to accept. Then you took the religious vows of the ordinary citizen, and he gives you his learning, which in the old days consisted in memorising all sorts of things which you did not understand. But there was little religious teaching. The teacher is still thought of in India as having a spiritual vocation. We must bring that about. I believe that Theosophical teachers understand the sacredness of their calling, but they are handicapped because the public is not yet willing to recognise, that for the welfare of the State the teacher, is greater than the business man ...'.

³⁷ George Sydney Arundale (1878-1945) was an educationist and a major figure in the development of the Theosophical Society in the Great Britain, India and Australasia from the early 1900s until his death in 1945. He went to school at Wiesbaden, Germany, and Linton House, London and graduated from St John's College, Cambridge (B.A., 1898; LL.B., 1899; M.A., 1902). At the age of seventeen he joined the Theosophical Society and in 1902 he dedicated himself to Annie Besant (a prominent theosophist, socialist reformer and secularist) after a 'soul-awakening' experience. In 1903 he travelled to India to teach history at Besant's Central Hindu College in Benares, becoming headmaster in 1907 and principal between 1909-13. During the First World War Arundale was involved with the British Red Cross

Society in London as well as being, for a brief time, general secretary of the Theosophical Society of England and Wales along with his subsequent role as president of the Fraternity in Education. See his entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography for further biographical information, including his marriage to the classical Indian dancer, Shrimati Rukmini Devi (daughter of Pandit Nilakanta Sastri) and his later theosophical work in Australasia.

³⁸ Brehony, K. (1997). 'A Dedicated Spiritual Movement': Theosophists and Education 1875-1939. Faiths and Education. Paper presented at the XIX International Standing Conference for the History of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth. 3rd-6th September, 1997. I. A. Hawliczek was an active member of Theosophical Society in England. He published with J. Emile Marcault, *The Next Step In Evolution* (Published by the Theosophical Society in London). An excerpt from the Introduction of this work gives an indication of his writing and it relates to the theosophical perspective of evolution which is somewhat different from Darwinian or Christian views on the subject, and closer to Buddhist and Hindu beliefs: 'This booklet forms the sequel to *The Evolution of Man*, and takes up the story of our racial history, as seen from the psychological standpoint, at the place where the former work left off. It is the purpose of this present work to show that the Aryan Race is the natural successor of those which have preceded it, and that in its development it follows the same succession of psychological phases as the earlier Races have done. This will bring us to the point where we can say, without any shadow of doubt, that a New Age is now dawning in the world; that it is accompanied by, or rather, caused by the emergence of a new level of consciousness; and that this will be pre-eminently manifested in the new subdivision of the Race which is now arising, chiefly in Western America. We can even go a step further and indicate, from among the uncertainty and turmoil of modern conditions, those factors, movements, tendencies and lines of thought which are significant of the future and to which our attention can profitably be turned' (pp. 7-8). Retrieved September 29, 2011 from www.theosophical.ca/NextStepEvolution.htm#7.

³⁹ Brehony, K. (2001). A 'socially civilising influence'? Play and the urban 'degenerate'. A paper given at, Urbanisation and Education: The City as Light and Beacon? International Standing Conference for the History of Education XXIII, University of Birmingham, UK, July 12-15 2001.

⁴⁰ Stewart, W. (1972). *Progressives and radicals in English education, 1750-1970*. London: MacMillan; p. 194.

⁴¹ Cited in Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 68.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 68-69.

⁴³ Letter Ensor to Beeby dated 25 August 1937, AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

Appendix 4

The Organisational Structure of the New Education Fellowship

The organisational structure for the NEF that developed out of the Calais Conference was a simple, parsimonious one suited to the needs of a voluntary organisation that was, in essence, a global network of new educators. The organisational structure suited progressive educators in New Zealand during the interwar years (and after) as it allowed for a low cost way for interested teachers and other educationists to join the NEF (simply through subscription to the *New Era* journal) as well as for New Zealand educationists at both the local and national level to form official groups and sections and thus access additional resources, on-going news, and support from the international headquarters in London. This Appendix provides more detailed information on the organisational structure of the NEF.

1) Central Organisation of the Fellowship

The central body of the Fellowship was organised by a committee structure that was restructured over time but broadly comprised an international body of elected representatives and an executive body for more day-to-day affairs. Beatrice Ensor for many years lead the organisation under various titles (e.g., President). The Fellowship's 'International Headquarters' was run from small offices in Tavistock Square, London (and later Park Crescent, London) and selflessly organised by its International Secretary (and ardent theosophist) Claire Soper, who served the Fellowship from 1921 to 1951.¹ This small voluntary central body attempted, under financial duress, to provide academic, administrative and financial service to the ostensibly autonomous national sections and groups around the world. The office did receive some funding from a variety of state and non-governmental organisations (including the CCNY) although this barely met the cost of running the office and the

many activities of the wider Fellowship. Applying for funding was an on-going but necessary chore for the organisation.

Reading through much of the correspondence of the central body, one gains the impression that the organisation, particularly during its more dramatic growth phase in the interwar years, was deeply indebted to the commitment and enthusiasm of its International Secretary, Claire Soper. Soper not only undertook general day-to-day office administration but was also responsible for the bulk of the non-policy correspondence with Fellowship sections, groups and members – and there was a considerable amount of that. She sent constant reminders for material for the NEF news magazines, she prompted for section and group subscriptions and reports, she pleaded for funding and services, she dealt with the multitude of mundane requests, and she cheerfully and genuinely encouraged members in their progressive work. When the financial situation for the body was tough she even worked for no salary.



Photograph A4-1 Claire Soper
NEF International Secretary, 1921-1951²

Claire Soper's commitment and resolve were no better expressed than in her letters to NEF members leading up to and during World War Two.³ There were several touching letters to New Zealand members but two letters in 1940 to C C McShane of the Hobart Teachers' College, Tasmania (Australia) who was the Secretary-Treasurer

of the Hobart Group of the NEF were particularly poignant and demonstrated her unfailing optimism and commitment to the Fellowship. In June 1940 Claire wrote:

... We are so glad things are going well with the Group. Here all is uncertainty and anxiety. In these days of paratroops and flying tanks anything may happen. As I write the Germans are reported to be within 50 mins of Paris and this week we have another evacuation of school children from London ...

This Spring has been one of the most beautiful we have ever had ... there has been much sunshine and the countryside is lovely with its green pastures, trees and flowers. And we, being alert and tense in our lives feel the beauty more acutely. I have a lovely old garden (in London) ... I look out at it and then into my room where two ominous bundles are stowed ... They are essential clothes for Mother and me in case we are bombed ... how I shall manage with these two bundles and a crippled old lady I cannot imagine ...

If we go down and you don't hear from us again, please get in touch with our American representative, Mr F. Redefers, Progressive Educ. Assoc. ... We have sent him copies of our records and he can keep the international movement afloat until we come to the surface again. Warm greetings to you all.⁴

In October 1940 she continued her correspondence with C C McShane as circumstances in London continued to worsen. Though, for Soper, the work and aspirations of the Fellowship had to continue:

It is good to hear your news ... It is frightful in London now. We are bombed most of the day and all night from 7 p.m. until dawn. I sleep in a damp cellar – or rather I lie awake and listen to the bombs falling around. The office has had bombs round it and for 2 weeks we were unable to get

to our part of the house ... there is death and destruction in every street and no one knows who will be alive from one day to another.

The marvellous thing about life in London now is the way the ordinary little men and women have stuck to their jobs – the milkman, the newspaper man, the baker, the railway men and busmen – they are the heroes of this war ...

But the burning question is: what can we do to ourselves and the children so that this kind of human behaviour (bombing etc.) becomes for evermore impossible. Some fundamental change in human beings is needed but who will discover what it is and bring it about? In every country we must seek an answer.

We have good news from India – one of our supporters in England has been made Educational Commissioner to the Government of India and the secretary of our Bengal Section has been made his assistant. Good for India! Best wishes.⁵

Unfortunately, the Fellowship's central office was eventually damaged by fire during the war and many of the organisation's records were lost.

2) National Sections and Groups

At the Calais Conference in 1921 it was agreed that the national sections and groups in each country should be autonomous, have no constitution, and be held together solely by the Fellowship's principles. Each section was able to set their own fees and determine their own programmes (including running conferences) and many established their own journals and newsletters as well. As Boyd and Rawson (1965, p. 61) aptly summarised, the NEF was intended from the start to be 'an international association of free thinkers'. This structure and freedom of operation resembled that of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education and their global networks. There may

well have been some overlap in membership in the early years of the NEF though the NEF's dramatic growth not only eclipsed the operations of the Fraternity but probably also contributed in part to its demise by around 1925.

The national 'sections and groups' structure was designed to be inclusive with countries joining the NEF as a national umbrella 'section' and within these could be formed any number of more local 'groups'. Each national section that was established was given a seat on the NEF's international governing body which guided the organisation as a whole. The NEF both internationally and locally positioned itself as a complementary organisation that did not aim to replace other organisations but 'supplement in certain useful ways the work of others' and it sought to gain support globally as an ally of government and local initiatives.⁶ These NEF groups were open not only to educators but anyone interested in education and the aims of the Fellowship. As James Hemmings reflected when he was a member of the Executive Board of the NEF in 1952 (the Fellowship worldwide then had over 15,000 members):

Nowhere but in the Fellowship have I found such a convincing cross-section of educationally interested persons. In an NEF group, nursery teacher and administrator; professor, head teacher and student in training; specialist, parent and industrialist; white folk, brown folk, and black folk challenge and discuss in friendly partnership without fear or favour. I believe such cross-fertilisation to be of immense value to-day. Further, I have found everywhere in the NEF the same sort of breadth of mind, confidence in man, social vision and high purpose.⁷

The organisation started in the early 1920s with a small number of national sections and groups and rapidly grew to well over fifty by the 1950s. These countries included Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Eritrea, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holland (Netherlands), Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Scotland, South Africa, South America, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and USA.⁸ New Zealand's formal involvement with the NEF started in the 1920s with a group in Taranaki and a second group in Auckland before a national section was formed after the NEF Conference 1937 when several regional groups developed as well. These national sections and groups attracted the leading national and local progressive educators in each country and the New Zealand list included many of the most well-known educators from the Beebys to the Somersets.

The development of so many national sections and groups helped the NEF to realise its functions of promoting new education ideals, developing human solidarity and facilitating internationalisation. In addition, the work of the Fellowship was not being directed from the international headquarters in London but was being operationalised at the local community level and in response to local needs. As Boyd in 1937 put it, the 'branches of the Fellowship have the chance to work out a scheme of educational reconstruction richer and more progressive than could be achieved in any other way'.⁹

3) Journals

Besides the progressive activities at the national section and group level, the various NEF journals provided a critical means for the dissemination of progressive endeavours and ideals. Not only was the subscription to these journals an automatic membership of the NEF but they were an opportunity for the sharing of progressive news and initiatives at the national and local level. These journals were also the official organs of the organisation and each included important organisational information such as major items of news, international achievements, major events and conference information.

At the Calais Conference in 1921 it was agreed that initially there would be three co-operating journals, one in English, one in German, and one in French. Consequently, Beatrice Ensor (along with A S Neill) edited *The New Era* for The New Education Fellowship, Elizabeth Rotten edited *Das Werdende Zeitalter* for the NEF's German section (*Der Weltbund für Erneuerung der Erziehung*) and Adolphe Ferrière edited

Pour l'Ere Nouvelle for the NEF's French section (La Ligue Internationale pour l'Education Nouvelle). The English journal, *The New Era*, was already established in 1920 and the French and German journals followed soon after. For example, the first issue of *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* ('For the New Era') was in January 1922 and its sub-title was, 'Revue Internationale d'Education Nouvelle' with its purpose: 'Est la revue des pionniers de l'education'. The contents of this first issue included articles by leading French and Belgium new educators:

- Beatrice Ensor: Le Congrès de Calais;
- Georges Bertier: Le Problème de l'Education en France à l'heure actuelle;
- Roger Cousinet: La Nouvelle Education;
- M L Wauthier: Un essai de <Self-government> dans une classe française;
- Hamaïde: L'Oevre du Dr Decroly en Belgique;
- G C Ferrari: L'Education de l'activité aportanée [?] chez les enfants;
- F M Baldwin: Une Ecole active en Angleterre; and,
- Livres et Revues – Nouvelles diverses.¹⁰

Subsequent issues in 1922 included articles by Dr Decroly, R Buyse, J Decroix, Maria Valli, Hilaire Deman, E Jacques-Dalcroze, Roger Cousinet, M L Wauthier, and A Jouenne.¹¹

The first of many magazines or journals to reflect or adopt the Fellowship's principles included: *Svobodna Vaspitanie* (Free Education) edited in Bulgaria by Professor D Katzaroff; *La Coltura Populare* (an Italian journal); and a Russian educational journal published by the Soviet government. Boyd and Rawson (1965) point out that many of these early magazines were produced in Eastern Europe and that this reflected the high number attendees at the early NEF conferences from Eastern Europe. By the time of the NEF Conference 1937, there were twenty-three Fellowship journals in

fifteen languages and *Progressive Education* was also the official journal in America.¹²

These journals, then, were the Fellowship's vehicles for internationally disseminating new education ideals and practice and they also conversely brought together and gave voice to national sections and local groups. The journals additionally took on the role of facilitating and co-ordinating symposiums and other NEF research activities as well as publicising the Fellowship's world and regional conferences.

4) Conferences

The official conferences of the New Education Fellowship fell into two categories: *regional* and *world* conferences. These conferences, especially during the interwar years, attracted large audiences of educators and the general public while leading new educators from around the world would give seminars and lectures on a diverse range of topics. New Zealand delegates also attended NEF conferences either in a personal capacity or representing official bodies. In most cases there was a conference proceeding published that provided extensive summaries or copies of the material covered in the sessions.¹³

These conferences, while focussing on areas of new education, were also heavily impacted by the social, economic and political contexts in the particular region or on the world scene. For example, the original conference in Calais and the forming of the NEF organisation in 1921 was undertaken in and shaped by the shadow of World War One. Again, the conferences in the 1930s increasingly focussed on critical thinking, international understanding and democratic citizenship as the tensions on the global scene increased in the lead up to World War Two. Moreover, the conferences themselves were not immune to political influence, with fascist delegates being sent to the 1934 South African Regional Conference and accusations of a similar political nature being levelled against the Japanese and Austrian delegates to the NEF Conferences 1937 (the one against the Japanese delegate and nationalist politician

Yusuke Tsurumi was perhaps founded, the other against the Austrian new educator, Paul Dengler was not).

There were six large *regional* NEF conferences held in the interwar years up to and including the Australasian NEF Conferences in 1937. In 1933, the Scandinavian Conference was held in Norway that was attended by members of the Finnish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic and Swedish Sections. The 1934 South African Conference was held in Cape Town and Johannesburg and the origins of the Australasian NEF Conferences in 1937 took shape there [see *Appendix 26*]. The 1935 North American Conference was held in Mexico City. In 1935, the Pan Pacific Conference was held in Tokyo. Also in 1935, the British Isles Conference was held at St Andrews. The 1936 Dutch Conference was held in Utrecht. Finally, the 1937 Australasian Conferences were held in Australia (Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart, Melbourne, Sydney, Perth) and New Zealand (Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin).¹⁴ These regional conferences tended to be more serendipitously organised events. For example, the idea for the NEF Regional Conferences in Australia and New Zealand in 1937 did not originate with their national sections or local groups, instead it was proposed by new educators from ACER and NZCER and supported later by the NEF (and only after the conference was an NEF section formed in New Zealand).

On the other hand, the *world* conferences were the officially scheduled international congresses of the organisation and followed the biennial pattern outlined at the founding of the NEF in 1921. These world congresses, along with the official journals, were critical for the dissemination of new education ideals and were attended by prestigious educators from around the world. The speakers chosen for these conferences included well-known educators, influential educational administrators, politicians, scientists, artists and anthropologists such as: Pierre Bovet, William Boyd, E de S Brunner, P C Chang, Fred Clarke, Charlotte Buhler, Ovide Decroly, John Dewey, Julian Huxley, Susan Isaacs, Carl Jung, Paul Langevin, A D Lindsay, Arthur Lismer, Richard Livingstone, Percy Meadon, Cyril Norwood, Percy Nunn, Jean Piaget, A P Pinkevitch, Harold Rugg, W F Russell, Sir Michael Sadler, E Salter Davies, Rabindranath Tagore, R H Tawney, and Henri Wallon.¹⁵

From 1921 to 1936, there were seven world conferences of the NEF with the first being viewed as Calais in 1921 with approximately 150 attendees.¹⁶ The *second* world congress was the Montreux Conference in 1923 attended by approximately 300 delegates from around the world (including Stanwood Cobb, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Progressive Association) and the theme was ‘Education for Creative Service’ (speakers included Adolphe Ferrière, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and Carl Jung).¹⁷ The *third* world congress was the Heidelberg Conference in 1925 attended by approximately 450 delegates from around the world and the theme was ‘The Release of Creative Energy in the Child’ (speakers included Adolphe Ferrière, Carl Jung, Martin Buber, Elizabeth Rotten, Ovid Decroly, and George Arundale). The *fourth* world congress was the Locarno Conference in 1927 attended by approximately 1,200 delegates from around the world and the theme was ‘The True Meaning of Freedom in Education’ (speakers included Pierre Bovet, Adolphe Ferrière and Paul Dengler). The *fifth* world congress was the Elsinore Conference in 1929 attended by over 2,000 delegates from around the world and the theme was ‘Towards a New Education’. This conference signalled clearly the rise of the NEF and attracted a distinguished collection of world class speakers, including Carson Ryan, William Boyd, Adolphe Ferrière, Anders Vedel, Harold Rugg, Maria Montessori, Helen Parkhurst, Ovid Decroly, Paul Dengler, J J Findlay, Kurt Lewin, Percy Nunn, Jean Piaget, and Wilhelm Viola.¹⁸

The *sixth* world congress was held in 1932 in the south of France at Nice and signalled the start of a darker tone to the NEF’s conferences. The broad theme was ‘Education and Changing Society’ though in light of international developments it focussed more closely on ‘the part education could play in preserving world peace’.¹⁹ The chair of the conference was the French physicist and humanist Paul Langevin, who was Professor at the Collège de France and an honorary president of the French NEF section, *Groupe Français d’Education Nouvelle*. While world conference attendances peaked with the Elsinore Conference in 1929 (2,000), this congress still attracted over 1800 conference attendees with large contingents from the host country, America and England. A large group of speakers lectured at the conference from all over the world, including Professor Carl Heinrich Becker, Ovid Decroly,

Harold Rugg, Maria Montessori, J J Van der Leeuw,²⁰ Profesor Ulich, William F Russell, Norman Angell, Pierre Bovet, E Salter Davies, Jean Piaget, Arthur Lismer²¹ and Carlton Washburne.²²

There was also a strong contingent from Germany to the conference; this would be the last time a large German group attended any Fellowship conferences in the 1930s. From Germany, there were 80 delegates headed by Professor Carl Heinrich Becker,²³ the distinguished Professor of Oriental History and Philology, author of many texts on oriental and educational studies²⁴, former Prussian Secretary of State (1921-1925) and Minister of Science, Art and Education (1925 to January 1930). Becker resigned as Minister in 1930 and took up a professorship at Berlin University. Becker was a member of the international committee (mainly comprising NEF members) sent by the League of Nations to study Chinese education in 1931/2²⁵ – their final report caused considerable controversy in the United States.²⁶ Becker died shortly after the 1932 conference on February 10, 1933 in Berlin, a month after the twelve years of coalition multi-party democracy that characterised the Weimar Republic came to a relatively abrupt end with the ascendancy of the Nazi Party.²⁷

There had been an 80 strong German delegation at the Nice conference whose new education values, beliefs in pedagogical reforms, and strong social consciences had quickly brought many of them into conflict with the Nazi Regime less than a year after the conference, frequently with serious and sometimes fatal consequences.²⁸ Education in Germany, from kindergarten to university level, from 1933 had become an ideological tool for Nazi social, economic and military goals. The Fellowship conferences that followed for the rest of the 1930s included considerable critique of fascist and totalitarian regimes and many speakers warned of the possible consequences of the worsening international situation (whilst also seeking to suggest educational and political solutions for its resolution).

In 1936, the focus of the last world conference in the interwar period had moved considerably from Nice's fairly reserved emphasis on the preservation of peace in 1932 to a more emphatic collective view that war must not occur. The conference was held in Cheltenham (South West England) and had the theme, 'The Freedom We

Seek'. At this conference there were approximately 1,400 attendees with about half the members from Britain, and the balance from the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, Eastern Europe, plus contingents from Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland. The biggest shortfall in delegates came from Germany and Austria with only 21 compared to 300 at Locarno from those countries.²⁹ Boyd and Rawson (1965, p. 106) explained those low numbers:

Special invitations had been sent to the Governments of Russia, Germany and Italy, assuring them of the desire of the Fellowship to hear their views on the subject under discussion. Russia regretted that, owing to changes in the school examinations, all educational workers must remain at their posts. The German ambassador explained that great pressure of work in connection with the Olympic Games prevented their officials coming. Italy made no reply.

The 'subject under discussion' at the conference was freedom for individuals and free communities – these forms of 'freedom' were obviously not palatable topics for the fascist and communist regimes.

The 1936 Cheltenham conference proved to be the last world conference before the start of World War Two.³⁰ The Eighth World Conference was planned for Paris, France in 1939 and it was to be supported by the French Minister of Education and the Rector of Paris University, and chaired by Professor Langevin (who also chaired the 1932 world conference in Nice). The proposed theme was 'Teachers and the Realisation of the Democratic Ideal', but in August 1939 the conference was adjourned as world conflict became almost a certainty (on 1 September 1939 Germany invaded Poland).³¹

5) Other Activities

Besides supporting national sections and groups, publishing journals and organising conferences the NEF also carried out a number of activities. The NEF acted as a clearinghouse for progressive material. There was a Bureau of Information unit that provided information for teachers and parents worldwide. The NEF published its own pamphlets, handbooks, monographs and other texts on a range of topics as well as holding a central library that national sections and groups could borrow from. The

NEF also distributed a regular *News and Notes* newsletter that included NEF news as well as reports from the various sections and groups around the globe. The NEF also collated and published proceedings from their conferences, and many of these were large volumes containing whole papers, extract and summaries as well as lists of attendees and appendices.

In addition, the NEF established a number of research commissions. While these were ‘greatly handicapped by lack of funds and the consequent necessity of relying solely on voluntary work’, they did heighten debate on key educational areas and produce substantive reports.³² There were commissions, for example, on leisure, teacher training, psychology and education, and examinations. The commission on examinations is perhaps the most well known of these. The International Commission on Examinations of the New Education Fellowship was set up at the NEF’s Fourth World Conference in Locarno in 1927 and reported back at both the Fifth World Conference in Elsinore in 1929 and the Sixth World Conference in Nice in 1932. Its final report was published in time for the Seventh World Conference in Cheltenham in 1936. This report, *The Examination Tangle and the Way Out* included an Introduction by Carson Ryan and Laurin Zilliacus and was a fundamental critique of external examinations and testing. The final report, edited by Wyatt Rawson, ultimately recommended the move to internal forms of assessment and rigorous cumulative record-keeping.³³ This critique and solution was a strong theme two years later at the NEF Conference 1937 in New Zealand.

The NEF also had ‘a profound influence on the creation of UNESCO ... [being] described as “the mid-wife at the birth of UNESCO”’.³⁴ The NEF was granted consultative status with UNESCO (and later, was a recognised Non-Governmental Organisation) and by the 1950s, in nearly every country members of the NEF were on UNESCO’s National Commissions.³⁵ Dr Beeby, for example, had a long relationship with UNESCO, being its assistant director-general for 1948/9 and in that office demonstrating a sympathetic ear for NEF concerns. During his term he managed to get approved a significant sum of monies for an NEF research project and with the support of one of his staff members (presumably a theosophist), the NEF application, management and reporting of the project was tailored to meet the politics and requirements of that organisation.³⁶

Notes

¹ In 1932, the NEF held a house-warming at their new house at 29 Tavistock Square, London and a report on the event noted that the house was also shared by the Nursery School Association, the Home and School Council, the Froebel Society, and *The New Era*. Over three days, 450 attendees visited including Sir Percy Nunn (then Director of the Institute of Education, London University and one of three Permanent Vice-Presidents of the world conferences of the NEF), E Salter Davies (then, President of the English NEF), Susan Isaacs (later she was Chairman of the English Section of the NEF when Fred Clarke was President), four members of the Board of Education (including Sir Henry Richards, Chief Inspector), nine Directors of Education, five Professors (including Cyril Burt), four staff of Training Colleges (including Professor Hamley and Miss de Lissa), a large number of representatives from other organisations (including Edmond Holmes of the New Ideals in Education group), a selection of headmasters and headmistresses (including T F Coad from Bryanston, W B Curry from Dartington Hall, F C Happold from Bishop Wordsworth, L Harris from St Christopher, Isabel King from Greater Felcourt, A S Neill from Summerhill, P Roberts from Frensham Heights, and Cyril Norwood from Harrow), as well as other distinguished guests; WEF|A|1|25.

² NEF Publicity Photographs; WEF|A|1|42.

³ The chapter on the NEF by Sue Middleton (2014) analyses, through the theoretical lens of Henri Lefebvre, the correspondence between the NEF International Secretary (Claire Soper) and New Zealand and other NEF members overseas. Middleton highlights, as I do in this chapter and throughout this thesis, the critical importance of Soper to the NEF and her place in the ‘everyday life’ of the organisation.

⁴ Letter from Claire Soper to C. C. McShane dated 10 June 1940; WEF|A|II|61.

⁵ Letter from Claire Soper to C. C. McShane dated 17 October 1940; WEF|A|II|61.

⁶ Hemmings, J., & Soper, C. (1952). *The New Education Fellowship*. London: NEF; p. 4.

⁷ Ibid.; p. 5.

⁸ Source: WEF Archives.

⁹ Campbell (1938), p. 489.

¹⁰ Cover pages of some of the issues of *Pour l’Ere Nouvelle* can be found on the website dedicated to ‘Histoire du mouvement de l’Education nouvelle en France 1899-1939’ (<http://hmenf.free.fr/>)

¹¹ Cover pages of some of the issues of *Pour l’Ere Nouvelle* can be found on the website dedicated to ‘Histoire du mouvement de l’Education nouvelle en France 1899-1939’ (<http://hmenf.free.fr/>)

¹² Letter from Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education for New Zealand dated 6 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹³ See Kevin Brehony’s article for a comprehensive evaluation of the role and impact of NEF conferences on the international scene: Brehony, K. (2004). A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education 1921–1938. *Paedagogica Historica*, 40, 5 & 6, 733-755.

¹⁴ Letter from Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education for New Zealand dated 6 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Attendance figures at NEF world conferences from 1921 to 1936 are sourced from Brehony (2004) due to their completeness and presumed historical hindsight. However, those figures do not have sources. Boyd and Rawson (1965) provide attendance figures for some of the conferences (and vary in places from Brehony) but their figures are also not sourced.

¹⁷ See Boyd and Rawson (1965), pp. 77-78.

¹⁸ Ibid., Chapters Five and Six.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 93.

²⁰ J J Van der Leeuw was an ardent theosophist, ex-principal of King Arthur's School in Sydney and long-time NEF member who died tragically while flying his own plane on the return journey to Europe after the conference.

²¹ McLeish (1956, pp. 157-158) described Arthur Lismer's views on the other speakers: 'Maria Montessori was there from Italy, lecturing on the Montessori method – Lismer was disconcerted to find her holding forth somewhat in the grand manner of the superannuated *diva*, and incredibly enough favourable to the fascist regime; Helen Parkhurst and William Moodie were present from Britain, the one famous as the originator of the Dalton Plan, the other the noted medical director of the London Child Guidance Clinic; so also were Norman Angell and Salter Davies; the controversial Harold Rugg, Carleton Washburne, and Edward Lindeman were among the Americans; Pierre Bovet and Jean Piaget from Switzerland; Paul Langevin and Henri Bonnet from France; Robert Ulich and Martha Muchow from Germany; and Maria Te Water from South Africa'.

²² See Boyd and Rawson (1965), Chapters Five and Six.

²³ Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) was an NEF member and a liberal humanist educator who supported comprehensive education, schooling for citizenship (including the democratisation of the student body) and university reform (including the development of the social sciences, especially sociology, political science and history). He was also a renowned and widely published Orientalist 'who is remembered as one of the founders of modern Islamic Studies in Germany and ... as Prussian Minister of Culture and Education he supported the study of foreign languages, histories and culture as a part of national education and as a means to avoid conflict'; Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; www.eume-berlin.de.

²⁴ For example, Teachers College, Columbia University published his *Secondary Education and Teacher Training in Germany* in 1931 ('Our German nationalism of to-day has a duplex character, part positive and part negative. And our new education system partakes of this dualism' (p. 12)) and the Institute of Education, University of London published his *Educational Problems in the Far and Near East* in 1933.

²⁵ Becker, Langevin, Richard Tawney (London School of Economics and Political Science and longstanding NEF member), Marian Falski (Director of the Primary Education Department, Ministry of Education, Warsaw, Poland) and Henri Bonnet were sent on an extended educational mission to China (Nov. 1931 to Feb. 1932) organised by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) of which Bonnet was the Director (Kuß, 2004). The IIIC was the permanent body (located in

Paris and partly subsidised by the French government) of the League of Nation's Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

²⁶ Their report, *The Reorganisation of Education in China* (authored by Becker, Falski, Langevin & Tawney, and published in Paris in 1932 by the League of Nations' International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation), was controversial. As Pepper (1996) explains, 'The report was straightforward in its criticism of Chinese students educated at Columbia University's Teachers College and their enthusiastic efforts in the 1920s to emulate the American model ... It defined China's modern schools as "independent organisms modelled on the forms and ideology of private education instead of being included in an organized system of public education" ... the authors blamed this weakness on China's lack of public spirit and social organization' (pp. 37-38).

²⁷ See Boyd and Rawson (1965), Chapters Five and Six.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Brehony (2004) concluded of the NEF Conferences:

'Throughout this period, the NEF provided members of the academy with an audience and an extensive international network. In turn, this enabled those of them with the requisite habitus to transcend their national boundaries and participate in the newly emerging international field of education and thereby gain social and cultural capital. These networks ... were a key component in the social movement that was the NEF. When to these networks was added money from Carnegie and Rockefeller, the NEF was able to provide the means for the international spread of the New Education and the further enhancement of its key figures and their institutions.

Concretely, the international conferences also raised issues in the public sphere such as methods and examinations not normally associated with political debate on education. The power of its leaders depended on their ability to mobilize agents and institutions outside the field but at the same time the NEF created a context in which the importance of the field was increasingly recognized by states and politicians. In addition, it promoted a discourse favourable to research and experiment in education, the immediate beneficiaries of which were psychologists and the mental testers but, in the longer term, all educational researchers probably benefited.' (pp. 754-755).

³¹ Boyd and Rawson (1965), p. 112.

³² Letter from Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education for New Zealand dated 6 September 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

³³ Rawson, W. (ed.) (1935). *The examination tangle and the way out. Report of the International Commission on Examinations of the New Education Fellowship*. London: NEF.

³⁴ Beatrice Ensor's Wikipedia page; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatrice_Ensor.

³⁵ Hemmings, J., & Soper, C. (1952). *The New Education Fellowship*. London: NEF; p. 9.

³⁶ See, for example, two letters from P W Martin to Claire Soper:

- 1) dated 4 July 1949, where he discussed Beeby's role in gaining a large grant 'that Beeby had managed to put through for you after our lovely talk earlier in the year'; and,
- 2) dated 20 January 1950 (marked Private and Confidential) where Martin talked of: meeting Peggy Volkov (then co-editor of *The New Era*), helping Claire

Soper to 'polish' her report of the project, putting aside further money for her ('for your private ear ... In the "budding off" process I think you have struck gold'), and mentioned looking out for Krishnamurti.

Appendix 5

Examples of New Education Material in *Theosophy in New Zealand (TiNZ)*

The Theosophical Society in New Zealand during the interwar years not only set up an experimental progressive school and established an early official NEF group of educators, but it also disseminated progressive information locally and nationally through their networks, including the *Theosophy in New Zealand (TiNZ)* magazine. The *TiNZ* magazine was a particularly powerful vehicle for sharing both local and international material on new education and it often included extracts from experts and magazines from around the world. This Appendix includes examples of local and international material from *TiNZ* that illustrates this point.

1) Local New Education Material in *TiNZ*

In the February 1917 issue of *TiNZ* it was noted that at the New Zealand Annual Convention the educationists had discussed the Montessori system. The teacher Sydney Butler (who was to become Vasanta College's first principal) described his use of Montessori methods of teaching and also that he was using gifts of pictures from English Art Galleries to help his pupils become familiar with great works of art.¹

In the May 1922 issue of *TiNZ* there was a report of a meeting held on 21 March at the Auckland Lodge where Mr E N Fernyhough (the then Principal of Vasanta College) appealed to members to assist with the building of an Arts and Crafts Room at the College. Fernyhough argued:

We wish to follow Dr. Armstrong-Smith's methods, which have been so successful at Arundale in England.² He based his scheme on the principle that beautiful colours and beautiful sounds lead to beautiful thoughts and feelings. Unfortunately at the moment we are not in a

position to give our children of the best in music; but we should like, as soon as we possibly can, to install a gramophone provided with records of the finest instrumental music that the world knows. It has been Dr. Armstrong-Smith's experience that the children demand the best. They want Wagner, Beethoven and the great masters of music. They will not tolerate anything inferior.

... With regard to colours, we have now a Common-room for the children but it is not yet fitted up as it should be. We want that Common-room to be a thing of beauty both in colour and design. Of course, it would be more or less easy to create for the children a room that would be beautiful; but it would not be appreciated by them as much as if they took a share in making it beautiful. With that in view we propose that the children shall co-operate with us in the design, and as far as possible carry out their own scheme. They have already chosen a colour scheme of blue and gold ...

Beautiful grounds we already have, and although the grounds at Arundale school are more extensive – they comprise, I think, 20 to 24 acres – they are not so delightful. We certainly have beauty there, but not yet in the Common-room or the Class-rooms. We have the promise of some help towards achieving our aims, and I am sure the children will be very grateful for any further assistance.³

In the July 1922 issue of *TiNZ* it was reported that the Vasanta College had a roll of 58 pupils (31 boys and 27 girls) but only eleven boarders. It continued that the school was going well although there had been some issues with the cooking classes not following the vegetarian principles of the school:

A weekly meeting of the upper school and staff has been instituted to talk over together details of work and administration. The children of Standards V and VI visit the Technical Schools for weekly lessons, and it was found that the Cookery classes for girls were rather unpleasantly

concentrated on meat dishes. Mrs. Fernyhough interviewed the Instructress, who very kindly undertook to bear in mind the vegetarian principles on which our School is managed, and the children's dislike for meat and its smells.⁴

In the December 1932 issue of *TiNZ* there was the republication of an article in *The American Messenger* on the progressive teaching approaches at the Vasanta Garden School by L W Rogers. Rogers was a well-known trade unionist and political activist who became President of the American Theosophical Society (1920-1931) and while in that role he travelled extensively including a visit to New Zealand.⁵

One of the most interesting things seen in New Zealand was the Vasanta School in Auckland ... Those who knew the School of the Open Gate at Hollywood will understand the unusual freedom enjoyed by the pupils. There is no apparent discipline at all, yet these children are getting on with the business in hand and at the same time enjoying the work. In the room I first entered at the end of a recess period, a girl about ten years old took up the morning paper and read to the others a news item to the effect that New Zealand had purchased a large invoice of wheat from Australia. Immediately a boy asked why, since New Zealand grew excellent wheat. Others joined in the discussion – the eldest about twelve – and it was brought out that some parts of New Zealand excelled in wheat growing. The girl reader was asked for the reason – what characteristics of soil or climate accounted for it. It quickly became evident that these children possessed much knowledge about the affairs of daily life ...

Following this the teacher whispered to me that she did not know what was coming next, because this was a period wholly in charge of the children. But things moved along smoothly. Without the loss of a moment and with perfect composure a girl of twelve arose with two paper bags in her hand and began a talk about Angora rabbits. She opened two of them, and spoke about their care and their habits. The paper bags contained samples of two grades of their wool. These were

passed from desk to desk for examination while she talked on about the various ways in which the wool was used and how often it should be clipped for the best results ...

In the midst of public schools where the minds of children are overloaded with useless information, where the unreasonably long lessons in the books compel 'home work' for hours after the child should be in bed, where bright and dull pupils are crowded into the same classes, where they spend the long tedious hours with no opportunity for natural, spontaneous expression, where the outrage of corporal punishment still lingers – in the desert of this obsolete and utterly stupid system of education the Vasanta School is an oasis of commonsense, love and progress that is worthy a place in the annals of the times.⁶

2) International New Education Material in *TiNZ*

These brief examples of *international* material from *TiNZ* will illustrate how closely linked theosophists were with new education ideals, practices and personalities. In the September 1916 issue of *TiNZ* an overseas correspondent ('Agnes F. R.' from Inkpen) retells an address on American primary education. She wrote that,

Old ideas of what was right and proper in a pupil, do not fit with modern ideas at all. They certainly do not fit with Theosophical ideas. Years ago, and alas in some places to-day, the good child sat still, in as receptive an attitude as could be induced, and tried hard to accept and retain what the teacher had to give; — that is, the good child under the good and conscientious teacher. A passive child was 'a nicely behaved child' ...

Modern educationists will have nothing to do with that good child. They want the live, natural child, full of curiosity and questions. They want to catch his natural interests and begin his schooling there, studying him all the time, filling his needs and leading him to desire to know and to do, till no one can stop him.⁷

In the October 1916 issue of *TiNZ* were some quotes from an article by a headmaster from Sheffield from the June 1916 *Worlds' Work* magazine about the advantages of open air teaching. He wrote that, 'The tyranny of the class-room and the desk will have to go. There must be less crowding of children into hot, ill-ventilated classrooms, less sitting by the hour at ill-fitting desks ... Drawing, chemistry, singing, sound waves and echoes are other subjects that can well be taught in the open air'. The *TiNZ* commented that such advice must be used 'when we design our first Theosophical School'.⁸

In the March 1917 issue of *TiNZ* there were excerpts from A S Neill's, *A Dominie's Log*: 'I have been thinking about discipline overnight. I have seen a headmaster who insisted upon what he called perfect discipline. His bairns sat still all day. A move-ment foreshadowed the strap. Every child jumped up at the word of command. He had a very quiet life ... The only discipline that I ask for usually is the discipline that interest draws ... I do not like strict discipline, for I believe that a child should have as much freedom as possible ... It is self-discipline that I believe in'.⁹

In the July 1920 issue of *TiNZ* there were a number of reports from the 1918 English Conference on New Ideals in Education. Extracts were included from the following speakers: Miss L De Lissa, Mr O'Neill, J W Wells, Edmond Holmes, and Miss E P Hughes. Also, there were some interesting comments about the *New Era* journal in the year before it became the official NEF organ:

Education for the New Era improves with every issue. The April number contains two especially valuable articles, one giving details of the work of an out-door class attached to Rhyl Street L.C.C. School, St. Pancras, the other treating with successful experiments in transferring the government of schools to the children themselves. All who are interested in New Ideals in Education should subscribe to this quarterly. The cost is only 4/6 per annum, post free, from the publishing office, 11 Tavistock Square, London.¹⁰

In the November 1920 issue of *TiNZ* there was some further information on A S Neill, including his latest book (*A Dominie in Doubt*), his co-editorship with Beatrice Ensor of *Education for the New Era*, and some further views of his on discipline and freedom. The article finished with a quote from A S Neill concerning theosophy and reincarnation: ‘Is there such a thing as Re-incarnation? I wonder ... I think my Theosophist would argue that the charitable person is growing in grace, thereby rising above his previous lives. It may be, and I hope it is so, for then life would have a meaning’.¹¹

The final international example comes from the July 1922 issue of *TiNZ* where there were two articles on the conference of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education (in the United Kingdom). The first discussed Brackenhill Theosophical Home School (Letchworth, England) that was set up by Ensor and the Theosophical Educational Trust and the principal was Mrs Hawliczek. The article describes how freedom was ‘taught’ to the children who came from ‘the poorer classes’ and ‘bad homes’. The second was a series of extracts from the conference addresses on self-government in schools. For instance, Mr L Van der Straeten from Arundale School, Letchworth outlined how Arundale had a Parliament called ‘The Moot’ where seven or eight boys and girls have formed a Council with one of the elder girls in the chair. Ensor observed that, ‘Wherever self-government has been tried it has led to a change in the relationship between the staff and the pupils ... We have to grant the child equality of thought, of power of thinking, of making up his own mind’.¹²

Notes

¹ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com>

² Dr. Armstrong Smith was the first principal of the Garden City Theosophical School at Letchworth and he published a book on his teaching philosophy titled: Smith, A. (1918/19?). *Some ideals in co-education and an attempt to carry them out*. London: The Theosophical Publishing House.

³ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/school-teacher-articles.html>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/visitors-articles.html>

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Source: <http://vasantagardenschool.weebly.com/inspired-articles.html>

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

Appendix 6

Professor Richard Lawson's Experimental Schooling Initiatives, 1937 to 1939

Professor Richard Lawson was a prime example of a dedicated progressive educator who, as a Professor of Education at the University of Otago, used his influence and knowledge to further new education in his local region and nationally. Developing his progressive ideas under the umbrella of Frank Tate and John Smyth while lecturing at the Melbourne Training College, Lawson, during the interwar years in New Zealand, set about championing new education ideas at the University, within the local community, in national forums such as the Lawson Committee which he chaired in the 1920s, and to visiting educators, such as his whole-hearted support in 1931 to a visitor from CCNY for the establishment of a progressive national research institute (that eventually led to the creation of NZCER). Lawson was also heavily involved in the organisation of the NEF Conference 1937,

Following the progressive fervour generated by the Conference in 1937, Dunedin educationists, like other educationists around the country, quickly formed a group of the NEF and elected Lawson as its president. This NEF group promptly embarked on a campaign to establish an experimental school and to carry out a series of experiments in schools in Dunedin.

This newly-formed Dunedin NEF group set up a sub-committee on 11 October 1937 comprising Dr Lawson, Mr Hanna and Mr Bridgman to make recommendations on the setting up in Dunedin of an experimental school, 'in order to transmute N.E.F. ideals into a permanent institution'.¹ Their recommendations were to establish a school unlike any other in the State public system at the time:

- 1) That an effort should be made to establish in Dunedin an experimental school conducted on New Education Fellowship principles.

- 2) That such a school should be closely related to the social and economic conditions of the community.
- 3) That it should make adequate provision for educating individual pupils according to their special needs and capacities.
- 4) That the principal of such a school should have a free hand with regard to curriculum.
- 5) That it is desirable that an entirely new school should be established for this purpose.
- 6) That co-education should be one of its aims.
- 7) That it should consist of not more than 250 pupils.
- 8) That it should make provision ultimately for pupils of all ages, from infant to secondary departments.
- 9) That it should have a staff of ten teachers, and in addition one or two special teachers for Arts and Crafts.
- 10) That it should make a beginning with about 100 pupils, and should in the meantime take no pupils beyond Standard IV stage.
- 11) That this general scheme should be submitted as early as possible to the Minister of Education.²

In late October 1937, Lawson wrote to the Director of Education (Lambourne) advising him that, 'We think we could successfully establish an experimental school if you favoured it' and that he understood that the Otago Education Board would be willing to support the idea. Lawson was in Wellington at the time for a meeting of the Academic Board of the University of New Zealand and indicated to Lambourne that he would be happy to meet with him to discuss the proposal.³ The proposal had gained wide-spread support from many of the key players in the region and Lawson, towards the end October, presented the proposal at the Academic Board when the Director of Education was in attendance.⁴ Lawson suggested to the Director in the meeting that Pine Hill School might be a suitable site and the Director mentioned Tainui School in South Dunedin. Lawson wrote to Beeby that the Director 'did not reject the scheme' at the time.⁵ Lawson then decided to communicate further with the Director about the possibility of using Tainui School. He noted approvingly that the school had 3½ acres of land, room for more buildings, an adjacent park, 120 pupils, a

stable school population who were well settled, and he suggested that it was anticipated that the existing school parents, 'would be glad of the opportunity to send their children there'.⁶

Lawson was very enthusiastic about the idea of an experimental school in New Zealand and he argued to the Director that there was 'real interest' in the project, and he reflected that, 'If the enthusiasm aroused by the N.E.F. evaporates without leaving any practical result, it will be a distinct loss'.⁷ Along similar lines, he also wrote to Beeby adding that, 'it would be a pity to let the temperature of the N.E.F. visit sink down to zero'.⁸ He attempted to enlist Beeby and NZCER's assistance to help with the project and to lobby the Director and others. Lawson concluded that:

I do not think there is anywhere in the Empire such a school as we have in view. Teachers could visit it regularly – to see the government, administration [?] curricula, methods, grounds ... I believe we could get a staff that would make a live school, and one that might gain both credit and renown for N.Z.⁹

Beeby quickly responded that it would 'fill a serious gap in New Zealand's education system' and wished to discuss the proposal further with Lawson soon after in mid-November 1937.¹⁰

However, despite nearly two decades of progressive rhetoric, the Department of Education was more cautious about the proposal. In mid-November 1937, McIlraith (the normally progressive Chief Inspector of Primary Schools who was heavily involved in the NEF Conference 1937 and was a member of the Syllabus Revision Committee with Lawson) replied to Lawson's letters on behalf of the Director. McIlraith wrote that the proposal to set up an experimental 'special' school at Tainui was problematic. One issue was that the future of the Port Chalmers special school could be compromised and another related to the projected staffing levels. The proposed experimental school of 250 pupils would normally attract a staffing of one headmaster and five assistants and it would be unlikely that the suggested staffing of twelve would be approved. However, McIlraith advised that Mr A F McMurtrie (Staff

Inspector of Schools) would be in Dunedin in late November and would be able to discuss the proposal with him.¹¹

Instead, McIlraith provided Lawson with nearly two pages of suggestions for possible experimentations in one or more schools that might wish to work individually or collaboratively. Clearly, while separate experimental schools were not going to be supported by the Department, a broad range of progressive experiments were being encouraged (though not necessarily heavily funded). McIlraith's suggestions, as Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, are worth reproducing as they are surprisingly progressive and broad-ranging and mirror many of the discussions canvassed in the NEF Conference 1937:

- Experimentation to discover a type of school organisation and management that will free the child from undue domination by the teacher, giving him more liberty to develop along his own particular lines and rendering him a more active factor in his own education.
- Experimentation to ascertain whether classification of pupils according to mental age and their instruction in homogeneous mental age groups is more advantageous to the pupils than the present method of classification.
- The development of a school organisation that stress the physical aspect of education. Why should physical education receive only fifteen minutes a day, always at the same time of day? Why should children at varying stages be treated more or less alike in this respect? ...
- The syllabus offers considerable scope for investigation and experimentation.
 - a) Arithmetic – the scope of the subject for primary school pupils; its content; the adaptation of the subject to real situations; the development of practical methods ensuring the active participation of the child ... This subject occupies one-sixth of the child's school time. Does its value in post-school years warrant a position of such importance?

- b) The position of grammar in the schools ...
 - c) Geography – the development of content and method that would meet the social needs of the child ...
 - d) History might receive somewhat similar treatment: today is the most important day, and history, therefore, should concentrate on showing how the life of today, political, social, etc., has come into being.
 - e) The featuring of Art and Crafts, Dramatic work and Music, so that at least one-third of the school day becomes at one and the same time a delightful entertainment and a fine means of developing aptitudes and interests ...
 - f) A critical inquiry into the educational value of each and every subject of the curriculum and into the best means of relating the teaching in each subject to the outside world ...
 - g) Various methods of grouping pupils in different subjects.
- The best method of dealing with backward and problem children.¹²

Lawson, not yet giving up hope of founding a separate experimental school, responded positively to the Director of Education (Lambourne), noting that he ‘was very glad to get your letter to-day, with its many fine suggestions for possible lines of action and the proposed experimental school’.¹³ The next day Lawson wrote to McMurtrie to arrange a meeting between him and members of the NEF group when he visited Dunedin later in the November. Lawson added that he looked forward to talking with him about McIlraith’s suggestions and that they ‘would alone provide material for such a school’; despite the fact that McIlraith had provided these suggestions as an *alternative* to the setting up of an experimental school.¹⁴ McMurtrie responded, perhaps subtly clarifying this point by stating that he would be pleased ‘to discuss the matters connected with experimentation in schools’.¹⁵

McMurtrie met with Lawson (and possibly other NEF group members) in late November. Lawson wrote to the Director of Education (Lambourne) advising that the day after that meeting he convened a meeting of the NEF group with around seventy members in attendance to discuss progressive experiments in schools. At the meeting

a committee was formed to organise a conference of local headmasters and around sixty headmasters subsequently attended to hear about the types of experiments being proposed; and at a follow-up meeting held on December 10, the headmasters agreed to a programme of experiments. Lawson declared to Lambourne that,

The meeting, like the previous ones, was one of very great interest to all present, and there was a general feeling that a new and valuable movement had been inaugurated ... We realise, of course, that all this work comes under your purview, but the N.E.F. hopes to continue participation and to foster the movement in every way. We are hopeful that the teachers will be given every facility to putting their results on permanent record.¹⁶

On the same day that Lawson wrote to the Director, he also wrote to McIlraith. By now, there does not appear to be any further correspondence around the founding of an experimental school. Instead, Lawson provided McIlraith with the Dunedin NEF group's proposed programme of experimental work to be carried out in local schools and he reassured McIlraith that all of his suggested topics had been included. Lawson advised McIlraith that, 'there is real interest here and much good should result from this movement'.¹⁷

The Outline of Proposed Experiments that Lawson provided McIlraith, demonstrated just how much enthusiasm the Conference had generated for progressive endeavours and the plan, previously approved by sixty local headmasters, involved the staff of at least twenty different schools in the Dunedin area. The following list is an abbreviated summary of the experiments, including the schools involved, the co-ordinating staff members and the nature of the experiments:¹⁸

- 1) *Mosgiel District High School* – Mr Kaye – An extension of the present Dalton Plan to include Standard 4, and Forms I and II;
- 2) *Mornington* – Mr McKenzie and Mr G C Brookes – an experiment in grouping with 2 Groups (control and experiment);

- 3) *George Street* – Mr Arnold – The treatment of backward and problem children;
- 4) *Tainui* – Mr McMullin – an experiment to discover a type of organisation that will free the child from undue domination by the teacher, giving freedom for the development of special interests;
- 5) *Kensington* – Mr Hanna – An experiment in classification into age and attainment groups, further grouped into ‘streams’ of ability;
- 6) *Andersons Bay and High Street* – Mr Forrester and Mr Gilling – An experiment in the development of School Clubs;
- 7) *St Clair* – Mr Colquhoun – an experiment in the development of Arts and Crafts, Dramatic work, and Music;
- 8) *King Edward Technical College* – Mr Aldridge – an experiment in the development of Arts and Crafts, Dramatic work, and Music;
- 9) *Port Chalmers* – Mr Forsyth – An experiment stressing the physical aspect of education;
- 10) *Macandrew Road* – Mr Davidson – An experiment in the teaching of history with reference to the educational value of the subject and its adaption to the social needs of the school;
- 11) *Pine Hill* – Mr Notman – A similar experiment to (10) in Geography;
- 12) *Caversham* – Mr Burns – A similar experiment to (10) in Arithmetic;
- 13) *Kaikorai* – Mr Bradstock – A similar experiment to (10) in Grammar;
- 14) *Arthur Street* – Mr Ironside – an experiment in Nature Study along the project system;
- 15) *Normal* – Mr Miller and Mr Beath – An experiment in a model method of inculcating ‘Safety First’ principles;
- 16) *Maori Hill* – Mr Wilson – An experiment in oral and silent reading;
- 17) *Hindon and North East Valley* – Mr Mack and Mr Parr – An experiment in the teaching of spelling; and,
- 18) *Forbury* – Mr Steedman – an experiment in the teaching of writing.

McIlraith, almost immediately, responded to Lawson. He stated that he had read ‘with pleasure’ the proposed experimental work in Dunedin and congratulated the Fellowship on ‘getting into action so promptly’.¹⁹

By early March 1938, the experiments in Dunedin schools under the auspices of the Dunedin NEF group were, 'now in full swing'.²⁰ There were some issues to do with the additional funding required for the experiments. When the Secretary of the Dunedin NEF group, D E Murray (Otago Boy's High School) wrote to the Director asking on behalf of the schools involved for some additional funds for materials such as books, ink, newsprint, cardboard, notebooks and so on, McMurtrie (for the Director) responded that the Department had no fund from which such a grant could be made.²¹ Two weeks later, McIlraith (for the Director) wrote to Murray advising that he should 'submit through the Otago Education Board a list showing in detail the material required ... further consideration will then be given to your request for assistance'.²² So, it appeared that the experiments had secured high level support from the Department.

In March 1939, Lawson wrote to Campbell (now Director of NZCER) advising him that since the NEF conference, the Dunedin branch 'has inaugurated experiments in eighteen schools' and he wrote that they hoped to begin publishing their results soon and were going to apply for a subsidy from NZCER to enable them to do so (whether Lawson meant NZCER or the NEF trustees it's not quite clear). He added that: 'I regard these experiments as the most fruitful form of research ... [and] had four meetings to hear interim reports'. He also asked Campbell if he would like to attend a NEF meeting when he visited Dunedin next as, 'I'm sure you would find great interest in hearing a report and discussion'.²³ Campbell responded that he would be in Dunedin at the end of March and noted that he would be 'very glad if you could arrange for a meeting at which reports could be made by some of those carrying out experiments in the schools'.²⁴

Some three months later, in mid-1939, McIlraith also visited Dunedin (with the Director's knowledge)²⁵ with the purpose of evaluating the NEF experiments in schools. The confidential report that he forwarded to both Lawson and NZCER made for some sombre reading.²⁶ McIlraith stated charitably that his observations were superficial, his visit to only six schools was brief, and he noted that the head teachers were not given the time to make a 'just' review of their experiments. However, his

two page report seemed to capture fairly succinctly the success or otherwise of the schools' endeavours. Of the six schools visited, only three sets of experiments had continued on into the regular activities of the schools. At High Street School, the Club work experiments in Drama, Music and Art and Crafts had ceased due to a change in staff member, and the headmaster argued that for the programme to be successful it required a staff of permanent specialists. At Pine Hill School, the teaching of Geography by the Project Method was trialled and abandoned. While the pupils had found the work interesting the headmaster argued that the coverage of the syllabus was insufficient and that the school was also a model school for training college students and this perhaps also influenced the school's return to the previous routine. At the Normal School, an experiment in traffic control using a model crossing, model vehicles and traffic lights had been successful although it was abandoned when the supernumerary teacher 'with mechanical genius' had left the school. At Macandrew Road School, the experiment in the teaching of History to demonstrate 'a sense of continuity and development in our social institutions' was successful although it was time consuming and did not fully cover the syllabus. At St Clair School, the Club work experiments in in Music, Art and Crafts and Hobbies was continuing and the pupils had been enthusiastic. McIlraith noted that, while the participants were keen, the work was of a 'very mediocre quality' and that, 'Freedom for the pupils was apparently interpreted as implying almost total absence of guidance'. Finally, at Mosgiel District High School, the headmaster had sought to instigate the Dalton Plan but had had to modify it substantially due to the amount of written work involved. The programme involved booklets of work for groups of pupils and the school had developed a nursery garden with thousands of plants and a hot house. McIlraith observed that some of the activities indicated 'an irrational passion for the elaborate' and that 'the Headmaster was an indefatigable worker who was in danger of losing his way in the maze of detail he had evolved'.

Clearly Lawson was very enthused by the NEF Conference 1937 and these progressive experiments in schools by the NEF group in Dunedin, of which he was President, demonstrated this. It was a huge effort to set up these experiments and Lawson was very keen not to 'let the temperature of the N.E.F. visit sink down to zero'. Even the Department gave him support as the broad goals of the activities were

consistent with the progressive views it had been espousing since the 1920s. In 1939, when the experiments were evaluated by McIlraith, it had become clear that such changes to school organisation, curriculum, and teaching methods were more difficult to enact and it became clear that there were some serious issues with their design, staffing and resourcing. Campbell at NZCER does not appear to have published the results of these experiments and the progressive Chief Inspector of Schools, McIlraith, was not generally convinced of their effectiveness and may well have learned some salutary lessons from the experience for the future.

Notes

¹ Letter Lawson to Beeby dated 4 November 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

² Letter Lawson to Lambourne dated 25 October 1937, Report of Sub-Committee of Interim Committee of the New Education Fellowship (Dunedin Section); E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

³ Letter Lawson to Lambourne dated 25 October 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

⁴ Letter Lawson to Beeby dated 4 November 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Letter Lawson to Lambourne dated 4 November 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Letter Lawson to Beeby dated 4 November 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Letter Beeby to Lawson dated 8 November 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

¹¹ Letter McIlraith to Lawson dated 10 November 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Letter Lawson to Lambourne dated 12 November 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹⁴ Letter Lawson to McMurtrie dated 13 November 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹⁵ Letter McMurtrie to Lawson dated 16 November 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹⁶ Letter Lawson to Lambourne dated 13 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹⁷ Letter Lawson to McIlraith dated 13 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

¹⁸ Ibid. Attached to the letter was the document titled, 'Outline of Proposed Experiments. To be carried out under the New Education Fellowship (Dunedin Section)'.

¹⁹ Letter McIlraith to Lawson dated 16 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

²⁰ Letter Lawson to Beeby dated 5 March 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

²¹ Letter Murray to Director of Education, undated but received by the Department on 25 March 1938; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26. Letter Director of Education to Murray dated 29 March 1938; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

²² Letter McIlraith to Murray dated 14 April 1938; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

²³ Letter Lawson to Campbell dated 2 March 1939; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

²⁴ Letter Campbell to Lawson dated 22 March 1939; AAVZ, W3418, Box 25.

²⁵ Letter McQueen to McIlraith dated 22 June 1939; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

²⁶ Letter McIlraith to Lawson dated 11 July 1939; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26. Letter McIlraith to NZCER dated 11 July 1939; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

Appendix 7(a)

Norman R Jacobsen

'Heat: A Great Traveller' (192x)

Norman Jacobsen was one of New Zealand's most ardent new educators in the interwar years who in the 1920s was a progressive training college lecturer in Wellington, who in the early 1930s studied and taught overseas with leading progressive educators such as Dewey and Tagore, and who later in the 1930s had a significant impact on C E Beeby's views while at NZCER. Around the mid-1920s, his early progressive leanings were becoming evident in the way that he designed and wrote a school textbook on science education.

This second publication was a large format book titled, *Heat: A Great Traveller* and it was approximately 90 pages long (no page numbers) with over 130 illustrations (several in colour), presumably drawn by Jacobsen (as there is no mention of an illustrator on the title page).¹

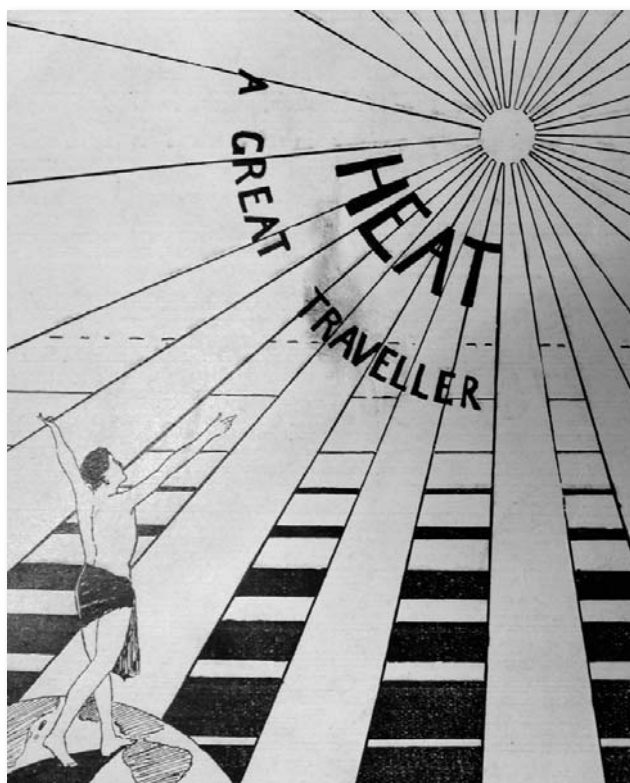


Figure A7(a)-1 Cover for Norman R Jacobsen's, *Heat: A Great Traveller*

This book was part of a Studies in Science series and was distributed by Gordon and Gotch. While the text worked through science information and included experiments relating to heat, the overall wording and pedagogical approach was more accessible for students and included New Zealand examples.



Figure A7(a)-2 Illustration 41. Maori Oven. (Preparing for a Tangi)

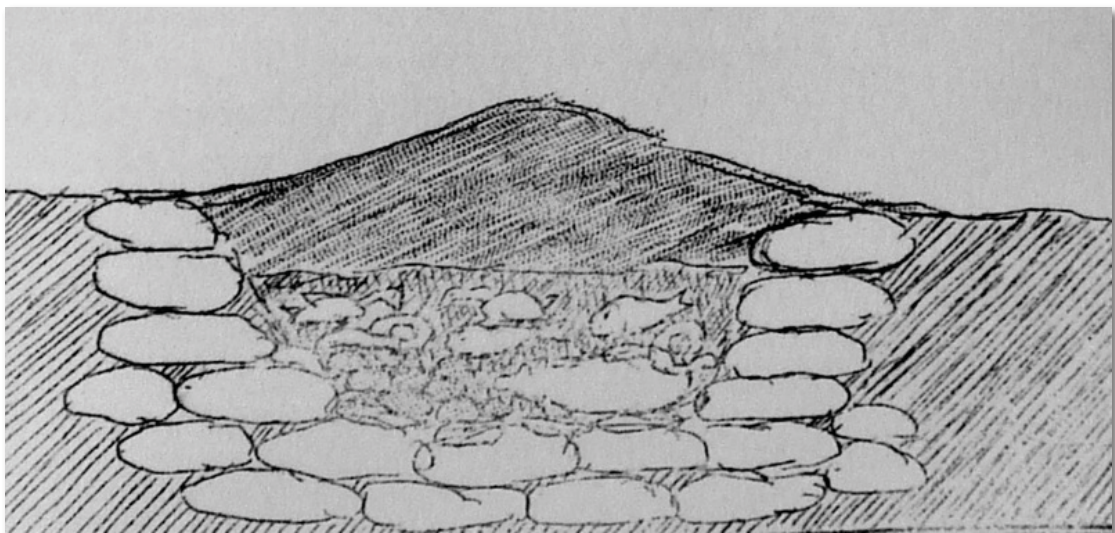


Figure A7(a)-3 Illustration 42. Section of earth oven showing how heat is held (Food cooked without fire)

What is interesting about Jacobsen's book, and which reflected his progressive views, is that science was made interesting, was personalised and contextualised, and was

written in accessible language strongly supported with illustrations. This was done without losing factual integrity. He talked to the student directly asking many questions. For example,

Heat comes to us from the sun in $8\frac{2}{3}$ minutes over a distance of 93 million miles. This sounds quite easy, but have you ever considered what a million is? The diagram is introduced to make you pause, to feel something of the magnitude of this distance. How many years would it take you ... to journey to the sun? Or, how many times round the world would the train have to travel to equal the same distance? ... And yet, a single ray of heat can traverse this distance through space without losing any of its energy.

Jacobsen also tried to capture students' imagination while still introducing scientific material, in this case the power of energy and the energy in atoms:

[Discussing a person in the illustration] His thoughts soar on the wings of imagination to the origin of the sun and the planets ... and he remembers that it sprang from a fiery nebula which was drawn out of a passing star ...

[The sun is] renewed by the clashing of the disintegrating atoms which yield an infinite supply of heat ... Note. The disintegration of the atoms in a drop of water would be sufficient to drive a heavy goods train for a year ... Just think, one drop of water!

Jacobsen did not write in the normal detached scientific prose. Instead, his writing was in a more literary style. For example,

The warm languid days [of summer] with their intense and drowsing heat, suggest an attitude of peace and inactivity – but only man is resting ... The glorious sunlight with its strength and heat is eagerly being drunk in by every tiny blade of grass – every green leaf, every struggling plant ... Not peace but activity is the keynote of this sketch – not drowsy slumber but energetic life.

Additionally, inherent in the text of the book are his progressive pedagogical approaches. Jacobsen encouraged the teacher/reader to use authentic contexts for scientific exploration and challenging problems to draw out the best in students. For example,

The previous experiment was a mere stopgap ... He impatiently awaits the real staging of his activities in a life like situation and surroundings ... The feeling of freedom engenders the scientific spirit. It is his job, and on him is placed the responsibility.

Finally, Jacobsen encouraged the teacher/reader to use the material as examples to further elicit students' experiences and for them to share their experiences (which he termed, the 'living word'); in this case of the seasons and of one's responsibility to nature:

This picture is but a sketch to support each one's different experiences ... Upon looking at this, each child reviews the common experience of the seasons and the impression is driven home more strongly when he describes it in words to his neighbour.

Here the 'living word' easily finds birth. Each child should have the occasion and the opportunity to speak of his feelings ... without being threatened with a written essay or some other artificial task.

Each sees at once the cause (the sun) and the effect (the summer) ... science connects them up and we understand. We grow more wise than knowing, we realise our debt to Nature ... and we learn our responsibility to provide for the future.

Notes

¹ Jacobsen, N. R. (192x). *Heat: A great traveller*. Wellington: Distributed by Gordon and Gotch.

Appendix 7(b)

Norman R Jacobsen

Letters to Dr C E Beeby in September 1934 Outlining his Progressive Theory

After Norman Jacobsen's overseas tour in the early 1930s – where he studied for a PhD at Teachers' College, Columbia University and had travelled to India and met the Indian independence leader Annie Besant and was appointed a professor at Rabindranath Tagore's progressive community at Santiniketan – he applied in early 1934 for the position of Executive Officer at NZCER. His application included glowing testimonials from John Dewey, Dr Learned (at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching) and Dr Walter Charles Murray (at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching).

While Dr Beeby won the position at NZCER, Jacobsen, undaunted, approached Beeby with his ideas on how progressive education should progress in New Zealand the 1930s and beyond. Before he had even officially started at NZCER in 1934, Beeby had already received three letters from Norman Jacobsen and this was to be the start of an extended correspondence between the two educationists. Given Beeby's primarily psychological background at the time, it would not be surprising to assume that he may well have been significantly influenced by Jacobsen's progressive ideals and sheer enthusiasm for how new education could and should look in practice. For that reason, some of his key ideas are outlined in this Appendix.

In mid-September 1934, in response to a letter from Beeby querying what he was anxious to achieve, Jacobsen advised him that he had come 'to a picture of a New Science of Education or rather the SCIENCE of the new education. I see a whole picture. I do not claim it to be the right one, but it is one that works ...'.¹ He continued that he was in a position to 'give a lead' or to work with others in the reconstruction of education and offered his services to NZCER for this purpose. Perhaps less tactfully, or honestly depending on one's point of view, Jacobsen added that, '... do

not bother about me at all, if you are merely going to repeat the already over duplicated experiments done on behalf of the old system, merely to prove it is wrong hopelessly. THAT IS SETTLED ONCE AND FOR ALL, and the cry is onwards'.² Jacobsen noted that he wished to 'get down to basic principles that work in life', that 'life is the milieu and aim of a good system', and that, 'if you are questioning everything in the old system, I am your man'.³

Jacobsen continued that he was able to help Beeby and NZCER in the following six ways:⁴

- 1) He had developed a philosophy of life and education and that he could view the whole system, 'with all its interweaving and apparent complexity, yet in reality, simplicity and close relationship to life and experience and a dynamic philosophy';
- 2) He had been working on a new system of teacher training following this philosophy and had developed methods on how to refresh more established teachers 'with the new vision and practice';
- 3) He could see 'a long way into the details of the curriculum' following the philosophy;
- 4) He could also come down to 'the child's interests and show how it was grown by the child and extended ...';
- 5) He could illustrate examples of how 'a series or career of experiences' could reflect what the traditional syllabus required, 'AND FAR MORE EFFICIENTLY EVEN WHEN MEASURED BY TRADITIONAL STANDARDS'; [Jacobsen used caps frequently in his letters]
- 6) Lastly, Jacobsen suggested that the best starting point would be, 'TO WRITE UP SOME EXAMPLES OF REAL EXPERIMENTS WHICH I HAVE CARRIED OUT SHOWING HOW AN ACTIVITY OR RATHER AN EXPERIENCE PROGRAM WORKS OUT TO HOLD THE EXISTING FACT CONTENT BUT WITH A QUALITY IN CHILD REAL EDUCATION THAT IS ENTIRELY ABSENT IN THE FORMER'.

Jacobsen's approach at Wellington Training College from 1923 to 1930 (and the pedagogical and structural problems he encountered there) in teaching and conceptualising a highly integrated approach to both curriculum and method, led him to reconsider his work and refine his ideas and approach to the point that by 1934 he was claiming with some confidence that he now had much to offer the educational community. Jacobsen claimed he had shown small examples of his work to Rugg, Counts, Kilpatrick, Dewey, Tagore, Florian Znaniecki (a well-known Polish sociologist and philosopher who taught at Columbia University from 1931-1933), and Professor Katzaroff (the head of the NEF section in Bulgaria) and that they all were enthusiastic about what they saw. Jacobsen argued that his work embodied in practice the 'integrated principles' of all these new educationists, and integrated both Eastern and Western philosophy: 'THE EAST SUPPLIES THE ANSWER TO SOME OF THE WESTERN QUESTIONS AND VICE VERSA'.⁵ He also hoped that his work might be filmed some day, 'AS IT IS VERY INTERESTING/ VERY REAL EXPERIENCE/ AND VERY SPECTACULAR. NOTHING OF IT IS LIKE THE OLD WAY OR CONTENT AND YET IT INCLUDES ALL THE CONTENT SET OUT IN THE SYLLABI'.⁶

Jacobsen explained that he had 'an enormous amount of work to write up' although he advised Beeby that he was keen to start by working on smaller examples of new education in practice. His reason for this was that such small publications would 'give confidence to the authorities in the existing educational system that the children will not suffer even along the traditional standards of attainment' and he added that aspects of his work could then be adapted freely by anyone in the education system as needed, 'without requiring the sponsorship of real educationalists and waiting till we have a system in which experts necessarily come to the top and are in power'.⁷

However, Jacobsen was most keen to work with Beeby and NZCER on a 'new education' scheme of teacher training in New Zealand. Jacobsen explained that it would be an 'experience curriculum' and would include a method where old and new teachers could work together reciprocally. He suggested that the characteristics of traditional systems of education could be placed side by side with those of 'the new era of progressive schools' and this would support teachers in developing their own

philosophy of education – ‘perhaps the most needed thing for teachers today’.⁸ Jacobsen explained that his new education approach was termed ‘Solography’: solography was a pre-existing scientific term involving the use of pin hole photography to track the sun’s movement over several months where the product was ultimately one single photographic image and Jacobsen with his extensive scientific background was presumably aware of this. Perhaps, Jacobsen chose this term as an analogy of the concentration of a substantial amount of life and educational experience into a single gestalt, such as a teacher’s developing philosophy of education or perhaps the conception of a broader notion of curriculum. In any case, he described Solography as ‘BOTH A CONTENT AND A METHOD’ and added that, in his approach:

THE CURRICULUM IS AN EXPERIENCE CURRICULUM AND ALL SUBJECTS NATURALLY INTERWEAVE. There is no fundamental difference between ordinary knowledge and science and there is not HIERARCHY OF SCIENCES IN NATURE OR HISTORY OR IN LIFE.⁹

NZCER could probably have provided opportunities for Jacobsen to develop a ‘scheme’ along these lines but his suggestion to work with a class of forty teacher trainees with Mr Rae ‘at the reopened training college’ was one that moved outside of the parameters of NZCER’s research programme and would have required Education Board and Education Department approval and funding.

Jacobsen also suggested that perhaps NZCER could recommend him to CCNY for a travel grant ‘to complete my work in New York with Dr Dewey and return to place the results at the disposal of the council in N.Z.’. By ‘complete work in New York’, presumably Jacobsen meant complete his dissertation so that he could be awarded his PhD, or perhaps he was referring to finishing the conceptual work on his experientially-based educational approach. Jacobsen added that he would also like to work with Professors McCall, Ruger and Strayer to develop a set of experiments that could be undertaken that might arise out of the approach.

Jacobsen concluded the lengthy mid-September letter to Beeby by seeking employment at NZCER where he argued that he could assist ‘very effectively in WORKING OUT IN PRACTICE the science of the new practice in education ... We must have a Copernican change ...’.¹⁰ This letter was a preliminary personal note to Beeby and was a plea for him to help Jacobsen ‘shape in my own mind what I want’.¹¹ Jacobsen had provided Beeby with a range of alternative plans of action, an explanation of his progressive approach to education, and an ardent desire to be involved in educational reconstruction in New Zealand. Jacobsen asked to meet Beeby to discuss his ideas further and promised to follow the letter with another ‘in a day or two’ that he might wish to present to the Council of NZCER – he signed off, ‘I will win through and the work one day recognised’.¹²

Three days later, Jacobsen wrote to Beeby and NZCER formally with a number of specific requests supported by quotes from eminent educators. Firstly, he wished to work with NZCER in any capacity. He recounted Milner’s visit and views of him and then added a recommendation from Dewey:

I take great pleasure in recommending him warmly for the Board to Coordinate Research in New Zealand. My acquaintance with Mr Jacobsen was more than a casual one. I went in DETAIL into his educational plans and methods and records of his past work. I DO NOT KNOW OF ANYONE WHO HAS A MORE FUNDAMENTAL GRASP OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MODERN EDUCATION. Moreover, his knowledge is not simply theoretical, but he knows HOW TO CARRY THE PRINCIPLES INTO EFFECTIVE PRACTISE ...¹³

Secondly, Jacobsen stated that the commencement of ‘all educational reform in practice lies in teacher training’. He requested the opportunity to write up and carry out his ideas around a progressive teacher training programme. He restated his plan of working with a class of forty teacher trainees and training them in a new system of education, ‘in keeping with the SCIENCE of the practice of the best progressive schools’. Again, Jacobsen provided supporting comment from Dewey:

I BELIEVE THAT HE HAS DISCOVERED A METHOD BY WHICH TEACHERS CAN BE TRAINED RAPIDLY IN INTELLIGENT UNDERSTANDING AND USE OF METHODS BY WHICH THESE PRINCIPLES CAN BE APPLIED ON THE LARGE SCALE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ... IF HE IS GIVEN THE CHANCE, I HAVE NO DOUBT OF HIS COMPLETE SUCCESS.¹⁴

Thirdly, Jacobsen requested the opportunity to write up his ideas on the philosophy and practice of new educational approaches, which he termed 'Solography'. Here he defined Solography more succinctly as: 'a content and method, in which all subjects of the traditional syllabus meet in a CURRICULUM OF EXPERIENCES ...'.¹⁵ Jacobsen provided further supporting comments with regard to his knowledge and practice of progressive ideals. Hunter, in 1927, wrote that educational authorities that required, 'SOME VISION OF THE MEANING OF THE NEWER VIEW-POINTS IN EDUCATION, PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL, will find Mr Jacobsen to meet their needs'.¹⁶ Shelley, also in 1927, added that, 'HE IS CONVERSANT WITH THE LATEST AND BEST THOUGHT OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING'.¹⁷ Jacobsen then provided further supporting comment from his time in Santiniketan in 1932, from Rabindranath Tagore:

His wide pedagogical experience combined with his gifts of wide sympathetic understanding has enabled him to enter deeply into the life of our community AND TO INSPIRE US WITH A KEEN SENSE OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES WHICH WE ARE TRYING WITH HIS COLLABORATION TO APPLY IN A LIVING MANNER TO OUR DAILY WORK ... WE ARE PROFITING BY HIS STAY IN TRAINING UP OUR TEACHERS UNDER HIM IN HIS MOST REMARKABLE METHODS OF IMPARTING TO CHILDREN AN ORGANIC AND COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION.¹⁸

Fourthly, Jacobsen requested that NZCER endorse an application for a traveller's grant to the CCNY to allow him to return to Teachers' College, Columbia University. There he wished to continue to write up his research, 'IN COLLABORATION WITH

JOHN DEWEY AND WITH THE SPONSORSHIP OF KILPATRICK, RUGG, COUNTS, McCall, etc.’ And with their assistance to lay out experiments testing out different aspects of the work involved’.¹⁹ In support of this plan, it appears that Jacobsen had again approached Dr Learned of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching who recommended that he work through NZCER now (as the new agents for CCNY), and the following encouragement was provided by Dr Learned:

It would be desirable, indeed, to have you get these into print, ESPECIALLY THAT THE FULL SCOPE OF YOUR PLANS COULD BE UNDERSTOOD AND CRITICISED ... I HAVE A VERY VIVID AND FAVOURABLE IMPRESSION OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE AND INSIGHT WITH REGARD TO MANY IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF EDUCATION ... Every personal impression I have of you is favourable ... IF YOU CAN CONVINCED THEM [NZCER] AND GET THEIR SUPPORT FOR WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND, FURTHER STEPS WOULD BE QUITE SIMPLE.²⁰

Jacobsen concluded his letter by making a comment on his personal motivation for pursuing his progressive ideas:

Doing pioneer work requires a lot of courage. The work is no longer experimental. It is confirmed on all sides, and is badly wanted. Certainty of its usefulness for my people keeps me engaged at [it?] with or without commendation or assistance.²¹

Again, the problem that NZCER would have faced in mid-September 1934, before Beeby had even officially started his position and before NZCER and Beeby had negotiated a *specific* programme of research work, was how to deal with these requests. At that point, NZCER was not in a position to appoint any researchers or engage in any research before Beeby had officially taken up his appointment. It was even too early to encouraging Jacobsen to write up his ideas on ‘Solography’ or a progressive teacher training programme. His traveller’s grant request also required

more detail and structure. In sum, some of Jacobsen's requests were within the possible scope of NZCER's activities; however, his requests were unfortunately ill-timed.

Barely a week later Jacobsen had written a third letter to Beeby with two more ideas for projects that he could undertake. First, he suggested that he could write 'a new type of text books for the new education'. He recounted how he had shown a sample to the Managing Director of MacMillan Publishers in New York (Robert Brett) who later wrote to Jacobsen requesting a copy of it so that he could draw up a publishing contract. Jacobsen wrote that, 'But I was more interested in using such books whenever I got my start' and added that, 'AN ENTIRELY NEW TYPE OF TEXTBOOK IS A PREREQUISITE IN THE TRANSITIONAL STAGES FROM THE OLD TO THE NEWER EDUCATION'.²² Second, Jacobsen suggested that he could undertake a series of research projects similar to Dr Learned's in the United States, on High School (and perhaps University) education. He noted that Learned's research had found such education to be inadequate, and commented that, 'while I am really only concerned with the main need of CONSTRUCTIVE rather than destructive work, I do not know on what lines you intend to embark'.²³ Then, Jacobsen returned to his idea of a teacher training experiment and the utility for NZCER of having a large number of new educators at their disposal who would be able to 'multiple the work of your main staff of researchists many fold'.²⁴

Jacobsen wrapped up this third, September 1934, letter to Beeby with a brief and 'hurried' critique of some aspects of traditional education: 'I find that practically everything on being challenged is found wanting'. Jacobsen here posed a number of rhetorical questions and then answered some of them, giving valuable insights into his progressive views:

- *What is the real purpose of school walls?* Jacobsen responded: 1) 'A PRISON TO STOP THE CHILDREN EXTENDING OUT INTO THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AROUND BECAUSE THE TEACHERS HAVE NOT AN ALPHABET OF MEANINGS OF THE WORLD AROUND AND ARE UNNATURAL LEADERS FOR CHILDREN ALMOST IN THE SAME RELATIONS AS WARDERS IN A JAIL TO CRIMINALS'; 2) 'As an

‘efficient’ method of controlling [or] at least restricting the natural activities of the children and limiting them to the abstract and illtimes information of the teacher working out an information syllabus’; and, 3) Jacobsen, recounting his five months in India teaching outside, concluded that school walls do have their purposes, ‘as museums-meeting-conference rooms etc.’.²⁵

- *Is our grading system right?* Jacobsen’s comments here presaged the savage critiques by the speakers at the NEF Conference some three years later. He argued that the inspectors in New Zealand should have a far different purpose and place in ‘the new practice’ of education, ‘So much so that they would have to change their name?’.
- *Is the timetable suitable for children’s learning and what is the place of homework?* Jacobsen posed the first part of the question but didn’t answer it. With regards to homework, he suggested that it was ‘a curse’ and instead suggested that homework not be rigidly assigned by the teacher, ‘but grows as naturally from his activities as practice in tennis does from the participation in a game at school?’.
- *What about French and Arithmetic?* Jacobsen suggested that French should not be taught ‘by the wasteful method’ then practised in secondary schools. He also argued that much of the Arithmetic syllabus be dispensed with and ‘all should be learned by a very different method’.
- *What would ‘real’ group work look like?* Jacobsen observed that traditional group work was, ‘the artificial assembling of people together and calling them a group’. Instead, he proposed that group work should be more democratic and be revolved around ‘real group method’ and if that were done, then there would be significant advantages in terms of content and outcome.

Jacobsen concluded the letter with a fairly sombre observation. He stated that he had strong ideas concerning all of these sorts of educational matters but if appointed to a position at NZCER, he would be prepared to hold back his views until they were requested: ‘The past has shown me the danger of being at all different; but with you it may be a qualification’. Jacobsen asked for a meeting with Beeby when he was next in Wellington, and suggested that he visit his home where he would be able to see ‘tangible evidence’ of his progressive work.²⁶

Notes

¹ Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 14 September 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26; caps are in the original letter.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 17 September 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26; underlining and caps are in the original letter.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. Given that both Hunter and Shelley's testimonials are dated from 1927, it is possible that these were provided as testimonials for principal positions that Jacobsen had been applying for.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Letter Jacobsen to Beeby dated 25 September 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26; caps are in the original letter.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

Appendix 8

Charles Arthur Batt's Four Major Booklets on Progressive Education

Charles Batt was a highly successful primary teacher (and later headmaster) in the interwar years and active member of NZEI. Besides these activities, his notable contribution to progressive education in New Zealand was as the author of many popular progressive articles and booklets and as a regular speaker. He came to the attention of educators nationwide as well as gaining strong support from the Director of Education and the Department of Education. Today he is relatively unknown, and this Appendix that considers four of his major booklets provides an idea of his progressive contribution to New Zealand education.

Charles Batt wrote four major booklets on progressive education: in 1925, *The Kingdom of Cram: An Unconventional Criticism of School Aims and Practices*; in 1926, *Hands Off the Child: With a Short Account of Individual Methods in the Schoolroom*; and two in 1931: *Tabloid Talks: Concerning Health ... Physical, Mental and Moral* as well as *The New Idolatry and Other Matters*.

In 1925 he published *The Kingdom of Cram: An Unconventional Criticism of School Aims and Practices*. This booklet comprised a series of chapters that critiqued traditional aims of education and classroom practice and closely reflected the views of the delegates to the NEF Conference some twelve years later. Underlying the text was a condemnation of aims or practices that impinged on child self-autonomy and experimentation, including teacher discipline, teacher-directed learning, the importance of 'hard work', depriving children of opportunities to play, systems of passing and failure, competitive practices, external inspection, examinations, and so on.

In *The Kingdom of Cram* Batt argued that the aim of real education was often about the intangibles, not observable results:

We have inspectors of bread, of butter, of meat, and of education. They want something to cut at, something that will come off in slices, that may be weighed, chemically analysed or counted ... So we must produce the tangible. I ask any educationist who is not paid to fill in schedules for a department how any school that really educates can do this satisfactorily.¹

With regard to the nature of the relationship between the teacher and child, Batt critiqued traditional approaches to teaching that required,

... that the pupil must be quiet, that noise is an evil in any school, that rebellion against the teachers' authority is a crime, and that ready submission is a virtue. No affectionate parent would treat his child as he expects the teacher to treat him. No real home demands the submergence of the personality nor the affectations and unrealities that the school is asked to exalt. The school should not be eclipsed by the home in the interplay of individualities, in freedom of thought and expression, or in sympathetic consideration of the frailties and misdoings of its members.²

Concerning the authority of teachers, Batt argued that teachers tended to be controlling, overbearing and didn't listen to children:

Conditions have vastly improved, but too generally children are yet forced to pretend, to evade, to stimulate. They are not expected to be natural ... They are not encouraged to talk as they feel, even though that would help us to understand them. But we are not anxious to understand them, because we too ardently wish them to understand us. They do not understand us, mainly because of our attitude of authority. It is a gulf that separates ...

Then consider the unnatural conditions imposed by our school life. Away from the sunlit fields we take the children to spend the sunniest hours enclosed within our walls. They must fit the seats placed for them, study the programme devised by their elders, and either submit to the imposition of a forceful personality or yield to the unreasonable demands of a weak one.³

Batt also argued against examinations and credentialling and the relatedness of the education system to real life:

It IS educational tailoring. The pupil must put up a decent appearance for the gaze of our examiners. Civilisation has found dress necessary, and it often sacrifices wholesome food for the sake of silk ...Mental skeletons clothe themselves with the regalia of 100 per cent passes, degrees and certificates. Scholars holding proficiency certificates go out into the world, and the horny-handed toiler wonders why the young fool ... cannot find the area of a plain piece of timber ... The examination is a cloak that hides the mental nakedness.

Success is too much a matter of grind along required lines. The process narrows – and destroys. Examination passes should not be the absorbing aim of the school ... Useful interests should be created. The right attitude towards study and life's problems should be a leading consideration. Character is a more significant factor in life than an accumulation of knowledge.⁴

Instead, Batt frequently cast teachers in a moral light and asked them to challenge their practice in many areas. For example, he argued that teachers should treat children as equal moral beings, regard childhood as a distinct stage separate from adulthood, consider children's happiness and wellbeing first, not push children competitively to be high achievers if that causes them harm, and 'keep out of the children's way'. He concluded that more freedom for children was the solution to many of the school's problems:

We are dealing thus with expressive, demonstrative, emotional beings, with warm hearts and nimble feet, with busy hands and active tongues. If physical and moral damage are not to follow, the greatest possible freedom must be allowed the child ... Until this relationship [between teacher and pupil] is right, school life is an injustice that children should not be required to endure.⁵

Early in the following year, Frank Combs wrote a glowing review of *The Kingdom of Cram* that was widely published.⁶ Combs observed that the current ‘syllabus’ system of education in New Zealand where ‘the goal is rather an external proficiency estimated in terms of information over-memorised and under-digested’ caused incalculable harm and was wrong and instead he agreed with Batt who argued that ‘the duty of the school is to discover and release the true child’.⁷ The book also received positive comments from Professor Hunter, Professor Tennant, W H Gould, I L G Sutherland⁸ and others, quotes of which were used in Batt’s later publications.⁹

Batt quickly followed this booklet with a second in 1926 titled, *Hands Off the Child: With a Short Account of Individual Methods in the Schoolroom*.¹⁰ In a Preface reminiscent of the warnings of Kandel in the early 1930s and the NEF delegates in 1937, Batt started the booklet with a critique of the mob instinct and instead argued that, ‘The goal of social evolution is an individualised society and a socialised individual’. He wrote that, ‘A mob will do anything. It will cry at anything, laugh at anything, jeer at anything ... rebel, riot, destroy or kill without compunction. The mob is mad ... often dignified with the name of “community spirit”’.¹¹ Instead, Batt argued that children needed to ‘perfect themselves as individuals’ in order to become members of a society. The implication for teachers was not to treat children as a group but to focus on each as individuals by fostering their individuality, allowing them to self-motivated, and permitting children to follow their own interests. To achieve this, children needed to be ‘freed from the domination of others ... [and] must be trusted’.¹² The booklet included a detailed programme by which a teacher could achieve these goals, including how to reconceptualise the classroom curriculum, how to individualise the programme, and how to deal with specific issues such as teaching approaches, discipline, gender and manners.

Professor Gould wrote the Introduction to *Hands Off the Child*. For Batt this was important and timely as Gould was the liberally-minded Principal of Wellington Training College and had just been appointed acting-Professor of Education at Victoria University College.¹³ Gould supported the focus of the booklet and noted that educational practice was now clearly moving to individualised learning and teaching.

He regarded traditional large class teaching methods as ‘cheap, and like most cheap things, nasty’ and such ‘mechanical’ methods very out-dated.¹⁴ Gould argued that individualised methods were ‘the easiest and most natural method’ for small schools especially. He recounted that when he was an inspector he attempted to pass on such ‘sage advice’ to the teachers he visited, and fortunately for Batt, Gould had inspected him early in his teaching career.¹⁵ Gould noted that the ideas in the book had been tried by Batt at his sole charge school in Thorndon and found to be ‘both easier and more effective’. Gould concluded that he knew that Batt had been successful using this scheme and therefore was able to recommend it, adapted as necessary, to other sole charge teachers.¹⁶

In 1931, Batt published the last two of his educational booklets written while he was teaching in the Hawke’s Bay. The first was a twenty-four page booklet titled, *Tabloid Talks: Concerning Health ... Physical, Mental and Moral*.¹⁷ The booklet’s general focus was on fostering the ‘health’ of the whole child. However, it was written in a more verbose style and it reworked ideas that he had covered in his previous two booklets and talks. There was a similar discussion of discipline and the need for child freedom; there was the distinction between formal instruction and child-initiated learning; there was the notion that children will need to think for themselves in a rapidly changing society; and, there was the importance of play for children’s learning. Batt concluded the booklet by writing about the importance of creativity for children and society:

The child clamours for self-expression. It wants to create. The spirit of creation is necessary to humanity ... At present the school course is all inlet and no outlet. This makes for stagnation, especially in beings that long to create.¹⁸

Batt followed *Tabloid Talks* in 1931 with a more substantial fifty-nine page booklet titled *The New Idolatry and Other Matters*.¹⁹ Professor Gould (then full Professor of Education at Victoria University College) again wrote the Introduction and he observed that the institutions of society often arose to meet particular needs of a society but then failed to adapt to changing times due to vested interests. He

continued that education systems were no different, and that notion applied to the curriculum, the class system, corporal punishment, examinations and so on. Gould reflected that, 'Fortunately, however, we have amongst us a few bright spirits who are less complacent. They will persist in examining our idols and exposing their feet of clay'.²⁰ Batt's approach is similar to the first two booklets where he intersperses more reflective pieces with more real-life anecdotes. In the Preface to the first of two parts of the booklet, Batt argued that compulsory education, compulsory idealism and compulsory sports had largely failed in the New Zealand education system because it had not been realised that 'most things that are really worth learning cannot be taught'. He also pointed out that schools were embedded in home and community contexts and that the problem child was not 'a disease' but 'a symptom'. Finally, he warned that the 'instruction' process would not disappear easily in the forecasted reorganisation of the education system. The booklet covered similar progressive ground as previous booklets though in a more thoughtful way: the importance of flexibility in the education system; the dangers of focussing on teaching formal knowledge and setting standards rather than letting children guide their own learning; the importance of fostering individuality rather than conformity; focussing on children's active rather than passive learning; the dangers of group loyalty and mob rule; and, the difference between schooling and education. In the early 1930s, as in the 1920s, these were clearly still important areas of debate within New Zealand education.

Notes

¹ Batt, C.A. (1925). *The Kingdom of Cram: An Unconventional Criticism of School Aims and Practices*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker; To Pass or Not to Pass.

² Ibid.; The Evils of Authority.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.; Educational Tailoring.

⁵ Ibid.; The Evils of Authority.

⁶ For example, in the *Ellesmere Guardian* who also serialised the whole booklet over several issues.

⁷ *Ellesmere Guardian*, 9 March 1926, p. 5.

⁸ Also see the biography of his life written by his son: Sutherland, O. (2013). *Paikea: The life of I L G Sutherland*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.

⁹ For example, see the inside front and back covers of Batt, C. A. (1926). *Hands off the child: With a short account of individual methods in the schoolroom*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker.

¹⁰ Batt, C. A. (1926). *Hands off the child: With a short account of individual methods in the schoolroom*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker.

¹¹ Batt, C. A. (1926). *Hands off the child: With a short account of individual methods* in Ibid.; p. 1.

¹² Ibid.; pp. 1-2.

¹³ Bailey, C. L. (1946). In memoriam – Professor Gould. *Victoria College Review* [The Spike], p. 7.

¹⁴ Batt, C. A. (1926). *Hands off the child: With a short account of individual methods in the schoolroom*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker; p. 4.

¹⁵ *National Education*, 2 July 1928, p. 274.

¹⁶ Batt, C. A. (1926). *Hands off the child: With a short account of individual methods in the schoolroom*. Wellington. New Zealand Worker; p. 3.

¹⁷ Batt, C. A. (1931). *Tabloid talks: Concerning health ... physical, mental and moral*. Wellington: New Zealand Worker.

¹⁸ Ibid.; p. 23.

¹⁹ Batt, C. (1931). *The new idolatry and other matters*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs. In the copy that I viewed from the National Library of New Zealand, Batt had written the inscription: 'To Mr Combs whose sincerity and ability the author has always admired'.

²⁰ Ibid.; p. iv.

Appendix 9

A L M Perry's PhD (1938):

'An investigation of recent tendencies in secondary education in England and America, and their implications for the reorganization of secondary education in New Zealand.'

Correspondence concerning this doctoral study with Dr C E Beeby (NZCER), Professor Fred Clarke (Institute of Education, University of London), and Frederick P Keppel (CCNY) from 1935 to 1938

In 1935, Albert Perry was granted two years leave of absence from Christchurch Boys' High School to study for a PhD with Professor Fred Clarke at the Institute of Education, University of London. During this time he researched new education methods in the United Kingdom (particularly the progressive schools linked to the NEF), Europe and the United States visiting progressive post-primary schools and meeting with eminent educators such as Isaac Kandel and John M Russell at the CCNY. He genuinely wanted to contribute to the progressive education reforms in New Zealand and hoped that his PhD thesis would have a part to play. He even met with Peter Fraser and the Director of Education in October 1937. This discussion of the correspondence around his thesis involved Dr C E Beeby, Fred Clarke and Frederick P Keppel of CCNY and is included not only to demonstrate that New Zealand teachers regularly travelled overseas to research aspects of progressive education in the interwar years but also to illustrate the close links that well-placed progressive educators in New Zealand had with the largest progressive organisations in the world; including the Institute of Education and the CCNY.

While Professor Clarke was Perry's PhD supervisor at the Institute, Dr Beeby also played a significant role in supporting his research.¹ Beeby had organised Clarke's July 1935 tour of New Zealand and they developed a close relationship and they subsequently corresponded regularly concerning Perry's doctorate.

Perry also corresponded regularly with Beeby, first contacting him in October 1935 on his arrival in London. Somewhat belatedly, Perry wrote that he regretted not contacting Beeby first before leaving for London concerning his doctoral studies as he was struggling to identify his research topic and problem. While his focus was intended to be on the nature of the post-primary curriculum in New Zealand, at that early point he was seeking Beeby's assistance: 'Can you propose an available line of investigation? Or is there anything else that you can suggest to me to investigate here for a thesis ... [and] I wanted to do something which will be of value to N. Z. Education especially from the point of view of the work in which you are engaged'.² In December 1935, Beeby sent Perry a two page typed letter full of suggestions and interesting comments. He suggested that while in England, Perry could trace the history that led to the development of the current post-primary system in New Zealand and that he draw heavily on overseas material before returning to New Zealand to complete his work on the thesis (Beeby also offered to help with this on his return and for NZCER to publish some or all of his work along these lines if it was suitable). He suggested that Perry read Clarke's *New Era* article published early in 1935 on the translation of culture to the Dominions and made the following observation on New Zealand post-primary education that had broadly adopted an English model that was only intended for an elite group of students:

The New Zealand post-primary education system was introduced from England. In such circumstances, there is always a tendency for a holus-bolus copying without sufficient consideration of the applicability of the old to the new conditions. Much of our secondary school curriculum seems to me to resemble Christmas pudding sweatily eaten in the middle of summer.³

Before receiving Beeby's reply, Perry again wrote later in November advising that Clarke had mapped out for him a two year survey of post-primary schools in England and America 'with particular regard to innovations and worth-while experiments for boys and girls of Post Primary Schools who do not wish to enter a university' and Perry added that, 'I have always felt that this matter needs much attention in New Zealand'.⁴ In early 1936, Clarke wrote to Beeby endorsing Perry's proposed plan to

also spend a year in Leland Stanford which was, he argued, a region ‘sufficiently like New Zealand to have the right sort of relevancy of the new country kind’ and which would provide insights to enable him to approach New Zealand’s educational issues more effectively.⁵

Later, in early February 1936, Beeby received a cable from Keppel asking for NZCER’s opinion on Perry as Clarke had recommended that the Corporation support Perry in continuing his studies at Stanford University and his research into secondary education trends in America.⁶ Beeby replied to Keppel that with regard to an examination of the area of post-primary education, ‘I have no hesitation in saying it is one of our most urgent’. With regard to Perry, Beeby explained that he did not know him very well personally and that he had rung Shelley and Perry’s Headmaster who both stated he had considerable ability (though Shelley thought that he might be more interested in self-advancement than his subject). Beeby also talked the matter over with Gould and they saw no reason to block his application, ‘merely because his personality made no particular appeal to us’.⁷ In late March, Beeby was informed by Keppel that Perry had been granted a CCNY travelling scholarship of USD \$1,250 to continue his studies at Stanford University.⁸

A sub-text of Beeby and Clarke’s correspondence regarding Perry was ongoing comments in passing regarding both the need for secondary education reform and the proposed NEF Conference 1937. In March 1936, Beeby belatedly responded to Clarke bemoaning his workload and reflected that, ‘The business of keeping a sense of proportion in this research racket is none too easy: all the nice, clean, definite things that are easy to deal with are unfortunately intrinsically unimportant, and all the jobs worth doing are so slippery and vague ...’. With regard to the focus of Perry’s research, Beeby argued that, ‘The whole system of post-primary education in New Zealand is one that I should like to be forced to do some hard thinking on’. He concluded with a fairly frank critique of Perry:

I am glad Perry has got down to that job, which badly needs doing. I hope he makes a do of it. He is, I believe, quite an able man, but is given to the pushing of his own barrow. It’s queer in this profession of ours

how one periodically comes across a man who, one feels, is more interested in himself than in education ... I may be misjudging Perry ... But I'm not staking my shirt on him although I will do whatever I can to help him from this end.⁹

Nevertheless, despite his reservations about Perry, it was clear that Beeby thought the topic one that deserved serious investigation. In mid-March 1936, Perry wrote to Beeby outlining how his research was progressing and he reiterated that aspects of the work being carried out in New Education Fellowship schools could be adopted in New Zealand, if 'the powers that be looked on it [his research] with favour – and too if they could be convinced that a change is really necessary – and this is giving me a great deal of pleasure ... that pleasure is increased by the fact that you think it useful'.¹⁰ Clarke must also have thought that Perry had something to offer as in June 1936 he wrote a testimonial for Perry that included the following positive comments: 'He has set himself to become adequately equipped for taking some part in that reconstruction of aims and methods in secondary education which appears to be called for in New Zealand with, if anything, greater insistence than in some other countries ... [and] I should be gratified to feel that he had found an opportunity to carry into practice some at least of the valuable conclusions at which I am sure he will arrive'.¹¹

At the end of September 1936, Perry wrote Beeby an extended account of his impressions after his first week in America. He noted a lengthy meeting with Kandel who mentioned that secondary education in New Zealand was 'about to have a disturbance' but would not elaborate further. Perry then met with John M Russell at CCNY who mentioned Beeby's research into intermediate schools and Perry perhaps thought Kandel may have been referring to that. Perry added that he was going to visit the Winnetka and 'the Experimental Schools at the University' there and an experimental school in St Louis.¹² In mid-December 1936 Perry again wrote to Beeby to explain that he had planned to finish his PhD at Stanford University but had run into insurmountable problems with meeting the University's enrolment conditions. Instead he planned to continue with studying courses of use at Stanford University then to return to the Institute to work on his PhD. The overall structure of Perry's PhD

in relation to post-primary education was proposed as: 1) A brief history of the New Zealand education system; 2) An investigation into recent tendencies in England; 3) An investigation into recent tendencies in America; and, 4) The implications of these for the New Zealand education system. Perry concluded with a request for Beeby to provide him with an account of recent changes to post-primary education in New Zealand.¹³

Beeby's response in January 1937 was interesting in this regard. He argued that while there were 'plenty of rumours and plans abroad' nothing much had been done or published in the area of post-primary education other than his 1937 *Year Book* article. Beeby did note that the most significant event since the election of the First Labour Government had been the NZCER survey of intermediate schools that Fraser had personally asked him to carry out. He pointed out, however, that at the Secondary Schools Conference in May 1936, Milner had 'led an attack on the old classical curriculum' and that, 'Strangely enough, the conference as a whole urged a revision of the curriculum and a new emphasis on social studies'. He added that the Minister had 'made a special effort' to combine secondary and technical schools in smaller towns. Beeby concluded that actual plans for post-primary reforms, if any, were not known as at the beginning of January 1937:

... there is little more to tell if one sticks to objective facts. Nobody knows yet what the Government's educational policy is. It is still a matter of rumours. I am not at all hopeful that anything very sweeping will be done.¹⁴

In April 1937, Perry returned to London and the Institute to continue writing up his PhD and for two weeks towards the end of April he was a full-time English teacher at Brixton School while for the remainder of May he was an Instructor in English at the Acland Evening Institute.¹⁵ In June 1937, Clarke and Dr Morrell examined Perry's thesis and found that, 'while we feel it is promising and likely to produce something of real value to New Zealand, it needs much more careful working up'. Clarke suggested that Perry return to New Zealand and asked Beeby whether he might like to help Perry 'recast' the material to 'bring it down to earth'.¹⁶ Beeby responded in

August stating that the outcome was not a surprise to him, but that he would be very glad to assist. He pointed out that the material Perry had collected should be most valuable and that, 'it is probable that someone with a more philosophical background ... might be able to turn it into a useful piece of work'. He added that Professor Field would also be willing to assist. As a footnote, Beeby explained that they were in the process of recovering from the NEF conference, 'which was in every way a bigger success than we had anticipated. The country is oozing education at the moment and if things don't shift now they never will'.¹⁷ Clarke responded the following month thanking him for his assistance and mentioned a 'long and enthusiastic' letter from Susan Isaacs which confirmed Beeby's impressions on the success of the conference.¹⁸

Given that Perry taught in London for all of May 1937, he was not able to return to New Zealand in time for the NEF Conference in July. Instead, he arrived in Wellington from London on the *Rangitane* on August 25.¹⁹ His final return date to New Zealand would have been September 1937 at the latest when his two year Leave of Absence period expired for his Christchurch teaching position. In mid-September Perry wrote to Beeby from Christchurch apologising for not sending a copy of his thesis to him as he had been trying to secure an interview with the Minister. However, Clarke had previously advised him against leaving a copy with the Minister (if he managed to meet with him) as that might invalidate it as far as submitting it for examination at a later date and he argued that it would be unlikely that the Minister would read it in any case. Perry wrote that he was anxious to meet with Beeby to discuss his thesis as well as 'possibilities of my being involved in the process of reconstruction should it come: in an administrative or organising capacity'.²⁰ In mid-October Perry wrote to Beeby that he had first met with the Director of Education and then had an 'extremely satisfactory' interview with the Minister of Education that morning (October 18), who advised him that 'when the time for reconstruction comes' his work on post-primary education would not be wasted.

Perry continued to work on rewriting parts of the thesis and in November met with Beeby who had a number of general criticisms, a major concern (the need for a more sociological approach) and a number of inaccuracies that required correcting. Perry

was grateful for the advice particularly on the New Zealand material, and he explained that the American section had been 'well read' by Kandel and Morrison and the staff at Stanford University while Clarke had done the same for the English material. In mid-December, Beeby supplied him with a certificate for the Institute of Education stating that Perry's thesis work was entirely his own. Perry needed this to accompany his thesis before its final examination. On 1 August 1938, Perry wrote to Beeby to let him know that he had just received a cable from London University advising that his examiners had accepted the thesis and asking Beeby what the process would be to get it published by NZCER. Beeby responded that he should send the manuscript to his successor.²¹

Quite what happened to Perry's doctorate from the Institute of Education titled, 'An investigation of recent tendencies in secondary education in England and America, and their implications for the reorganization of secondary education in New Zealand' is unclear. During my research at the Institute of Education archives no trace of the actual thesis could be found although it is still listed in their Index to Theses.

Notes

¹ Beeby's correspondence with and concerning Perry was written in his official capacity as Director of NZCER. However, from the considerable amount of correspondence Beeby had with neophyte researchers, he obviously personally held a genuine desire to support up-and-coming researchers in New Zealand.

² Letter Perry to Beeby dated 16 October 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

³ Letter Beeby to Perry dated 3 December 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

⁴ Letter Perry to Beeby dated 27 November 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

⁵ Letter Clarke to Beeby dated 17 January 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

⁶ Minutes of the 26 February 1936 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁷ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 7 February 1936; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a. This ambivalence to his application by Beeby is not the same message that Perry wrote that he received in New York from John M. Russell who told him that Beeby had 'very strongly' supported his application; see letter Perry to Beeby dated 29 September 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

⁸ Minutes of the 30 March 1936 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a. Also see copy of letter from Keppel to Clarke dated 6 March 1936; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁹ Letter Beeby to Clarke dated 24 March 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23. Beeby added that he heard from Cunningham that Clarke probably would be attending the NEF conference in Australia and that Beeby was considering whether to hold a New Zealand session dependent on the number of speakers who might be available.

¹⁰ Letter Perry to Beeby dated 16 March 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

¹¹ Clarke testimonial for Perry dated 22 June 1936 and titled, University of London, Institute of Education; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

¹² Letter Perry to Beeby dated 29 September 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

¹³ Letter Perry to Beeby dated 18 December 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

¹⁴ Letter Beeby to Perry dated 21 January 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

¹⁵ Report of the Activities of A. L. M. Perry from October 1935, to July 1937, during Leave of Absence from the Christchurch Boys' High School; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

¹⁶ Letter Clarke to Beeby dated 30 June 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

¹⁷ Letter Beeby to Clarke dated 9 August 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

¹⁸ Letter Clarke to Beeby dated 8 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23. Despite extensive searches by myself and archive staff at the Institute of Education, this letter by Susan Isaacs referred to was not able to be located.

¹⁹ *The Evening Post*, 26 August 1937, p. 27.

²⁰ Letter Perry to Beeby dated 15 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

²¹ Letter Perry to Beeby dated 1 August 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29; the response is written in pencil by Beeby at the bottom of the letter.

Appendix 10(a)

Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn (1895-1986)

Ryburn's New Education Approaches at the Christian Boys' School in Kharar

Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn was the most prolific New Zealand progressive education writer during the interwar years but was virtually unknown for his new educational contributions in New Zealand. The reason for this was that he had spent most of the interwar in India as a missionary and there he had put into practice his progressive ideas at the Christian Boys' School in Kharar, particularly from the early 1930s. Dr Ryburn returned for the NEF Conference 1937, attending at Beeby's invitation, and after the Conference, some of the leading international NEF delegates who visited New Zealand also visited Morton's school in Kharar in early 1938 and were greatly impressed by his work. This Appendix is a brief account of some of the progressive initiatives at the school.

Morton took leadership of the school and under his long-term management from 1923 until 1956, the school roll expanded, new school buildings were built (including hostels for boys and girls and an industrial wing), Indian teachers were trained and employed, he started a farm, progressive teaching approaches were introduced, and Morton gradually expanded the school's curriculum to include not only academic work but manual and practical training.¹

Morton introduced an integrated curriculum that combined manual and practical training with academic work. He expanded the 'hands-on' aspects of the curriculum to include such areas as blacksmithing, book-binding, carpentry, clay modelling, farm work, leather work, motor mechanics, tailoring and weaving so that they became 'an integrated part of the school curriculum'.² In doing so, the Christian Boys' School became much more like a Technical High School where the pupils learnt more than just the academic skills to work in clerical administration and was reminiscent of the

types of innovations being carried out in New Zealand at Rangiora High School by James Strachan and Feilding Agricultural High School by L G Wild. For example, a farm was established 'to acquaint the students, [the] majority of whose parents owned land, with scientific methods of agriculture, besides, creating in their hearts a love for agriculture'.³ Morton regarded many of these activities as being critically important, 'because they teach skill of hand, and equip a child for practical living, but also because they are creative, both intellectually and spiritually'.⁴



Photograph A10(a)-1 Clay Modelling, Christian Boys' School, Kharar⁵



Photograph A10(a)-2 The Carpentry Workshop. Christian Boys' School, Kharar⁶



Photograph A10(a)-3 The Weaving Room, Christian Boys' School, Kharar⁷

Morton also introduced progressive teaching approaches consistent with Christian values. He argued that children needed to learn to cooperate with one another, to be tolerant of others, to be truthful, to be self-reliant, independent, to show initiative and take action, and contribute to society.⁸ To achieve this, he put in place a range of progressive approaches including a modified Dalton Plan where pupils are required to work and think independently, the Project Method where pupils work together to achieve a project, group discussion in classes where ‘the greatest freedom’ was encouraged, and a special Assignment System (he also conducted IQ testing on the pupils).⁹ By 1929, Morton had also implemented school-wide self-government. This involved class and school meetings, the free election of pupil representatives, the development of a constitution by the pupils, and pupils were responsible for the organisation of games, cleanliness issues, aspects of discipline and facilitating school meetings and discussions.¹⁰

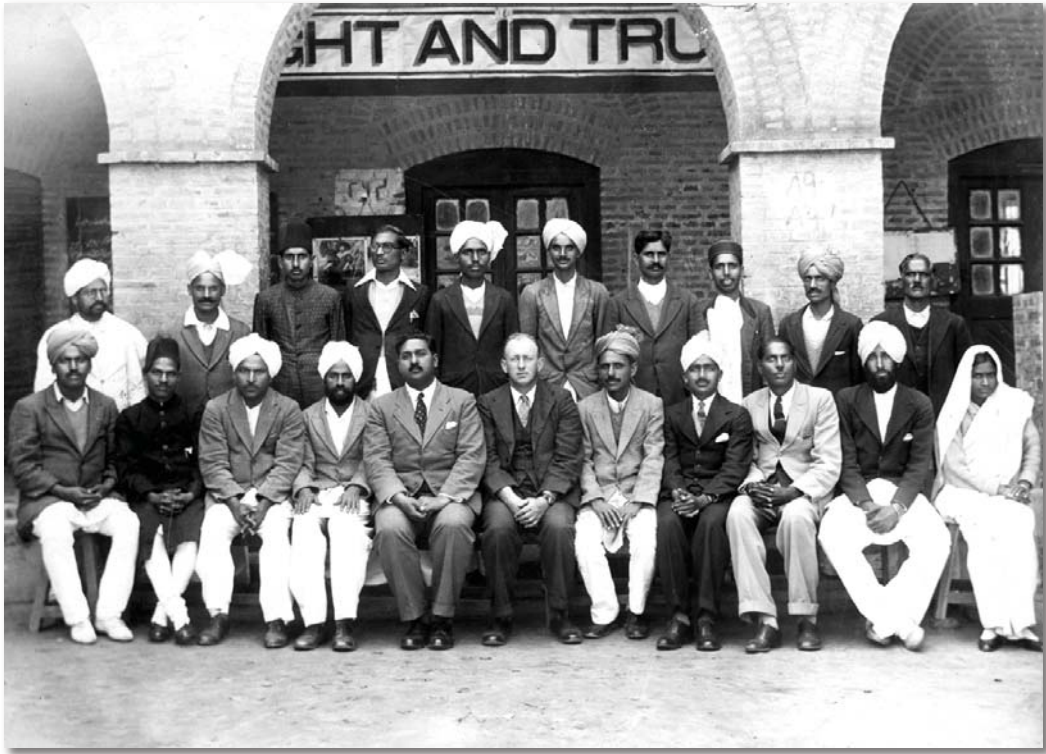
As one pupil later noted of Morton’s experiments:

You introduced a new system of education ... Your experiments with new methods of teaching bore early fruit ... you started your experiment of Self-Govt. in the school, and it was through your inexhaustible patience and invincible determination that the system was a success ... It was a practical lesson to them [the boys] in democracy.¹¹



Photograph A10(a)-4 Self-government. Meeting of the Committee, Christian Boys' School, Kharar¹²

As Morton astutely noticed from the very first weeks of his arrival in the Punjab, national feeling would continue to grow in the country and it would become increasingly important to train men and women to do the teaching themselves.¹³ With that in mind, he trained and employed Indian staff at the school and later established a Teachers' Training Department.¹⁴ As one pupil later commented, 'You saw that India's great need was the right type of teachers ... Now these teachers are scattered all over the state and we have no doubt that they are spreading abroad the ideas and the spirit that they imbibed at your feet'.¹⁵ In line with this aim, while Morton was the school Principal and primary manager with Indian Headmasters in the 1920s, in the 1930s Morton relinquished his Principal position and appointed an Indian replacement while he stayed on as Vice-Principal and manager.¹⁶ By 1931, the staff of the school comprised eight Christians, seven Hindus, three Mohammedans and one Sikh.¹⁷ After the partition of the country into Pakistan and India, all the Muslim teachers and students left for Pakistan and were replaced by Hindus and Sikhs who had arrived from Pakistan.¹⁸



Photograph A10(a)-5 Staff of the Christian Boys' School, Kharar¹⁹

Notes

-
- ¹ The Story of The Punjab Indian Mission, 1907 to 1969; www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/missions/punjabhistory.htm
- ² Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 2.
- ³ Retirement tribute titled, 'My Teacher, Benefactor and Friend Retires' by A. M. Barnabus (a pupil of Morton's from early 1920s who then became a teacher at the school in 1935) dated 17 March 1959; PCARC, GAO154, Overseas Missions Committee, Folder 1959|08.
- ⁴ McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.
- ⁵ Photograph P-A13.34-122; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.
- ⁶ Photograph P-A8.66-240; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.
- ⁷ Photograph P-A8.67-245; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.
- ⁸ McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 7.
- ¹² Photograph P-A12.50-113; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.
- ¹³ Letter W M Ryburn to Mr Don dated 25 January 1923; PCARC, GAO149, Punjab Mission, Staff Files, Rev. W. M. Ryburn, 1919-1931.
- ¹⁴ McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.
- ¹⁵ Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 7.
- ¹⁶ Ryburn, W. M. (1931). *Young India – A record of high school life at Kharar, India*. Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ryburn, W. M. (c.1951). *Christian High School, Kharar, 1891-1951*. Punjab: Marsa'l Press; p. 7.
- ¹⁹ Photograph P-S6-12; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.

Appendix 10(b)

Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn (1895-1986)

Brief Overview of His Publications and the Masha'l Press

Reverend Dr William Morton Ryburn was a New Zealand progressive educator who worked as a missionary in India at the Christian Boys' School in Kharar. During the interwar years, he was New Zealand's most prolific progressive education writer though due to his isolation, was little known in New Zealand. This appendix considers some of his publications.

Morton Ryburn's writing and publishing over forty years reflected his evangelical aspirations and from the 1930s, his growing interest in progressive education in order to support these ends. He wrote continuously and published more than sixty books and booklets as well as numerous newspaper and magazine articles and pamphlets (and was the editor of several journals). In addition, he established the Masha'l Press where pupils could be trained for the printing trade and where evangelical and educational material was reproduced cheaply for the local and wider community. Some of his writing is in Urdu and he also spoke the Hindustani language unfalteringly.¹

(a) Morton Ryburn's Writing and Publishing

Ryburn's evangelical writing was extensive. It included:

- Masha'l Press – the *Bible Studies Series*, *The Hidden Leaven*, *The Sikh Gurus and their Teaching* (in Urdu), *Commentary on Amos* (Urdu), and *Commentary on James* (Urdu), *Challenges of Communism to Christianity*;
- India Sunday School Union – *The Theory and Methods of Christian Education*, *Jesus the Teacher*, *Youth*, *The Junior*;

- Methodist Church in Southern Asia – *Suggestions for Teaching the Old Testament, Understanding the Bible*;
- YMCA Publishing House – *Training for Christian Citizenship, Communism a Christian View, Democracy and Christianity*;
- National Christian Council – *Christ and Society*;
- Madras Publishing House – *Craftsmanship in Building a Courageous Life*;
- Lucknow Publishing House – *School and the Church*;
- Presbyterian Bookroom – *God's Trustees: Bible Studies in Christian Stewardship, Brother India, Masha'l Press*;
- New Zealand Council for Christian Education – *Aims and Methods of Christian Education*; and,
- New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society – *Way of Reconciliation (A Study of Christian Pacifism)*.

He was also keen to record the life and progress of the Christian Boys' High School in Kharar. His books or booklets on the school included:

- *Young India: A Record of High School Life at Kharar, India*;
- *Christian High School, Kharar, 1891-1951*; and,
- *Through Shadow and Sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*.

His later writing on progressive education as well as the teaching and second language teaching, included:

- Oxford University Press – *The Progressive School, The Principles of Teaching, The Organisation of Schools, Play Way Suggestions, Introduction to Educational Psychology, The Teaching of English, The Teaching of the Mother Tongue, The Theory and Practice of Christian Education, Socrates at School* (with F L Brayne); and
- Longmans – *Creative Education: A Study in Educating for Democracy in India*.

A brief examination of one of his progressive books provides an indication of the breadth and fervency of his progressive views. *The Progressive School: A Study in Methods of Education and Teaching* was published by Oxford University Press in 1938 and is a 318 page theoretical and practical discussion of progressive education. The book includes chapters on Individual Work, The Project Method, The Play Way, Freedom in School, Developing the Creative Mind, as well as a broader liberal discussion of the place of the school in the home, community, nation and the world. It ends with a consideration of the importance of handicrafts for developing creativity and a critique of examinations. Morton based the book on ‘the result of the experience that I have had in carrying out experiments in connexion with methods of education and methods of teaching’.² He draws heavily on a wide range of literature (much from 1929 onwards), including the *New Era* and *Progressive Education* journals and many new education writers such as Adler, Badley, Dewey, Isaacs, van Lieuw, MacMunn, Nunn, Rawson and Washburne. He argued that the key goals of a progressive school were:

- 1) to develop a creative and scientific mind (p. 4);
- 2) to produce prophets who are prepared to ‘stand for the forces of spirit against the powers of materialism’ (p. 4);
- 3) to produce honest sceptics who are able to challenge ‘conformity and orthodoxy’ (p. 6);
- 4) to give loyalty to the State, not blind loyalty but the loyalty of an enlightened conscience who can make decisions for themselves (p. 9);
- 5) to develop pupil’s own ideals so that they can be forward-looking and forward-thinking and can display a ‘divine discontent’ (p. 10);
- 6) to give to a pupil ‘an understand of the principles of social progress ... [so that they] can play a part in hastening the reconstruction of our world society’ (p. 10);
- 7) to awaken in individuals ‘a sense of social responsibility’ and dependency on one another (p. 12);

- 8) to be child-centred, and not subject-centred, such that the whole individual is developed in body, mind and spirit;
- 9) to develop an appreciation of beauty, goodness and truth, along with the desire to give these aspects ‘practical expression, in and through life’ (p. 21);
- 10) to help the child to ‘learn to think, feel, and act for himself’, including developing self-discipline, morality and character (p. 22);
- 11) to develop the creative mind through ‘freedom for self-development and freedom for activity ... because life is creation and creation is essentially activity’ (p. 23);
- 12) to have an experimental attitude ‘towards education and towards life, and that it shall encourage this attitude in its pupils’ (p. 23);
- 13) to have the ideal of a co-operative society for the school, pupils and staff where ‘the development of such things as self-activity, the scientific attitude, the creative mind, and self-discipline have an infinitely greater chance of real success’, and extend this ideal to the home, community, nation and the world (p. 24).

Some six years later in 1946, Morton published a second major progressive text – *Creative Education: A Study in Educating for Democracy in India* – this time through Longmans.³ This 384 page text built on Morton’s progressive ideas outlined earlier in *The Progressive School* and was divided into the following main sections: The Meaning of Creative Education (including what is creative education and the democratic citizen), Education and Society, The School as a Community, The School and the Child, The Creative Teacher, Creative Organisation (including creative administration, the curriculum, examinations and experimenting), and Religion in Education. The book is a well written argument for progressive education approaches that will produce individual citizens who are able to live creative lives in their own communities and contribute actively to a democratic society. Morton’s thesis was that such an approach would overcome the major defects in traditional systems of education (and his illustrations included particular reference to India), which were that:

- 1) the current system demonstrated a distinct lack of freedom and opportunity for pupils, teachers and schools to show initiative;
- 2) the emphasis was on mass production and not the development of the individual;
- 3) the large class sizes undermined the building of a personal relationship between pupils, teachers and school managers;
- 4) the external examination system reinforced imitation and passive learning as opposed to creativity;
- 5) the system was too subject-oriented as opposed to child-centred;
- 6) the system needed to take children's needs more into account and the way they developed;
- 7) there needed to be more effective teacher selection and training;
- 8) the current system was too focussed on vocational areas, especially at the secondary level, often because it was dominated by external examinations; and,
- 9) every child needed to have the chance to be well educated.

This substantial publication appeared to be well received around the world when it was published just after the war in 1946. It summed up the progressive critique of traditional education, laid out a framework for improving education, and was one of the most carefully thought out progressive texts written. Its timing was also very apt at a time when many education authorities around the world were considering educational reconstruction, including New Zealand.

(b) Masha'l Press

In addition to writing and publishing, Ryburn founded the Masha'l Press at the Christian Boys' High School. During his furlough in 1928 in New Zealand, he raised the funding to establish the Masha'l Press at the school in October 1931.⁴

The purpose of the Press was two-fold: to provide technical training in the printing and publishing trade for the pupils and to enable the cheap printing of evangelical

material particularly for those who were semi-literate.⁵ Soon after starting at the school in 1923, Morton had started the *School Journal* which had flourished in the district while another magazine was also produced in the area, the *Masha'l* (translated as 'Torch'). Both of these were incorporated into the Masha'l Press and as the Press was the only printing works in the area it also quickly became popular for general printing work which provided a steady income for the school.⁶ Starting slowly, the Press produced adult literacy and evangelical booklets, pamphlets and posters and as it became more established later in the 1930s onwards, the Press installed more machinery, trained more people, engaged a clerk, and became a separate unit of the Mission, publishing a wide range of Christian literature on a large scale throughout the Punjab region and wider India.⁷

Between 1932 and 1957, the Press published more than 140 of its own books, produced four magazines (in English, Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu), continued to publish the *School Journal* (in three languages), and after the partition in 1947, the Press needed to be able to publish in Panjabi and Hindi. Morton Ryburn continued teaching in the school, editing publications, and managed the Press during these years.



Photograph A10(b)-1 The Press. Machine Room. Christian Boys' School, Kharar (early 1930s)⁸

Notes

¹ Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association (1989). *Rev. Dr. William Morton Ryburn, 1896-1986*. Kharar, India: Kharar Christian High School Old Boys' Association; p. 2.

² Ryburn, W. M. (1938). *The progressive school: A Study in methods of education and teaching*. London: Oxford University Press; Preface.

³ Ryburn, W. M. (1946). *Creative education: A Study in educating for democracy in India*. London: Longmans.

⁴ Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom; pp. 74-75; McDiarmid, D. N., & Quartermain, L. B. (1960). *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

⁴ Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.

⁵ Ryburn, W. M. (1961). *Through shadow and sunshine. A History of the Panjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1909-1959*. Auckland: Presbyterian Bookroom; pp. 84-85.

⁶ *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

⁷ For example, in 1939, the Press was engaged to print the whole New Testament for the Bible society in Persian Panjabi with a print run of 20,000 volumes; *A tribute to Morton Ryburn*. Wellington: Bible Class Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

⁸ Photograph P-A8.53-194; Presbyterian Archives Research Centre, Knox College, Dunedin.

Appendix 11

Activities During Professor Fred Clarke's 'Grand Tour' of New Zealand, July 1935

Fred and Mary Clarke arrived in New Zealand from Victoria (British Columbia) travelling on the Aorangi and disembarked in Auckland on the morning of Monday 8 July 1935. This Appendix is a fairly straightforward brief account of his 'grand tour' not necessarily because Clarke's activities were of particular interest in their own right but because it demonstrates who were the key progressive players in New Zealand during the interwar years (such as Rae, Shelley, Gould, Hunter, Lawson and Milner) and how it is apparent, from archival material (at NZCER, ACER and CCNY), that international progressive networks were developing, particularly around the Institute of Education, the CCNY, and in the antipodes, ACER and NZCER.

In Auckland (July 8-10), Clarke began his tour by meeting with Professor R M Alpie of the Auckland University College and he also gave a talk to the Auckland Rotary Club on South Africa and Quebec at the request of D M Rae (Principal of the Auckland Teachers' Training College).¹ On July 9 he gave an evening lecture in the hall of the Auckland University College. Clarke argued that it was time to re-consider education anew, in light of changes to society, economic prosperity, and the rise of fascism and communism.²

On arriving in Wellington (July 11-13), Clarke was met and welcomed by Professor Hunter and Professor Gould of Victoria University College. He also met with members of NZCER, with Professor Gould, the Secretary of the Round Table (E P Hay), and the Hon W Downie Stewart, MP³ Clarke delivered a talk to the Round Table in Wellington. The Round Table was an international organisation of 'movers and shakers' and in Wellington the group included lawyers, judges of the Supreme Court, heads of the public service, war heroes, and philanthropists.⁴ He also had a meeting with the Minister of Education (the Hon S G Smith) and gave a newspaper

interview where he discussed the Institute and the common bonds that hold the British Empire together.⁵

In Christchurch (July 14-15) Clarke met with Dr J Hight, Rector of Canterbury College and Prof Shelley of Canterbury College. On Sunday July 14 he had supper with Professor Denham.⁶ On Monday July 15 he was invited to lunch with staff and graduates of Canterbury College and that evening he gave a lecture at Canterbury College.⁷

In Dunedin (July 16-18), it appears that Clarke agreed to Frank Milner's (Principal of Waitaki High School, Oamaru) request to collect him from the Oamaru Railway Station on July 16, give him lunch and personally drive him on to Dunedin. As Milner put it, 'this would give me an opportunity of picking up a lot from him in regard to Canadian and South African education. As the road journey from Oamaru to Dunedin is very diversified ... and my car a new 1935 model, I am sure our visitor would appreciate the change from the monotonous train journey' (and Clarke would have arrived into Dunedin at much the same time as the train).⁸ That evening, Clarke had dinner with Professor A G B Fisher⁹ and Professor Lawson of Otago University followed by a public lecture on Education and Democracy. The next afternoon at 4.00 pm he addressed teachers and that evening he had an informal meeting at Professor Lawson's house.¹⁰

Returning to Wellington (July 19-22), Clarke gave an evening lecture on July 19 at Victoria College presided by Professor Hunter. Here Clarke again talked about the role of the Institute and the nature of the Commonwealth and also considered the future development of New Zealand. He argued that New Zealand had several advantages that would assist its progress: there was a strong sense of social solidarity; there was a feeling of an 'open future' where it was permitted to have 'a tolerance and spaciousness in spirit and outlook'; and, there was a strong experimental spirit where New Zealand was seen as a 'laboratory of social experiments'.¹¹ On July 21, Clarke gave an evening talk to Weir House students about racial identity in the Commonwealth.¹² The following evening, Clarke gave a 2YA radio broadcast titled, Impressions Gleaned During a Fleeting Tour.¹³

Clarke left Wellington for Sydney presumably on or around 23 July 1935. He wrote to Cunningham the following month that, 'New Zealand and Australia seem to me to be in some danger of devitalization through excessive paternalism in government and the mechanizing of what should be spirited things'. And, in relation to the place of ACER (and presumably an aim for NZCER), that it represented 'a healthy counter-attack [to this] through an organ of free energies'.¹⁴ Clarke later concluded regarding the tour, that everywhere there was an apparent willingness,

... to entertain new ideas, to re-think old problems on a new and larger scale, and above all to study the problems in co-operation ... Among thinking people it seemed to be realised that a new age was opening, more exacting, less easy and comfortable, than that which was passing away.¹⁵

Beeby reported after the tour that Clarke's public lectures had been very successful and he had made arrangements for closer ties between the Institute and NZCER.¹⁶ Clarke's visit led to a sustained exchange of correspondence between Beeby and Clarke and it appears that Beeby had not met Clarke previously. *Before* the tour, in December 1934, Beeby had written a formal letter to Clarke while he was at McGill University, Montreal about exchanging publications between the newly established NZCER and the University.¹⁷ Clarke responded equally as formally advising that he had just been appointed Adviser and he appraised Beeby of his proposed tour of New Zealand: 'I shall not fail to look you up as there ought to be quite an effective liaison between your office and my post in London'.¹⁸ *After* his 1935 visit, Beeby and Clarke were now on very friendly terms with long letters and informal greetings ('Dear Clarke' etc.).

Notes

-
- ¹ IOE, FC/78. Letter Beeby to Rae dated 14 June 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.
- ² *Auckland Star*, 10 July 1935, p. 9.
- ³ IOE, FC/78. William Downie Stewart was in 1942 the Chairman of the Otago Branch of the Victoria League that celebrated Empire Day with a social gathering and in 1942 their guest speaker was Dr Lawson, Professor of Education at Otago University. This address, titled 'The Empire To-day – and To Be' was later published by the League. Hocken, MS-0985-031/072.
- ⁴ H F von Haast (a barrister and son of the noted New Zealand geologist and explorer, Johann Franz Julius Haast) sent Clarke a list of those who attended his talk; see IOE, FC/78.
- ⁵ *The Evening Post*, 12 July 1935, p. 11.
- ⁶ During the NEF conference in 1937, Professor Denham introduced Lismer at his talk to the Christchurch Rotary Club.
- ⁷ IOE, FC/78.
- ⁸ Letter Milner to Beeby dated 18 June 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 26.
- ⁹ A G B Fisher (1895–1976) was Professor of Economics at Otago University who went on to become Professor of Economics at the University of Western Australia.
- ¹⁰ IOE, FC/78.
- ¹¹ *The Evening Post*, 20 July 1935, p. 10.
- ¹² *The Evening Post*, 22 July 1935, p. 7.
- ¹³ *The Evening Post*, 22 July 1935, p. 3.
- ¹⁴ Letter Clarke to Cunningham dated 11 August 1935; ACER, Series 50, vol. 49, cited in Connell (1980), pp. 123-124.
- ¹⁵ Source: Clarke's report on the tour to the Carnegie Corporation of New York; IOE, FC/78, p. 3.
- ¹⁶ Minutes of the 29 July 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ¹⁷ Letter Beeby to Clarke dated 10 December 1934; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ¹⁸ Letter Clarke to Beeby dated 3 January 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

Appendix 12(a)

Carnegie Corporation

An Introduction to Carnegie Grants in New Zealand: 1904 to 1937

In the early part of the twentieth century, the Scottish born philanthropist Andrew Carnegie founded a series philanthropic trusts the largest of which was the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY). The CCNY through its British Dominions and Colonies Fund provided substantial funding to a range of progressive educational initiatives in New Zealand including those related to adult education, educational research and the expansion of library services. In addition, the Fund supported travel grants, art and music sets, library books, and led and funded the setting up of the two most influential progressive education bodies in Australasia, ACER and NZCER. This Fund supported progressive activities throughout the Commonwealth during the interwar years and funded in various ways the NEF and the NEF Conference 1937. Without the CCNY, progressive education in New Zealand would not have progressed as quickly as it did from the 1930s onwards. This Appendix briefly outlines some of CCNY's most important initiatives in New Zealand.

In the first wave of funding from 1904, Andrew Carnegie, and then the CCNY Special Fund, received applications from at least nineteen local authorities (and one township) in New Zealand to help with the establishment of free public libraries, including Dunedin, Hamilton, New Plymouth, Levin, Onehunga, and Timaru. USD \$194,460 was granted to 17 local authorities during the years 1904 to 1915 until in 1917 the CCNY discontinued the library buildings programme.¹

The second wave of funding started from 1927, when J Rankine Brown (the Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand) in late 1926 wrote to Keppel (President of the CCNY) supporting the application by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) for the expansion of adult education classes run in the four university colleges (Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin) under the auspices of the WEA. At

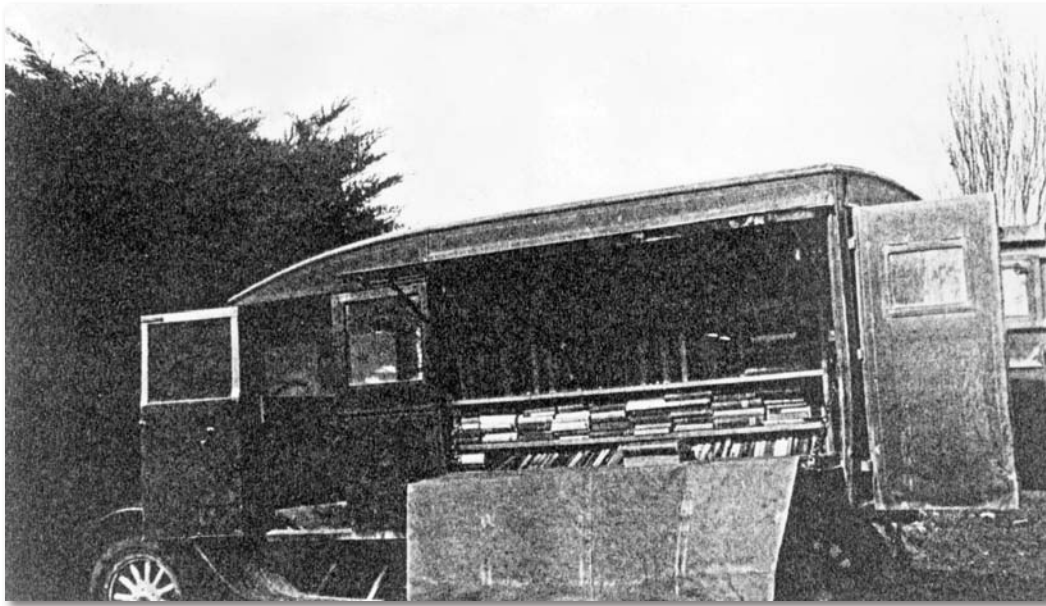
the time, the WEA's main work was the provision of tutorial classes for adults in larger communities, study groups in smaller townships and villages, accompanying 'libraries', summer schools and a magazine titled *The Highway* that was edited by Professor Hunter. A note in the CCNY files on the WEA dated 23 October 1928 detailed that the success of their work was, 'largely dependent upon Professor James Shelley of Canterbury College, who has taught classes without pay, and conducted six two-weeks summer schools, in which no instructor has been paid'.²

The WEA 'Box Scheme' was an innovative extension of the WEA adult education programme in New Zealand and was a travelling library scheme. The idea was first devised by Shelley in 1926, who at the time was Director of Extension Classes at Canterbury College, to allow for independent study by local study groups: 'Each box contains a typed lecture with reference books or materials, prints, plays, records, etc. Box No. 1 stays in a center for two weeks, then proceeds to next center, and Box No. 2 takes its place, and so on. Remote centers are reached in this way for which funds would not otherwise provide ... Professor Russell calls this one of the best projects that he has seen anywhere'.³ In 1931, a report on the WEA Box Scheme was submitted to the CCNY (presumably by Mr J Johnson, a Canterbury College tutorial class lecturer who was appointed Tutor Organiser of the Box Scheme) that provided further information on the scheme. The report outlined that at November 1931 there were 104 boxes of tutorial material in use around New Zealand that serviced smaller rural communities and settlements to further the aims of adult education. Initially, in 1926, there were 24 illustrated lectures on 19th century music, art, literature and drama of which 16 sets were made and distributed in specially designed boxes (also included were illustrative materials such as mounted plates, records, copies of plays, and additional books). The boxes were initially circulated around a circuit of 6 centres in South Canterbury. In 1927, a further course in 18th century music, art and literature was developed and their circuit was expanded. In 1928, a further course on modern tendencies in music, art, literature and drama was developed and the circuit widened further. In 1929, Dr Beeby wrote 12 Boxes in experimental psychology. By 1929, the Boxes were in use in the Otago University district, parts of the Victoria College district (including Wellington and Marlborough), and Auckland. By the end of 1929, 50 Box circles were operating.⁴

In 1930, the Box Scheme was put on a more permanent footing with Mr J Johnson appointed as Tutor Organiser of the Box Scheme. In 1930, two new courses were written – Appreciation and More Drama – and some existing course were revisited and expanded. In 1931, sixty Boxes were newly developed or revised, including ten prepared by Mrs Beeby (with Shelley's assistance), two by Geoffrey Alley, one by Dr Beeby, and fifteen by Johnson (with the rest being revised by Johnson). By the end of 1931 there were 12 complete courses covering 270 Boxes which were used by 104 Circles involving 1852 students. By 1931, there were 18 active Circles in Auckland, 34 in Wellington (including the Hawkes Bay, Taranaki, Wanganui, Marlborough, Nelson), 41 in Canterbury and 11 in Otago.

In 1928, Shelley apparently realised that one of the potential weaknesses of the Box Scheme was that its success partly rested on the educational backgrounds of the students in the Circles who were tasked with working through course materials independently. Possibly drawing on an earlier unsuccessful WEA proposal and a book detailing an American scheme recommended by Crawford Somerset, Shelley proposed the idea of a specially designed and equipped vehicle in which a tutor could travel to more rural districts to support adult education classes. Unable to gain funding for the idea locally, Shelley gained a CCNY grant and Geoffrey Alley was appointed as the tutor for the scheme from 1 January 1930.⁵ It should be noted that the scheme was not a travelling library *per se* but an initiative to further support adult education classes. The van chosen was a 1926 Ford van and was used in rural Canterbury from 1930 to 1933 by Alley. The project was known as the CAR (Carnegie Adult Rural) scheme:

A Ford delivery van was bought for £30, and £90 was spent on its adaptation. This included the installation of shelving and the provision of a hinged opening on one side, much like Mifflin's Travelling Parnassus. The Ford was not a good buy – it was underpowered and it cost a lot to maintain – but at least it was ready for the road by 25 March 1930. It was replaced in 1933 by a new van built on a Morris commercial chassis, still underpowered but better than the Ford. As Alley said, a great deal of valuable information was learned from the experience of using these vehicles, but it was learned the hard way.⁶



Photograph A12(a)-1 CAR Travelling Library

Used by Geoffrey Alley between 1930 and 1933⁷

Also in 1928, another adult education extension scheme was devised by Professor Ann Monroe Gilchrist Strong (1875-1957) who was Dean of the Faculty of Home Science at the University of Otago. Strong, a former pupil of James Earl Russell, gained a five year grant from the CCNY in 1929 to fund a home science extension project in Otago after Russell's visit to New Zealand in 1928. The CCNY grant was renewed for a similar term to extend the programme more widely after Coffman's visit in 1931.⁸ By 1933, Collins discusses how Strong in Otago and Shelley in Canterbury had become involved in a 'territorial dispute' over the control of the expansion of adult education projects in the region and as they were being funded by CCNY grants, the CCNY was forced to enter the fray to ensure the projects could continue.⁹

In line with the Carnegie Corporation's progressive views on adult education, the CCNY also instigated and supported a number of projects relating to libraries, museums and art galleries. The CCNY funded two major reviews in the early 1930s – one of museums and art galleries and the other of libraries – both of which led to further CCNY funding. In 1933, the Markham-Richards Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of Australia and New Zealand¹⁰ recommended funding be made

available for new building work, better equipment for displays, to fund curators to travel overseas, and expand innovative educational work. A sum of \$50,000 was allocated by CCNY for museum and art gallery projects and a Museum and Art Gallery Committee was convened in New Zealand chaired by C E Hercus (and also comprised Professor Hunter) to supervise the allocation of the funds. In 1936 it was reported that 10,000 pounds had been allocated for the development of educational services in museums and art galleries.¹¹ In late 1935, Hercus advised CCNY how the committee would like the funds to be allocated¹² and in March 1936, Keppel instructed Beeby at NZCER (as their NZ agents) to make the arrangements for the payment of the funds to the various bodies involved. The bulk of the funds were allotted to museums (the four main centre museums for a school service, a cinema programme, new exchange displays at eight museums, experiments in exhibit displays at two museums, and buildings and displays for the Napier museum) and two thousand pounds to art galleries (the purchase of reproductions for art galleries, and a reserve fund).¹³ In 1937, Fraser advised Beeby that the Education Officers for the four main museums would be attached to the staff of the Training Colleges, that they would be selected by a committee comprising the Director of Education, the Curator of the museum and Beeby (as Director of NZCER), that they would work under the direction of the Principal of the Training College and the relevant Curator and that the government would pay half of their salary.¹⁴

In 1934, the year following the Markham-Richards Report, the 76 page Munn-Barr report, *New Zealand Libraries: A Survey of Conditions and Suggestions for their Improvement* was published.¹⁵ This major survey of New Zealand libraries included the state of the public libraries in throughout New Zealand, the University College libraries, and school libraries. Significant recommendations revolved around the development of a national system of libraries along the lines of that found in 'progressive' nations such as the United States and the United Kingdom.¹⁶ Specific recommendations were that: all public libraries should be free and adequately funded; country libraries should be subsidised further; libraries should be regionally grouped to allow co-operation; a national library should be developed 'without further delay'; the educational standards of librarians and their salaries need to be raised; school libraries need to be improved; and the Libraries Association needed to be

strengthened. Rochester (1981) noted that the recommendations were well received in New Zealand. In particular, a significant number of librarians from key university, public and government libraries had travelled overseas between 1932 to 1936 on study/ observation trips and had ‘been exposed to best examples of North American and British librarianship and some had attended library schools’.¹⁷ After Keppel’s visit in 1935, a number of these recommendations were to come to fruition during the 1930s and 1940s, partially funded by the CCNY, including the reformulation of the Libraries Association and the development of a training programme for librarians, the development of a central Country Library Service which lent collections of books to smaller rural libraries, the development of rules for inter-library loans, the formation of the School Library Service, several national bibliographic projects, and in 1945 the formation of a coordinated National Library Service, combining the National Library Centre, the School Library Service and the Country Library Service. Of note, Rochester contrasted the significant gains in the area in New Zealand with those of Australia after a similar CCNY-funded report and noted that such developments did not occur there until the 1960s onwards. The speed of the New Zealand progress was argued to be due to the dedicated work of local librarians (especially those who had previously travelled overseas), the interest and funding of the CCNY, and the support of the Labour Government.¹⁸

These many progressive initiatives that were funded and/or supported by the CCNY – particularly in the interwar years – revolved around liberal views of adult education, the value of educational research, and the importance of educating children and adults for living in an effective democracy. The range of Carnegie’s activities in New Zealand required on-going monitoring and in this regard, the CCNY sent out distinguished representatives on a regular basis to monitor programmes, assess local needs and where necessary, recommend funding priorities.

Notes

¹ This figure is quoted Lester, R. (1941). *Forty years of Carnegie giving*. NY: Scribner; p. 93. Also see ATL - FMS-039 Carnegie Library Grants for a summary of applications and ATL - FMS-038 Carnegie Library Grants for copies of many of the applications.

² Memorandum on file titled Workers' Education Association, dated 23 October 1928; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 374, Folder 6 – WEA of NZ.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Report on W.E.A. Box Scheme, Canterbury College, November 1931; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 374, Folder 6 – WEA of NZ.

⁵ See Chapters Three and Four of McEldowney (2006) for further information on this scheme: McEldowney, W. J. (2006). *Geoffrey Alley: His life and works*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

⁷ ATL, PAColl-4919-1-06.

⁸ Taylor, L. (2012). Strong, Ann Monroe Gilchrist. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Updated 30-Oct-2012 . URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s51/strong-ann-monroe-gilchrist>

⁹ For further information on the project and the nature of the dispute, see: Collins, J. (2010). Expanding women's work in the University and beyond – Carnegie Connections, 1923-1942. *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, 7, 2, 171-183.

¹⁰ Markham, S. F., & Richards, H. C. (1933). *A report on the museums and art galleries of Australia and New Zealand*. London: The Museums Association; 66 pages were devoted to the New Zealand report.

¹¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 26 May 1936, p. 8.

¹² Letter Hercus to CCNY dated 16 December 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

¹³ Letter Keppel to Beeby dated 12 March 1936; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

¹⁴ Letter Fraser to Beeby dated 30 July 1937; AAVZ, W3418 Box 25.

¹⁵ Munn, R., & Barr, J. (1934). *New Zealand libraries: A survey of conditions and suggestions for their improvement*. Christchurch: Libraries Association of New Zealand.

¹⁶ Three years later at the NEF conference, Salter Davies garnered much interest in his lectures and talks on the free national library system in the United Kingdom. Salter Davies was chairman of the Carnegie Trust Library Committee, a Life Trustee for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (later becoming chairman) and was appointed President of the Library Association.

¹⁷ Rochester (1981), p. 110.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Appendix 12(b)

Carnegie Corporation

*Official Reports of Carnegie Visitors to New Zealand:
J E Russell (1928), L D Coffman (1931), F P Keppel (1935)*

The CCNY, through its British Dominions and Colonies Fund, funded a range of progressive educational initiatives in New Zealand particularly from the 1930s in a range of areas from adult education, to educational research and the expansion of library services. CCNY regularly sent representatives on visits around the Commonwealth to monitor programmes and assess opportunities for further activities. The Carnegie visitors were often eminent educationists with strong progressive views and they wrote frank and critical confidential reports on their visits for the Corporation. This Appendix examines some of the Corporation's archival material related to the visits of three of their representatives during the critical period for progressive education in New Zealand: the late 1920s and into the 1930s leading to the setting up of NZCER and the organisation of the Australasian NEF Conference 1937.

The Official Reports to CCNY of visits to New Zealand by James Earl Russell in 1928, Lotus D Coffman in 1931 and Frederick P Keppel in 1935 make for illuminating reading. They are very candid in their views of policymakers, education and educators in New Zealand whilst these three eminent educators also made recommendations for future Carnegie activities and grants in the country. The visitors were, in that regard, not only pursuing Carnegie policy for the Dominions but were also formulating policy for the Corporation based on what they had observed and on suggestions from educators in New Zealand.

1) James Earl Russell – Report of Visit in 1928 (February 27 to March 16)

James Earl Russell's final eighteen-page report on New Zealand to the CCNY makes for interesting reading.¹ Concerning his visit to Auckland (February 27-29), Russell's critical comments on Auckland University College were that: the science buildings were 'poorly constructed and poorly equipped'; the library was 'meagre'; many of the schools were 'feeble and poorly equipped'; and, there were some 'exceptionally capable instructors, but average not impressive'. He noted that the WEA classes were concerned with, 'the making of intelligent citizens' and that: there was an urgent need for more books (especially for travelling libraries); and, the state schools and colleges do not focus on the needs of the general population and the WEA was attempting to fill that gap. He recommended CCNY 'demand' that the WEA gets more state support. Russell comments on the Auckland Teachers Training College were mainly descriptive and not critical.²

Concerning his visit to Wellington (March 2-7 and 16), Russell's comments on Victoria University College were mainly complimentary: the buildings were substantial and adequate; the library's 20,000 volumes were 'well selected and evidently used'; the staff included some good academics – 'notably Professor Thomas Hunter (Philosophy and Psychology) who is both able and human'; and, the curriculum was 'the same narrow offering as at Auckland'. Russell stated that the national school system was: 'highly centralised'; the Director (Strong) was 'a really able man with good staff'; the chief issues at that time were curriculum revision and junior high schools; American pedagogical books and periodicals were the standard reference material; that, besides the English examination system, 'the professional aims and ideals are far more American than British'; and he noted that closer cooperation with CCNY would be 'heartily welcome', especially books and travel fellowships. Concerning the Wellington Training College, he noted that the library was 'meagre' and there were 280 students undertaking a two-year course taught by eight staff. He added that the WEA was doing very good work, 'due to Professor Hunter's management and their work was funded by Government grants to each college as well as university grants. Russell found the Turnbull Library to have 'a

remarkable collection of books', although Alexander Turnbull 'spent a fortune on books and left nothing for upkeep' and with a small staff, he noted that their present collection of materials would 'never be catalogued'.³

Concerning his visit to Christchurch (March 8-9), Russell noted with regard to Canterbury College that: it was 'a little bit of old England'; the College was the only one with a permanent head who was Professor James Hight (Hight had recently been an exchange professor to England and visited Teachers' College, Columbia University the previous November on his return journey); and, the library was 'very poor'. Russell commented of the Christchurch Teachers Training College headed by Purchase that: it had a new building, 'almost perfect in its appointments'; the curriculum was manly academic and there were courses on method; and it had a fine library although there were only 500 books. Regarding WEA, Russell noted that the national office was based in Christchurch with George Manning as the secretary and he included a number of their circulars with this report. He reflected that the success of the local work was 'largely dependent upon Professor James Shelley ... who has given freely of his time ... without pay'; and, regular tutorial classes are provided. He added that an 'outstanding contribution' had been made by the 'Box Scheme' and that 'surprisingly good results [were] secured in holding interest of groups' and that without Shelley these results might not be expected. Russell commented that Shelley planned to expand the scheme to farmers and if a motor vehicle were available, 'Box' group classes could be visited. He concluded that it was 'One of the best projects that I have seen anywhere'.⁴

Concerning his visit to Dunedin (March 10-15), Russell commented on the Otago University College that: it was far better equipped with regard to staff and buildings than any of the other colleges; 'its professional schools keep the academic departments impoverished'; chemistry, physics and geology were well equipped while biology was not; and, other subjects were not well provided for, 'but the lack of any effective administrative plan leaves each professor supreme in his own field, however important or unimportant it or he may be'. Russell was complimentary about the Medical School with a new building although he noted a lack in support staff and library materials, and also the School of Mines and the Dental School. Russell wrote

that the Home Science School was run by Mrs Ann Gilchrist Strong who was a graduate of Columbia Teachers College. He thought the building was well equipped, and their work 'superior' with a mix of fundamental sciences provided by the University and practical courses with the aim of training teachers and homemakers in 'household arts'. The University library: had 20,000 volumes in a 'small room'; the collection was uneven due to funds being distributed to professors regardless of need; the *New Republic* was the only American journal; the Medical School collection was old (mostly pre-1900) while there were no cases for the books provided recently by the Philadelphia Medical School and they weren't yet catalogued. The Dunedin Training College had a poor building with no separate library room.⁵

Russell's overall 'observations' in his report are candid.⁶ They fall into six main areas of compliment or critique and recommendations. First, the four universities – Russell is scathing in his comments here. He stated that they have 'inherited the jealousies of the four original Provinces of the Dominion'. He argued the University of New Zealand was merely a 'paper organisation' designed to avoid overlap and its sole function was 'to hold examinations and grant degrees'. He noted that papers for MA degrees were being sent to England 'apparently because the colleges can't trust each other'. He concluded that all the colleges were weak and in a struggle for preferment, 'with much wire-pulling' for State grants. He surmised the ultimate result would be 'four universities instead of one', which was highly undesirable for a country with such a small population.

Second, the WEA – Russell noted that it played an important role in adult education and that the organisation was, 'the only means of bringing educational opportunities to those outside the colleges'. He stated that it was 'a strong and vigorous movement' and he was impressed that it 'springs from the people and in which they are learning to help themselves'. Russell noted that the rural farming community as a whole was not being reached and the WEA needed help to expand into the 'back country' and include the women as well. He suggested that the Government was paternalistic, and this tended to curb individualism while 'the centralised school system with rigid inspection tends to check initiative'.

Third, the Karitane movement – Russell was impressed by Dr Sir Truby King who developed what he described as ‘the most successful organisation of its kind in the world’. However, he argued that King wasn’t inclined to share his political influence with organisation’s such as the WEA and kindergartens and as the system stopped when children are aged one, Russell recommended support for the development of some form of Child Welfare Institute.

Fourth, the University and Training College libraries – this aspect was a constant theme in Russell’s report. He criticised the way that funding allocations were made to College professors irrespective of student need or the collection at hand. Russell was critical of the University College Professors of Education:

[T]here is particular need for books on education, because these chairs have only been recently established and are poorly equipped for their work. Worse than that, the professors of education are all English or provincially trained and have little information on recent progress in the United States and Canada. A carefully chosen list of American materials would be helpful both professionally and internationally.⁷

Russell also noted a great need for library materials at the ‘Teachers Training Schools’. He wrote: ‘None of them has anything approaching the library of our poorest normal schools’. He was very critical of the connection between Colleges and Training Colleges which he felt was ‘mostly on paper’:

The college professor of education does as he pleases and the schools do the same. There is no team-work. The Colleges are under the University Council; the Training Schools are under the Government Education Department. This condition is excuse for faults which are hard from an American to understand ... The present situation is intolerable and unworthy of a race that is famed for ‘muddling through’ by compromise.⁸

Fifth, Russell submitted a statement from the librarian of the Turnbull Library. He admitted to not knowing very much about Pacific relations.

Finally, Russell tackled the subject of grants for travel. He argued that ‘much good can come from bringing promising men to America for a period of observation and study’. He noted that the Education Department wished to send someone to study administrative systems while Otago University proposed their Registrar and their Professor of Modern Languages, G E Thompson. He concluded his report by arguing that:

The fact is that New Zealand has kept what it got from England eighty years ago and has idealised it. They have profited nothing from the development of the newer universities of England and are woefully ignorant of what has happened in the United States and Canada.⁹

2) Lotus Delta Coffman – Report of Visit in 1931 (November 1 to November 17)

Coffman’s report to CCNY detailed his visit, his evaluations of current projects and provided suggestions and recommendations for new projects that could be funded in New Zealand. Coffman’s fairly traditional set of introductory background information on the country included a lengthy discussion of the impact of the recent economic depression and also contained some interesting comments about the socialist nature of New Zealand:

The railroads and other public utilities ... are owned by the Government; education and other public functions are financed and controlled by the Government; much land is still owned by the Government ... The sick may secure free medical and dental attention. Yet, in spite of these and other socialistic tendencies there is at present a spirit of conservatism everywhere throughout the country.¹⁰

With regard to education, Coffman observed that the public education system is under the complete control of the Minister of Education with little local initiative: ‘Everywhere there was expressed the hope that this bureaucratic system might be

modified or broken down, but no one thinks it will be done, as it has become part of the administrative and political organization of the Dominion'.¹¹

Coffman noted that the four colleges of the University of New Zealand varied in spirit, financing, governance, programmes and expertise. Of interest to this thesis, he argued that in Otago, the 'canny Scots living in that area are the most progressive laymen of the whole population ... [and] have established more new things and given more liberally to Otago than has been true at any other university center' (p. 8). Canterbury, he observed, was the most conservative university centre, although occasionally it did carry out progressive acts, including inviting 'Professor Shelley of England to accept a position on its staff, create a professorship in Education for him; and established an Experimental Psychological Laboratory – meager to be sure – but nevertheless a Laboratory' (p. 9). Coffman noted later in the report that the Rector of Canterbury College, Dr Hight, was 'a fine gentleman, a capable scholar, well informed in regard to education in England and America as a result of his recent visit to these countries' (p. 11). Auckland was seen as more progressive than Victoria which was seen as catering mainly for Government employees (he added later in the report that Professor Hunter appeared to be the most able person on the staff there). Coffman concluded that the universities are 'dominated ... by English or Scottish ideals and principles' (p. 10).

A substantial part of Coffman's report was devoted to library matters. There was a discussion of recommendations for CCNY library fellowships and Coffman concluded that while there was still a great need for books in university and Government libraries, the most pressing need was for librarian training. Coffman noted that the Alexander Turnbull Library had a fine collection and would benefit from a grant to help ascertain the classification needs of the collection. Coffman concluded that the national Library Association was 'very ineffective' and recommended that a top librarian be sent to the United States to study the workings of the American Library Association (he recommended John Barr of Auckland).

Coffman's comments about the WEA were fairly critical. He wrote that he would have preferred that the whole organisation be 'abandoned' (presumably for funding

purposes) and replaced with a 'genuine' university extension programme if at all possible. However, he mused that, 'Educational practices change slowly in New Zealand especially those whose roots are imbedded in English tradition' (p. 21). Coffman noted that the Association's offerings were mainly in the liberal arts and not vocational areas and that the name 'Workers' hindered rural expansion as it was an 'anathema to many farmers ... [who] think it means communism, Sovietism, I.W.W.,¹² 'Labor'' (p. 20). He did acknowledge that their programmes were providing a useful service and recommended substantially increasing their grants.

Coffman devoted nearly two pages of his report to the Strong-Shelley Project noting that it was 'succeeding admirably' (p. 23). Coffman recommended that Strong's work in Otago and Shelly's work in Canterbury be extended to the whole of the South Island and both university colleges were willing to cooperate with such a plan. He proposed that two part-time people be employed in Canterbury under Mrs Strong to expand the home science project while a similar arrangement be made to expand the travelling library scheme in Otago. He also recommended that a new committee be established to oversee the joint project comprising of Dr Hight, Sir James Allen, Shelley, Strong and a University of New Zealand representative. He concluded that: 'The need for home science and travelling library work in the 'backblocks' is obvious to everyone. If it could be extended over the Island for three to five years the whole program would stand a better chance of receiving federal encouragement and support at the end of the experimental period' (p. 25). This 'seeding' approach to projects was an important part of the way the CCNY funded projects not only in New Zealand but around the world.

Coffman wrote one page of criticism of the Normal Schools. He argued that they needed 'new life', were government subsidised and controlled, were 'lacking in initiative and originality', that their curriculum was 'ultra conservative', and that work with modern methods wasn't used:

To mention tests, measurements, scales, mental diagnosis, intelligence quotients, is to talk, with few exceptions, in a foreign language. And yet there is an earnestness of purpose, a fidelity of ideas and a patient industry that is worthy of note and of commendation. (p. 27)

He suggested that as the Department of Education only ‘thinks in terms of administration’ (p. 27), that perhaps a visiting lecturer programme at each institution would be useful.

The rest of Coffman’s report focused on a diverse range of areas: the Jubilee Institute for the Blind (and Coffman recommended that their grant application be approved); a new library building for Canterbury College (Coffman recommended, if CCNY’s policy of not providing grants for buildings was changed, to fund one-half of the new building); the Karitane/ Plunket School (Coffman wrote in glowing terms about their success rates and recommended approval of their grant application); the American Institute of Pacific Relations (Coffman discussed the Institute’s value for encouraging positive Pacific relationships and recommended supporting the sending of representatives to their conferences); the Kindergartens (Coffman praised the work of the national kindergarten movement and their fifty-five kindergartens ‘fostered and maintained by enterprising women’ (p. 34); he suggested approving grants to send representatives to America for training); the New Zealand Institute (an organisation devoted to the publication of philosophical and scientific material and Coffman recommended a grant towards their publication costs); Museums (Coffman recommended fellowships for the training of museum directors); visitors grants (Coffman argued that these were one of the best things the CCNY had done and they should be continued if possible); teeth and diet (Coffman argued that the greatest physical need in New Zealand was a better knowledge of diet: ‘I never saw so many false teeth in my life’! (p. 37)); future Carnegie visits to New Zealand (Coffman argued that a brief two week visit was not sufficient time to fully understand the education system or the political and educational forces of the Dominion; he recommended that the next Carnegie representative spend longer and perhaps CCNY might even consider sending a university professor who was on sabbatical for up to a year to New Zealand and Australia – this is exactly what Kandel’s visit comprised some five years later before the NEF conference); the Auckland proposal for a fine arts center (Coffman recommended some support for this project); educational broadcasting (Coffman recommended support for preliminary and experimental projects in the area); and, a research institute.

Of all the cabal of existing Carnegie projects and recommended future projects, Coffman's brief two page suggestion for a research institute was to have the most far-reaching consequences for New Zealand education. The CCNY had a history of supporting the formation and/or activities of educational research organisations around the world. The most recent and geographically closest example was ACER that was inspired by Dean Russell's visit in 1928. It can't have escaped the notice of educationists in New Zealand that CCNY was prepared to fund such organisations and that, given the right conditions, the CCNY might be prepared to fund a New Zealand equivalent of ACER. It is not clear whether Coffman independently came up with the idea, whether the CCNY had proposed the notion for him to investigate during the tour, whether educationists in New Zealand raised the issue, or some combination of these possibilities. Whatever the inspiration, the brief inclusion of the concept starting on page 28 in Coffman's considerably larger forty page report on New Zealand education started a chain of events that was to lead to the formation of NZCER only some three years later.

Coffman's concise two page discussion of a research institute started with the statement that, 'The most notable deficiency in the field of education is the lack of research and experimental work in the teacher-training field' (p. 28). He argued that there was little emphasis on studying the learning process as well as mental ability and its diagnosis through testing and measurement and he noted that the only professor familiar with that literature was Shelley. Coffman had consulted widely during his tour with the Minister and Director of Education, the university colleges (e.g., see Lawson's contribution earlier in this chapter), and the heads of normal schools and all supported the promotion of such an institute. Coffman went on to outline that the institute should have a constitution, be administered by a person whose primary role was research not administration, and their role would be to: 'make studies and to publish reports; [and] to disseminate information, of a scientific character, with regard to the schools' (p. 29). He also commented on the overall function of the institute in New Zealand society:

The establishment of a research institute would mean the substitution of reliable information for political pressure in moulding public opinion about education. (p. 29)

Coffman continued with a discussion of how a research institute might come about. He had attended a conference hosted by Governor-General Bledisloe where he had mentioned the idea. Bledisloe was very keen to support it and Coffman suggested that Bledisloe might play a pivotal role in getting the institute off the ground by creating a council to administer it. Coffman wrote that the council might comprise representatives of the University of New Zealand, the Department of Education, the normal schools, and the public schools. He argued that the institute could be established for considerably less money than ACER. He also rejected an earlier suggestion that ACER be reconstituted as an Australasian research institute as New Zealand, 'cherishes its independence' (p. 30); although, he was not averse to Cunningham taking on an advisory role during the first couple of years of its operation.

3) Frederick Paul Keppel – Report of Visit in 1935 (January 25 to February 22)

Keppel's report to the CCNY on his visit to New Zealand is less formal than Coffman's though it makes similar sorts of observations and it inevitably was influential.¹³ Keppel initially observed that New Zealand had a highly centralised system of education and noted that, 'With a lack of local taxation, there is a corresponding lack of local responsibility, not only for formal education but for other cultural agencies such as libraries and museums' (p. 8). He reiterated his view on parochialism and the problems that that caused for CCNY efforts: 'There is no lack of what we call public spirit, but this is local or regional; despite almost complete government centralization, there seems to be an absence of a New Zealand spirit ... the factor most adverse to Corporation activity in New Zealand will be the difficulty of obtaining the disinterested lay counsel which we need, and upon which we count' (pp. 10-11). In Keppel's observations of higher education, he argued that this lack of national unity had seriously hindered its development: 'There is a University of New

Zealand on paper; in fact, there are four relatively feeble institutions, equally ignorant of one another and equally jealous' (p. 11). He was more impressed with some of the technical institutes and agricultural high schools and he noted that the WEA was the most significant organisation providing adult education.

Keppel's report included some critical judgments of the success of various Corporation enterprises in the Dominions programme. He argued that two particular types of activity had been 'highly successful', three had been 'promising', and the remainder 'doubtful'. Keppel wrote that the 'highly successful' activities were the travel grants for visitors to and from the Dominions and he considered ACER as being 'the most successful general enterprise which the Corporation had undertaken' (p. 17) while he added that NZCER 'seems to be off to an excellent start' (p. 18). The 'promising' activities were the provision of art and music sets, books for colleges and universities, and the rural education activities in Otago and Canterbury are 'showing good results despite a handicap of local and intuitional jealousy' (p. 18). Keppel stated that the 'doubtful' activities of the Corporation were those grants which funded local or short-term efforts or for which there was insufficient qualified staff to see the projects to a successful conclusion, and here he included the museum grants, the Empire Marketing Board research and aspects of their social service and child welfare programmes. Keppel's strongest criticism was directed towards the funding of the WEA. In particular, he reflected that the universities, 'which should furnish the chief moral support of the movement, are proving to be weak reeds' (p. 18). However, he added that 'the best of the younger teachers in the universities are engaged in its work and in fine spirit' and he further noted with some approbation, 'That they are constantly in trouble with the local witch-hunters is evidence of their courage in dealing with controversial questions' (p. 18). He concluded that while he initially started his tour with the view of 'closing out' Corporation grants involving the WEA he found that the WEA stood out as 'the only alive type of adult education agency' available and he was now more inclined to recommend the extension of Corporation support 'for at least a time' (p. 19).

Keppel identified a number of opportunities for future Corporation activity in the Dominions and New Zealand. Keppel received 'a mass' of proposal on his tour, 'most

of them trivial'. However, he recommended the continuation of the travel grants (and for New Zealand, especially those relating to educational administration, library and museum work), closer liaison with the Institute of Education, University of London (and, especially related to Professor Clarke), the continuation of art and music sets (and perhaps extend this into educational films and science teaching equipment), bibliographic work (at the Turnbull and other specialist libraries), the extension of the home science project to the North Island ('if the tendency to local bickering and jealousy can be overcome'), and support for travelling collections of art works (pp. 20-25).

Notes

¹ Australia and New Zealand Report by Dr J. E. Russell; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 316, Folder 10. A facsimile copy of this report was given by John M. Russell to Neil A. Radford (Associate Librarian at University of Sydney Library) in 1980 who passed it on to the National Library of New Zealand. The copy of the report and related correspondence is located at the Alexander Turnbull Library, filed under: Russell, James Earl; ATL - MS-Papers-2102.

² Australia and New Zealand Report by Dr J. E. Russell; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 316, Folder 10.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.; p. 17.

⁸ Ibid.; p. 18.

⁹ Ibid.; p. 19.

¹⁰ Report on New Zealand (1931) by Lotus D. Coffman; CCNY, Series IIIA, Box 106, Folder 4; p. 3. Coffman also argued later that local effort needed to be stimulated as, 'The people of New Zealand have come to rely on the Government for everything' (p. 14).

¹¹ Ibid.; p. 5.

¹² IWW stands for the socialist organisation, Industrial Workers of the World.

¹³ Informal Report of the President on Visit to the Southern British Dominions, January-June 1935; CCNY, Series VIII, Box 13, Folder 5.

Appendix 13

National Radio Recordings Related to the NEF Conference 1937

Throughout July 1937 (and later) there were a number of radio broadcasts on the conference mainly by speakers or local committee members. These broadcasts served the purpose of advertising the Conference, bringing progressive ideas to the general public (especially those that were not able to attend the public addresses), and provided insights on the educational and worsening political situation overseas.

After discussion with the progressive educator, Professor Shelley it was agreed for a selection of the speakers to be recorded in the studio and then broadcast later.¹ Shelley at the time was the Director of Broadcasting and was also heavily involved in organising and supporting the Conference.

In Beeby's circular to speakers he invited all the delegates to give addresses and some were available and agreeable.² Consequently, there were a number of broadcasts on the national radio system – Auckland 1YA, Wellington 2YA, Christchurch 3YA, and Dunedin 4YA. These broadcasts publicised the events in the four main centres where the conference was being held, but they also brought the conference to those people who may not have been able to attend it. As Hunter put it, 'thousands in remote districts were able to listen in to those lectures that were put on the air'.³

The talks were generally between 10 to 20 minutes long. The below listings were compiled from regional newspapers, archival sources and the *NZ Radio Record* and provide an indication of many of the key talks from July to September 1937. However, it is not a complete record as the section below discusses.

Auckland 1YA 650 kc.)

Date	Time	Speaker	Title	Duration
July 11	9.05pm	E de S Brunner	Rural Trends in the United States of America	15 mins
July 13	9.20pm	Susan Isaacs	A Child's View of Life	1 hour 40 mins*
July 14	Not listed	William Boyd	Education for Leisure	Not listed

* This duration may not have been correctly reported for Susan Isaacs' talk.

Wellington 2YA (570 kc.)

Date	Time	Speaker	Title	Duration
July 2	8.40pm	I L Kandel	Education and Freedom	20 mins
July 6	7.30pm	M Riske*	The New Educational Fellowship	10 mins
July 15	7.30pm	M Riske and L F de Berry*	What Is The NEF?	Not listed
July 19	8.40pm	E Salter Davies	The Teacher and the Broad Arrow: Education in One of His Majesty's Prisons	20 mins
July 20	8.40pm	Susan Isaacs	Childhood in Lancashire	20 mins
July 23	8.40pm	Paul Dengler	Present Life in Austria **	20 mins
August 17	7.30pm	E Salter Davies	England to New Zealand	Not listed

* Max Riske and L F de Berry were both on the Executive of the Wellington Organising Committee for the Conference and were NZEI members.

** This talk was advertised earlier in *The Evening Post* (15 July 1937) as The Children of Europe.

Christchurch 3YA (720 kc.)

Date	Time	Speaker	Title	Duration
July 12	9.05pm	I L Kandel	Schools as an International Force	15 mins
July 14	9.05pm	Arthur Lismer	Art in the Changing World	15 mins

Dunedin 4YA (790 kc.)

Date	Time	Speaker	Title	Duration
July 20	8.41pm	Percy Meadon	Rural Education	19 mins
July 21	8.40pm	Rev Cyril Norwood	The New Conception of Physical Education	20 mins
July 22	8.40pm	Arthur Lismer	Art and the Community	20 mins
Sept. 1	8.40pm	G T Hankin	An English School Inspector Looks At New Zealand	8 mins

However, this is not a complete record of the broadcasts as the following article in *The Evening Post* (July 29, p. 17) outlined:

“NEW EDUCATION”

NOTABLE SPEECHES RECORDED

New Zealanders have not heard the last of the distinguished New Education Fellowship delegates who lately visited the country. The National Broadcasting Service had a number of recordings made in Wellington, to preserve addresses by those who spoke from the national stations and also by some for whom it was not possible to find room in the programmes. Three of the talks given at the national stations – “A Democrat Stands on His Head in New Zealand,” by Rektor Zilliacus, Dr Susan Isaacs’s account of her childhood in Lancashire, and Dr. Paul Dengler’s description of life in an Austrian village, with its ancient customs – have been placed on record.

Sir Percy Meadon has discussed library development in England and present-day conditions in Lancashire; Mr. Salter Davies has spoken a farewell message to New Zealand; Dr. Cyril Norwood has discussed education and democracy; Professor Hart, of Los Angeles has put on record his views on men and machines; Mr. G. T. Hankin has given his impressions of New Zealand under the intriguing title of “Tea, Manners, and Cranks”; Dr. Malherbe, of South Africa, has recorded facts about the poor whites of the union, a subject that he has studied for many years; Dr. Dengler, of Austria, has left a record that combines a description of Salzburg and the annual Mozart festival, with an account of the life of Salzburg’s greatest son; Mr. A. Lismer has left his opinions on creative art and leisure, and Dr. Kandel has recorded his views on our educational system.

These recordings, which it will be possible to broadcast at all stations, will greatly increase the distinguished visitors’ range of entertainment and instruction.

Combining these two sets of listings, the following more complete outline is probably closer to what was actually broadcast by the overseas delegates (the newspaper report listings are in italics):

- William Boyd: Education for Leisure;
- E de S Brunner: Rural Trends in the United States of America;
- Paul Dengler: Present Life in Austria (which presumably was the same as *A record that combines a description of Salzburg and the annual Mozart festival, with an account of the life of Salzburg's greatest son*);
- G T Hankin: An English School Inspector Looks At New Zealand; this may or may not be the same as the broadcast described as, *His impressions of New Zealand under the intriguing title of 'Tea, Manners, and Cranks'*;
- Frank Hart: *Men and Machines*;
- Susan Isaacs: A Child's View of Life; Childhood in Lancashire;
- Isaac Kandel: Education and Freedom; Schools as an International Force; and *His Views on our Educational System* (see below);
- Arthur Lismer: Art in the Changing World; Art and the Community; and one of these may or may not be *His Opinions on Creative Art and Leisure*;
- E G Malherbe: *The Poor Whites of the Union*;
- Percy Meadon: Rural Education; this is presumably different from *Library Development in England and Present-Day Conditions in Lancashire*;
- Cyril Norwood: The New Conception of Physical Education; and *Education and Democracy*;
- E Salter Davies: The Teacher and the Broad Arrow: Education in One of His Majesty's Prisons; England to New Zealand; the last may be his *Farewell Message to New Zealand*; and,
- Rektor Zilliacus: *A Democrat Stands on His Head in New Zealand*.⁴

It appears that the only delegate who did not record a broadcast was Harold Rugg.

Despite extensive searching, there does not appear to be any of these audio recordings that survived from around the time of the conference itself. While the intention was to preserve the addresses for later broadcast, the media used by the National Broadcasting Service at the time was not a permanent medium and according to Beeby, only lasted a dozen playings at most.⁵ This explains Beeby's request to Ken Cunningham at ACER (on behalf of two members of the National Organising Committee) as to whether he could actually do some permanent recordings of the speakers while they were in Australia where apparently there were the facilities for making genuinely permanent recordings at the time. In their exchange of letters it became clear that while broadcasting records could hold up to 15 minutes per side, the genuinely permanent commercially produced records could only hold perhaps 5 minutes per side, greatly reducing their utility for recording speaker addresses. In any case, Beeby passed on the following list for Cunningham to try to capture permanently, and this gives an indication of what speakers and topics members of the National and Local Committees wished to permanently preserve:

- Boyd: Guidance;
- Brunner: Rural Education;
- Dengler: Self-Government;
- Isaacs: Pre-School Child, or The School and the Home;
- Lismer: Art and the Child;
- Malherbe: Examinations;
- Meadon: The Administration and Organisation of Education;
- Rugg: The Place of the Social Sciences in the School Programme; and,
- Zilliacus: The aims of the NEF; A Democrat Stands on his Head in New Zealand.⁶

Beeby noted that, 'Personally, I don't think much of the idea, but if you [have] people who wish to make any records, we shall be willing to share the cost with you'.⁷ And he added, 'Please don't go to any trouble about this ... You will have enough to do finding lost umbrellas and boat tickets'!⁸ In early September, Cunningham finally responded that he had been too busy to follow up the idea and could see a number of difficulties with it.

Besides what was provided in the two conference proceedings, and the various newspaper reports, the *exact* content of these radio broadcasts is in the main unknown. However, there are written records of at least two of the talks; one by Susan Isaacs and one by Isaac Kandel. Susan Isaacs' first biographer and close friend D E M Gardner quotes from 'a talk' Isaacs gave in New Zealand, titled A Childhood in a Lancashire Cotton Town, which was presumably sourced from Isaacs' script of her second radio talk advertised as Childhood in Lancashire. Isaacs was born and raised in Lancashire and she had a strong and lasting affinity to its town and countryside, as this vivid and eloquent account to New Zealanders described:

The streets of the town *were* grey and grimy, with their long rows of slate-roofed cottages, uniform in pattern, the doors opening straight on to the street without a green leaf or a space between ... yet there was a certain dignity in the very bareness and stark simplicity of the streets. They belonged to the bare moors with which they were surrounded ... they clung together with a neighbourly warmth, and their solid grey stone and slate, and stark lies, were not so alien to the moorland heights, not such unworthy fellows to the old manorial halls of the county, as their more sanitary successors of the twentieth century. From a hillside, it was of course the mills and their chimneys which dominated the landscape. The little houses clustered round these great square buildings whose tall chimneys pierced the smoke and mist, each belching out its own addition to the general grime. But what sunsets, what silvery light the smoke and fog would bring to those moorland views ...

I returned to my home town a year or two ago, after an absence of many years. In the time between, I had seen many mountains and valleys, many lovely landscapes in other parts of England and the continent of Europe. And the brightness of these experiences had dimmed my memories of my native county – had led me to think of it always as of mills and chimneys, of grime and smoke, of machines and hurrying workers. I looked again on these – not so grimy now, not hurrying so fast. But I saw also that it *was* here that I first learnt what a good landscape was. I saw how noble those

moors are, what grand open lines they show, what dignity and breadth their dark heather has. And as if for the first time I saw how pleasantly the valleys turn, how charmingly they are wooded, how much in keeping the little stone houses appear. I could think away all the modern outcrop of red brick, now spreading itself without regard to contour; I could see again the countryside as I knew it as a child – and see that it *was* good, in spite of the factory chimneys and the crowded streets of the towns, and that it *was* here that I first learnt to love noble hills and spaces and freedom.⁹

In addition, Isaac Kandel's recording on his views on the New Zealand education system has also survived though in published form this time. Kandel submitted the typescript of the speech to NZCER for publication and both Professor Hunter and Professor Gould recommended it for publication along with a second article of his.¹⁰ This was published by NZCER as: *Impressions of Education in New Zealand* in 1937.¹¹

Although not a radio broadcast at the time, the Austrian speaker, Paul Dengler, in March 1938 recorded a permanent tribute to the New Zealand people in the form of a 78rpm record that, while initially miscatalogued, was located in the New Zealand Sound Archives. The title is, *A Message From Austria to New Zealand*. On one side is Dengler's message and on the other is the renown Austrian pianist, Egon Stuart Willfort (1880-1965), playing Haydn's Three Pieces for Mechanical Flute. It is not clear whether this was ever broadcast. Below is a full transcription.

A Message From Austria to New Zealand by Paul Dengler (12 March 1938)

Dear New Zealand friends, this message comes to you from your faithful admirer Paul Dengler from his far away home country of Austria of which he talks to you during his all too short visit last July.

The few weeks which Mrs Dengler and I spent in your most beautiful and hospitable country as members of the New Education Fellowship conference will never be forgotten. I already found numerous occasions to tell the people here in Vienna about New Zealand, its beauty its splendid government and the charm and the warm heartedness of its people. Each time I had a full house I showed the Viennese the film which the tourist office of your dominion kindly gave to me and when they saw the picture of the Southern Alps they felt quite at home and said 'Aah, like our Tyrols'!

I have taken with me from New Zealand, some records of Maori songs which I have heard at Rotorua. The beautiful voices and the artistic interpretation made great impression upon the Viennese who are connoisseurs in music. I had to repeat several times, the lecture on New Zealand. The newspapers wrote full accounts and everybody here stressed the fact that Austria had been connected more than most other European countries with the past of New Zealand.

Our great scientist and explorer Frederick von Hochstetter¹² named your greatest glacier after his Emperor, the Chamois which the latter sent to you are still enjoying your hospitality – at least their great-great-grandchildren! They seem to like New Zealand so much, that you begin to worry about their numbers, so I heard. You certainly won't forget even the Chamois because they love you so much, they are Austrians too and there's another Austrian who was connected with your early history, Andreas Reischek – I saw his son in Vienna recently and brought him your greetings and there was Julius von Haast, not an Austrian himself but one of our South German brothers and a good friend of Hochstetter. I consider it a special honour that his son presided at my opening lecture at the University of New Zealand in Wellington.

I still receive so many letters from your people who are certainly among the kindest on earth and quite a number of teachers and school children have expressed the desire to correspond with ours. I tried to find a pen-friend for each one of them, for I deeply believe in human understanding, we must show the youth of the world a way to a better future. They can only find it if they know each other better internationally. Only then they can really see that we are all brothers upon this beautiful earth and I have felt it in the many parts of the world.

When Mrs Dengler and I left your shores after three happy weeks, we felt that we were no more strangers but old friends. When we returned in October into our own old home country our mountains were covered with snow and winterly silence. There was peace and hope, much more than some sensational papers want the world to believe. And so it is today, on March 12th while I am speaking in the historical minutes of peaceful joy and happiness for the German people the world over. In Vienna we found everything as we had left it, the opera season had just started, the rehearsal performances and concerts and receptions were waiting for us, and we both went back to work too. Mrs Dengler to her study of medicine and I to my office in the Austro-American Institute of Education. I have told you about it in New Zealand. It is a cultural link between American and Austrian culture we carry on a students and teachers exchange, organise study trips and courses for Americans and help our foreign guests to get the real insight into the life of the people here. How wonderful if someday we could extend our activities to the British people in the Southern Hemisphere show them hospitality and help them to establish closer cultural contacts with our old world in central Europe of which Austria and its metropolis Vienna are the very heart.

When I prepared this little message for you, I thought that I should add some surprise, some special greeting for you, something typical of our country as you all know, music is the very language of the Austrians, it comes directly from its heart and you almost sing in music. They film music in the air where ever you go through the streets of old Vienna, or walk through the lovely green hills around the city where Beethoven and Schubert found their inspirations or along the banks of the Danube which Johann Strauss loved so much. So it shall be a musical greeting which I tell

you with this record across the ocean over the thousands of miles of water which separates our bodies but never our souls. I talked the matter over with one of my friends, Professor Wilford an excellent musician of great fame in this city. He gladly consented to play for you, some of the little known music of one of our great masters. There are in Vienna still three old klugvorks [?] for which Josef Haydn wrote the original music, some of these charming tunes, practically unknown to the world. Professor Willfort will play them on the Schweighofer piano, a Viennese firm which was established in the same year as the klugvorks were built. The music will tell you much better than I could do by words what Mrs Dengler and I feel about you kindly people of New Zealand, admiration, gratitude, love.

Now it is your turn Professor Willfort.

Notes

¹ Minutes of the 21 April 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

² *Circular Letters to Speakers – 9 June 1937*: Wireless Address: - I have been approached by the National Broadcasting Services to see if speakers will be willing to give wireless talks. I have told them that this is entirely a matter for individual speakers to decide. If you are willing to give one or more wireless talks could you have the title or titles ready by the time I meet you in Auckland? We cannot guarantee, or course, that the broadcasting people will be able to use the speakers, since the time available for talks over the national network is very limited and talks are generally arranged months in advance.

Circular Letters to Speakers – 7 July 1937: (b) A tentative list of the wireless talks to be given by visiting speakers whilst in New Zealand. All speakers whose topics were received in time have been asked to give talks. The actual titles have been suggested by the broad-casting service and are based as far as possible on the topics submitted by speakers. If you do not wish to speak over the air or if you wish any amendments made in your topics, will you communicate immediately either with me or with the broad-casting service? Since programmes had to be prepared well in advance it was impossible to get your approval for the details.

³ Campbell, 1938, p. xiii

⁴ A letter of appreciation was to sent to Shelley for his arrangement of a last minute broadcast by Zilliacus at the Auckland 1YA; Minutes of the 29 July 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁵ Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 10 August 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.

⁶ List compiled from: Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 10 August 1937 and 20 August 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.

⁷ Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 10 August 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.

⁸ Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 10 August 1937; ACER, Box 4924, Folder 94.

⁹ Gardner, D. E. M. (1969). *Susan Isaacs: The first biography*. London: Methuen; pp. 15-16.

¹⁰ Minutes of the August 30, 1937 Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

¹¹ Kandel, I. L. (1937). *Impressions of education in New Zealand and Inverted snobbery and the problems of secondary education* [Studies in Education No. 2]. Wellington: NZCER.

¹² It was actually 'Ferdinand' von Hochstetter (1829–1884) the Austrian geologist. He has been described as the father of New Zealand geology:
www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/hochstetter/index.html

Appendix 14

Overview of the Speakers to the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937

A brief overview of the fourteen speakers is provided in this Appendix.

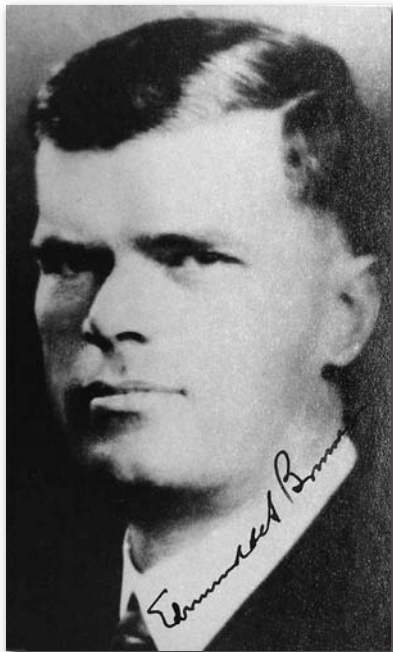
The speakers' photographs included here as Photographic Series A14-1 comprise part of the NZCER photographic collection and are generally standard publicity photographs. However, most displayed here have been personally signed as well.¹

Boyd, Dr William MA BSc DPhil DLitt LLD (1874-1962; Scotland)



At the time of the conference, William Boyd was 63 years of age and was one of the most influential figures in Scottish education. He was most well-known in his capacity as Head of the Department of Education at Glasgow University from 1907 until his retirement in 1946 where his teaching, which appeared to reflect his personality, was viewed as ‘vigorous, unconventional and iconoclastic but always inspiring’.²

Brunner, Dr Edmund de Schweinitz BD PhD LHD (1889-1973; USA)



At the time of the conference, Edmund de S Brunner was 48 years of age and already one of the most influential rural sociologists in the United States.

He was Professor of Education at Teachers’ College, Columbia University, New York, where he taught in the departments of rural sociology and adult education. Brunner had directed a variety of sociological surveys (e.g., in Egypt, India and Korea).

Dengler, Dr Paul Leo PhD PhD (Tas)³ (1886- ca. 1965; Austria)



Paul Dengler was 51 years of age and Director of the Austro-American Institute of Education in Vienna. He had been Professor of Psychology and Modern Languages at the Vienna Gymnasium and had gained a reputation for experimental teaching approaches. He had undertaken extensive lecture tours around Europe and the United States and was twice Visiting Carnegie Professor to American Universities (1932 &

1937). He was also Vice-President of the Home and School Federation.

Hankin, Mr Gerald Thornton BA MA (1877-1952; England)



At the time of the conference, Gerald Hankin was 60 years of age and a Staff Inspector for the English Board of Education, Whitehall, London and his duties included being responsible for the Board's activities in Kent (where Salter Davies was the Director of Education).⁴

Hart, Dr Frank William PhD LLD (Melb) (1881-1965; USA)



At the time of the conference, Frank Hart was 56 years of age and the Professor of the School of Administration at the University of California and was an expert in the area of school administration.

Isaacs, Dr Susan Sutherland MA DSc⁵ CBE (1885-1948; England)



At the time of the conference, Susan Isaacs was 52 years of age and had an international reputation as an educational psychologist, psychoanalyst, educational innovator and author. She was also well known as the head of the Department of Child Development at the Institute of Education, London University (which she founded in 1933).

**Kandel, Dr Isaac Leon MA (Manchester) PhD (Columbia) LittD (Melbourne)⁶
Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur (1881-1965; USA)**



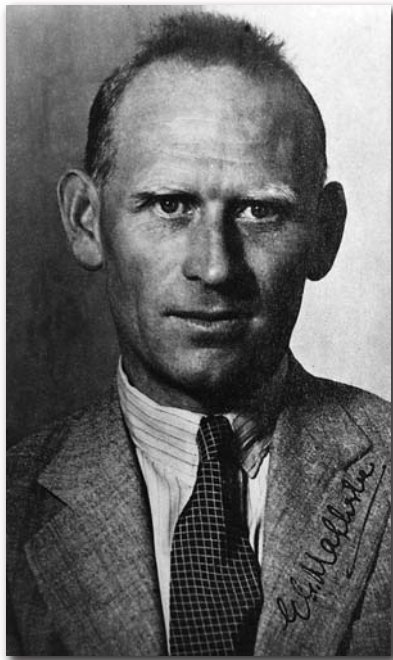
At the time of the conference, Isaac Leon Kandel was 56 years of age and Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University (along with Edmund de S. Brunner and Harold Rugg). He was a leading authority on comparative and international education and was editor of the *Educational Yearbook* since its inception in 1924.

Lismer, Arthur ARCA⁷ (1885-1969; Canada) LLD⁸



At the time of the conference, Arthur Lismer was 52 years of age and was Director of the Children's Art Centre and Educational Supervisor at the Art Gallery of Toronto. He was a leading Canadian painter, a member of the now-renown Group of Seven painters, and a pioneer in the field of children's art.

Malherbe, Dr Ernst Gideon (1895-1982; South Africa)



At the time of the conference, E G Malherbe was Director of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research of the Union Department of Education in Pretoria. He was a member of the Executive Board of the NEF and was Organizing Secretary of the South African NEF Conference (1934) and editor of *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society*, the report of the proceedings. He was also a member of Commissions on the Poor White Problem and on Native Education. He was author of *The History of Education in South Africa*⁹.

Meadon, Sir Percival Edward (Percy) CBE, MA (Oxford)¹⁰ MA (Queensland)¹¹ LLD (Manchester)¹² (1878-1959; England)



At the time of the conference, Percy Meadon was 59 years of age, Director of Education in Lancashire and the Honorary Treasurer of the New Education Fellowship international office in London. He had previously been Director of Education for Essex.¹³

Norwood, Sir Cyril (1875-1956; England) MA (Oxford), DLitt¹⁴

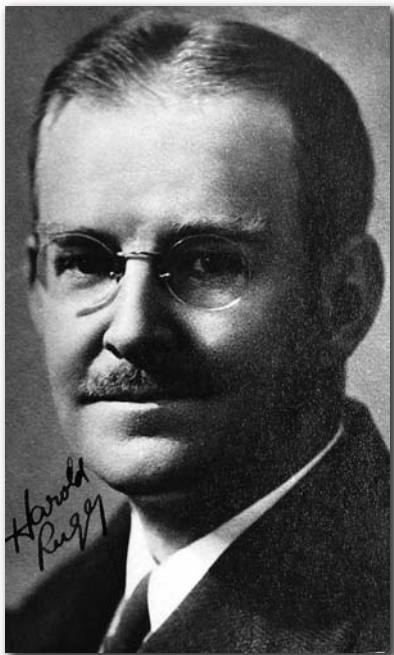


At the time of the conference, Cyril Norwood was 62 years of age and nearing the end of a long and distinguished career as an educator, educational reformer and author.¹⁵

Norwood was President of St John's College in Oxford and was formerly Headmaster of Harrow. He was also Chairman of the Secondary School Examinations Council (SSEC). He authored a number of articles and books on English education, including *The English Tradition of Education*, *The English Educational System*, and *The Higher*

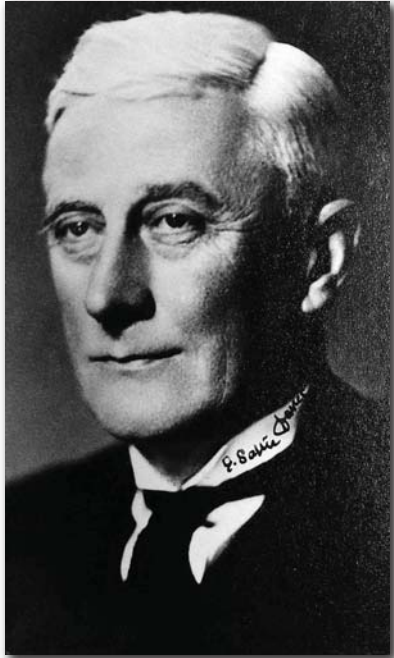
Education of Boys in England.¹⁶

Rugg, Dr Harold Ordway PhD (Tas)¹⁷ (1886–1960; USA)



At the time of the conference, Harold Rugg was Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University (along with Edmund Brunner and I L Kandel). He was Organizing Director of the NEF in the United States. He was author of *Statistical Methods in Education*, *American Culture and Education*, *American Life and the School Curriculum* and part-author of *The Child-Centred School*.¹⁸

Salter Davies,¹⁹ Mr Ernest CBE²⁰ MA (Oxon & Adelaide)²¹ (1872-1955; Wales/England)



At the time of the conference, Ernest Salter Davies was 65 years of age and was highly regarded as an educational administrator and thinker. He was most well-known in his capacity as Director of Education for the County of Kent (1918-1938) but he also had a keen interest in free public libraries and was appointed President of the Library Association of Great Britain in 1935.

Zilliacus, Laurin (1895-1959; Finland)



At the time of the conference, Laurin Zilliacus was Headmaster (Rektor) of the Experimental School in Helsingfors, Finland and a member of the Executive Board and Chairman of the NEF. For seven years he was also on the staff of Bedales School in England (having been a student there). Zilliacus was a graduate of Cornell University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.²²

While these were the fourteen *official* delegates to New Zealand, there were two additional *unofficial* delegates who undertook official conference duties in Auckland and Wellington, whose symposiums and lectures were listed in the official programmes, and whose work was subsequently published in the New Zealand proceedings. The two speakers, only named in the programmes and newspaper reports as Mrs Boyd and Mrs Hart, were wives who accompanied official delegates.

Boyd, Mrs Dorothy [?] (Scotland)



At this point there is very little known about Mrs Boyd. William Boyd married twice and had two sons and a daughter from his second marriage.²³ Presumably Mrs Boyd is his second wife (considering that he was 63 years of age at the conference). From her signature on her publicity photo it looks like her first name is Dorothy.

While Mrs Boyd was not ever listed as an official delegate to the conference she did undertake official seminar activities in Auckland and Wellington as well as having work published in the New Zealand proceedings. Her areas of expertise were adult education and the education of parents.

Hart, Mrs F W (Louise Rosseel Gibbs) BL MA (USA)



Mrs Hart (nee Louise Rosseel Gibbs) was from Detroit, Michigan. She had been a high school teacher before gaining an MA from Teachers College, Columbia University. In *Kappa Alpha Theta* she was described in 1902 as being ‘endowed with quickness of perception and fluency of pen and did formerly some reporting for the New Tribune in Detroit’.²⁴

She pursued a life-long interest in the parent education movement including being chairperson of the Parent Education Committee of the Berkeley Council of

Parent-Teacher Associations.²⁵

Notes

¹ NZCER Archives, AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

²*The Times*, 31 August 1962, p. 10.

³ At a special meeting of The University of Tasmania Council held in the Town Hall of Hobart on 1 September 1937, honorary degrees were conferred by the Chancellor upon three NEF conference delegates – Pierre Bovet (LittD), Paul Dengler (PhD), and Harold Rugg (PhD). Bovet also delivered an address. *The University of Tasmania Council Minutes*, 1 September 1937.

⁴ The Board of Education Act of 1899 constituted the English Board of Education which comprised a board (lead by a President) that distributed the bulk of state funds to the education sector (the equivalent of New Zealand’s Department of Education at the time). In 1944 the President’s role was replaced with a Minister of Education and in 1964 the Board was replaced when the offices of the Minister of Science and the

Minister of Education were merged to form the Department of Education and Science, headed by a Secretary of State (now, the Department of Education and Skills).

⁵ Isaacs was awarded two Doctor of Science degrees. The first from Manchester University in 1931 awarded on the basis of her publications (Graham, 2009, p.241) and the second was an honorary doctorate awarded during the Australian leg of the NEF conference by the University of Adelaide (*The Age*, 10 September, 1937, p.10).

⁶ In 1937, while on the Australian leg of the NEF conference, the University of Melbourne conferred on him an honorary Doctor of Letters degree (Wesley Null, 2007).

⁷ Lismer was a member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and became a full member in 1946.

⁸ Lismer was awarded two honorary LLDs, the first in 1942 from Dalhousie University at Halifax and the second in 1963 from McGill University.

⁹ Source: Campbell (1938).

¹⁰ Meadon graduated from St John's College, Oxford with an MA in 1911 according to the *Oxford University Calendar* for 1913, p. 444.

¹¹ This was an honorary degree conferred on him by Queensland University during the NEF conference in 1937 and referred to by *The Times*, 19 November, 1959, p. 17.

¹² This was an honorary degree conferred on him by Manchester University according to *The Times*, 19 November, 1959, p. 17; possibly in 1944.

¹³ Source: Campbell (1938).

¹⁴ In 1912, the University of Bristol awarded Cyril Norwood an honorary doctorate; see, Matthew, H. C. G., & Harrison, B. (Eds.) (2004). *Oxford dictionary of national biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (in association with the British Academy). Oxford: OUP, p. 204.

¹⁵ I have drawn on the scholarly work of Professor Gary McCulloch for discussions concerning Sir Cyril Norwood. I am also indebted to Professor McCulloch for his prompt replies to my queries and the time he took to talk with me about Norwood at a meeting at the Institute of Education, London in 2010.

¹⁶ Source: Campbell (1938).

¹⁷ At a special meeting of The University of Tasmania Council held in the Town Hall of Hobart on 1 September 1937, honorary degrees were conferred by the Chancellor upon three NEF conference delegates – Pierre Bovet (LittD), Paul Dengler (PhD), and Harold Rugg (PhD). Bovet also delivered an address. The University of Tasmania *Council Minutes*, 1 September 1937.

¹⁸ Source: Campbell (1938).

¹⁹ The North Island and South Island groups of speakers were allocated in alphabetical order. Mr Ernest Salter Davies was mistakenly listed initially as Davies (as he is also referred to in many published books and reports)

²⁰ Salter Davies' CBE was awarded in 1932 (*Supplement to the London Gazette*, 3 June, 1932)

²¹ Salter Davies gained an MA from Jesus College, Oxford in 1895 but was also awarded an honorary MA by the University of Adelaide in September 1937 during the Australian NEF Conference.

²² Source: Campbell (1938).

²³ *The Times*, 31 August 1962, p. 10.

²⁴ Book overview (1902). *Kappa Alpha Theta*, 17, 198.

²⁵ Source: *The Evening Post*, 15 July 1937, p. 18. This photo was published in *The Evening Post* and a copy of the original is in the NZCER Archives.

Appendix 15

The Conference Activities in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin

The way that the conference had been organised ensured that the new education message of the international delegates was not just contained to one geographical area but was conveyed to the main regions of the country. Ultimately, fourteen official delegates came to New Zealand (and there were two additional unofficial delegates) and after being split into two groups, they carried out conference duties in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin in July 1937. Their duties included running symposiums, giving lectures to conference attendees, giving public addresses (often in large venues such as town halls), and undertaking other duties such as giving radio broadcasts and talks to local groups.

The activities of the delegates in each area were determined by the area's Local Organising Committee. While each Local Organising Committee had autonomy in the organisation of the speakers' activities, there was a fairly standard pattern for sessions across the country. *Seminars* were generally held in the mornings in smaller venues for the conference attendees, starting either at 9.00 am or 11.00 am. These lasted for 90 minutes with the following structure: 'After the lecturer has spoken for 50 minutes, a further 30 minutes is assigned to an interchange of ideas, and, in the final ten minutes, the speaker sums up and replies to points raised in discussion'.¹ However, it's likely this structure was varied by individual speakers, especially the more spontaneous lecturers like Lismer. There were a small number of sixty to ninety minute *symposiums* where broader issues were discussed. Formal *lectures* in large venues to also accommodate the general public were held in the mornings (usually 11.00 am or 11.15 am), or in the evenings at 8.00 pm. Newspaper advertisements added that, 'The public are strongly advised to take advantage of these lectures, as they are important at this time of change in education'.²

The official programmes for each main centre outlined the sessions, the speakers, the times, the dates and the topics. This information is summarised below for each of the centres, although it is worth noting that there were occasional changes to these programmes. There were also many social activities provided for the speakers' wives and daughters.

1) Auckland

The general pattern of conference sessions in Auckland comprised a choice of 5 or 6 seminars in the morning, followed by a number of morning, afternoon or evening lecture and symposium options, with up to one symposium and 4 lecture options per day.

The Auckland programme provided some important additional information. There would be a Conference Bookstall in Room 12, Auckland University College where NEF literature could be inspected and purchased from Monday to Thursday, 2.00 pm to 4.30 pm daily. G T Hankin's Board of Education exhibit on the development of English education would also be displayed in Room 12. There would be an exhibition of children's art from Vienna brought by Paul Dengler. Study circles for librarians would be organised by E Salter Davies. Each member of the conference would be provided with one free copy of the programme (additional copies and copies to non-members would be sixpence each). The Town Hall lectures would cost one shilling.

Friday July 9

The speakers arrived in Auckland and were given a civic reception at noon by the deputy-mayor (Hon B Martin) in the Town Hall concert chamber where a large gathered was in attendance. Mr Martin welcomed the speakers and noted the importance of the conference. Hunter added a note of appreciation for all the assistance received and Zilliacus responded on behalf of the central office of the NEF that he also was appreciative of the 'vast' organisational work undertaken in New Zealand for the conference, 'without our lifting a finger'. Zilliacus reflected that, 'In coming to this part of the world one could feel a more free and more democratic atmosphere'.³

The speakers and conference officials were then hosted by the Professional Board to a luncheon held at the Auckland University College in the dining room of the students' building. The president of Auckland University College, Mr H J D Mahon, noted in his speech that, 'The Government is about to embark on a new education policy and we feel that the advice and help of these eminent men and women of the New Education Fellowship will be invaluable not only to the Government, but also the community'. After speeches by Professor A W Sewell on the importance of ideas, Dr Norwood on thanking the authorities,

and Professor Hunter on the problems of the University of New Zealand, Professor Fitt critically concluded that 'education had stood still in New Zealand and methods were probably 30 years behind those employed in other countries'.⁴



Photograph A15-1 Luncheon for NEF Speakers at Auckland University College, 9 July 1937⁵

It was reported that after this the speakers were taken for a drive through the city and suburbs of Auckland culminating in an afternoon tea at Titirangi. In the evening a number of private parties were held in local educationists' homes.⁶

Saturday July 10

The official opening of the NEF conference was held at the Auckland Town Hall and this photograph shows Professor Hart standing to give the first lecture on Saturday morning on The Teacher's Status.



Photograph A15-2 Official Opening of the New Education Fellowship Conference, 10 July 1937⁷

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Hart	The Teacher's Status	Lecture	9.15-10.15 am
Boyd	Post Primary Education for All	Seminar	11.00-12.30 am
Brunner	Cultural Agencies in the Rural Community	Seminar	11.00-12.30 am
Dengler	The Youth Movement	Seminar	11.00-12.30 am
Hankin	The Physical Education Movement in Great Britain	Seminar	11.00-12.30 am
Isaacs	The Pre-school Child – Home Care and Training	Seminar	11.00-12.30 am
Salter Davies	The Library in Education	Seminar	11.00-12.30 am
Dengler	Austria and the Peace of Europe	Lecture	8.00 pm

A trip to Rangitoto Island was provided by the Auckland Harbour Board for the speakers. They were accompanied by members of the organising committee and the chairman of the Harbour Board, Hon T Bloodworth.⁸

Sunday July 11

There was an evening reunion service held by the New Education Fellowship conference and the Auckland Teachers' Training College at St George's Church, Epsom. The service was taken by Mr J L Litt and Mr D Rae (principal of the Training College), members of College staff, conference speakers and many students attended. Students were actively involved in the service with readings by Mr G L Allcock, president of the Teachers' Association and Mr V Butler (former President).

Monday July 12

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	Adult Education for All	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	The School and the Rural Community	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	The New Germany and Her Schools	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	The Freedom of the Teacher	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	Recent Developments in Infant School Practice in England	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Administration of Education in Great Britain	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	The Children of Europe	Lecture	11.00-12.00 noon
Brunner, Mrs Boyd, Mrs Hart	Parent Education	Symposium	2.00-3.30 pm
Hankin	Progress in English Education	Lecture	2.00-3.30 pm
Hankin	The Community and the Control of Education	Lecture	8.00 pm
Boyd	Problem Children	Lecture	8.00 pm

Tuesday July 13

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	The Purpose, Utility and Reliability of Examinations	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Agricultural Extension Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Universities in a Changing Europe	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	Education for a Commercial Career	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	Teachers and Parents	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	Methods and Curriculum for Children 7 to 11 Years	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Education for Industry and for Life	Lecture	11.00-12.00 noon
Boyd	Religious Education	Symposium	11.00-12.00 noon
Dengler	Child Art in Austria	Lecture	2.00-3.30 pm
Brunner	Rural Social Trends in Different Countries	Lecture	8.00 pm

Wednesday July 14

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	Education and Vocational Guidance	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Adult Education in the Countryside	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Folk Lore in Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	The Inspection of Schools	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	Emotional Difficulties and Nursery Training	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	The Place in the Universities of Physical Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Adult Education	Lecture	11.00-12.00 noon
Isaacs	The School and the Home	Lecture	11.00-12.00 noon
Hankin	Sight and Sound in Education	Lecture	2.00-4.00 pm
Hart	Civic Complacency	Lecture	8.00 pm

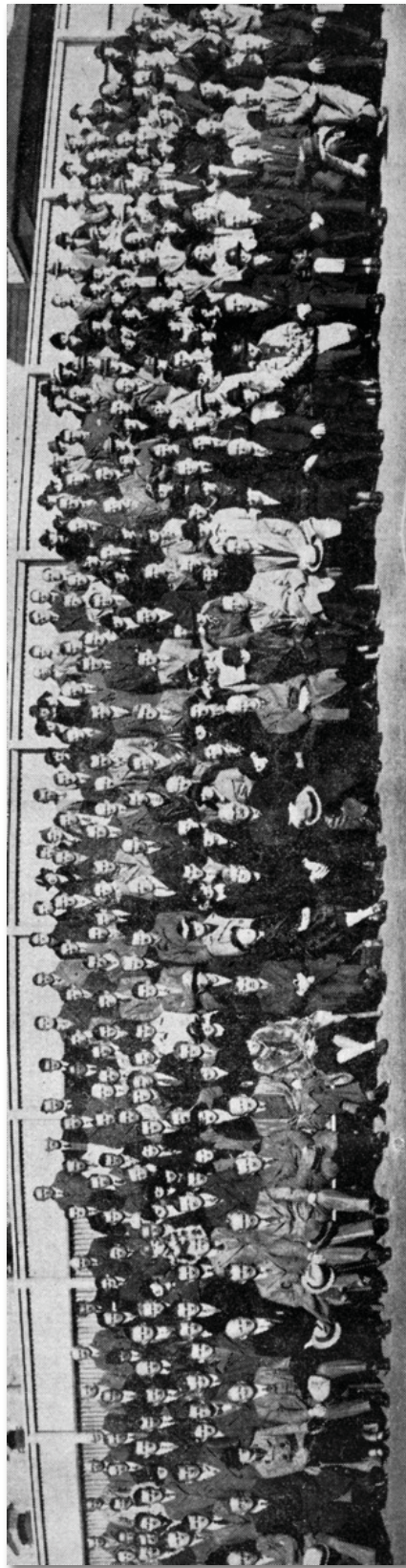
Thursday July 15

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Dengler	Youth in Need of Leaders	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	Educational Trends in U.S.A.	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	The Principle of Activity in Modern Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Coming Educational Developments in England	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	Sight and Sound in Education	Lecture	9.00-10.30 am
Boyd	Leisure Time Education	Lecture	11.00-12.00 noon
Brunner & Dengler	The Present World Situation	Symposium	2.00-3.30 pm

At 8.00 pm there was a social gathering in the Town Hall chaired by Professor A B Fitt ('Admission by Special Ticket to be bought no later than Tuesday July 13'). The social evening was attended by more than a thousand guests and on stage were the speakers, members of the local organising committee and local educationists. Parting addresses were made by six of the visiting speakers, including Dengler, Hankin and Boyd. Each speaker was given a gift of a New Zealand book and posies of flowers were presented to 'the ladies'. Professor Fitt offered his sincere thanks to the visitors on behalf of his committee:

The conference had been a much greater success than anyone in Auckland had anticipated. Its results would only be known as the years passed, but what was visible already justified [the holding of the conference] ...

They had all passed through a profound experience, and the general public, which hitherto had not been educationally-minded, had been greatly influenced.⁹



Photograph A15-3 A Section of the Large Gathering Who Attended the NEF Conference in Auckland¹⁰

2) Wellington

The general pattern of conference sessions in Wellington comprised a choice of 7 seminars in the morning, followed by a morning lecture and an evening lecture per day, plus 2 afternoon lectures by the unofficial women speakers.

The Wellington programme provided some additional information. G T Hankin's Board of Education exhibit on the development of English education 'illustrating typical English schools and their work' would be displayed in the Library Hall of the Technical College. There would be a Conference Bookstall at the town Hall where NEF literature could be purchased and where subscriptions to 'The New Era' could be received. The Conference Office would be open from 8.00 am to 5.00 pm/ 7.00 pm to 7.45 pm daily and was located at the NZEI Clubroom (3rd Floor, Evening Post Building, Willis Street). The Executive Members of the Wellington Local Committee would be wearing 'a distinctive ribbon'. Sightseeing buses leave the Tramways Inquiry Bureau (Post Office Square) and leave at 2.00 pm daily.

Monday July 19

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	Religion in Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Rural Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Universities in Changing Europe	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	Films and the Children	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	The Professional and the Layman in Educational Administration	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	The Mental Hygiene of the Pre-school Child	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	The Education of the Adolescent	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	Mechanical Aids to Education	Lecture	11.00 am
Hart	Creative Administration	Lecture	8.00 pm

In the afternoon there was an informal 'getting to know each other' party for the speakers at the Hotel St George hosted by the Wellington Local Committee. Guests were received in the Palm Lounge (which was 'attractively decorated with bright iceland poppies and spring bulbs') by the chairman Mr W Martin, Miss M England and Miss M Shortall and other members of the executive. There were many present for the 'excellent' afternoon tea, including: Peter Fraser, Professor and Mrs Miles, Mr and Mrs Lopdell, Dr McIlraith, Mr and

Mrs Ridling, Mr and Mrs Dyer, Dr and Mrs Butchers, Miss J W Combs, Mr and Mrs Riske, Mr and Mrs Howell, Mr L F de Berry, Mr and Mrs Caradus, Mr McGlashen, Mr and Mrs Lambourne, Professor Hunter, Miss B Jackson, Miss M E Magill, Professor and Mrs Gould, Mr and Mrs Armour, Mr and Mrs Ashbridge, and Dr and Mrs Beeby.¹¹

Tuesday July 20

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	Methods of Teaching at University Level	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Rural Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Youth in Need of Leaders	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	The Teaching of History and Civics	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	Problems of Superintendence and Inspection of Schools	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	The Mental Hygiene of the School Child	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Physical Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	Child Guidance	Lecture	11.00 am
Mrs Hart	Home and School	Lecture	2.30 pm
Dengler	The Children of Europe	Lecture	8.00 pm

Before the start of Dengler's lecture, there was the official civic and State welcome for the speakers, presided by the mayor, Mr T C A Hislop. The welcome was provided by the Minister of Education (Peter Fraser), the Chairman of the National Committee (Professor Hunter), and the Chairman of the Wellington Local Committee (Wm Martin).¹² One report called the conference, 'The most important educational gathering yet held in New Zealand'.¹³

Wednesday July 21

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	Educational and Vocational Guidance	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Adult Education in the Rural Community	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Self-Government of Pupils	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	English Board of Education Exhibition	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	The Preparation of Teachers	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	Recent Developments in Infant School Practice in England	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Principles of Educational Administration	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Education for Industry and for Life	Lecture	11.00 am
Brunner	Rural Education	Lecture	8.00 pm

The Annual Meeting of the Wellington Teachers' Training College Old Students' Association was held at 2.30 pm in the Training College Hall (afternoon tea provided).

Joseph Norrie, Hon Secretary of the New Zealand Library Association held a meeting for teachers interested in library work in the Lecture Hall, Electricity House, Cuba Street at 2.30 pm with the aim of forming a section of the Association.

Thursday July 22

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	The Training of Teachers	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	Rural Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Children's Art	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	Tendencies in Secondary Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	Methods of Teaching	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	Methods and Curricula for Children of Seven to Eleven Years	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	Hadow Reconstruction in England	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Boyd	The NEF: What It Is and What It Does	Lecture	11.00 am
Mrs Boyd	Parents and Children	Lecture	2.30 am
Hankin	Educational Trends in England	Lecture	8.00 pm

Friday July 23

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Boyd	Standardized Tests in Educational Practice	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Brunner	The Education of the Adolescent in the Countryside	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	Children's Art	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hankin	English Board of Education Exhibition	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Hart	Adult Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Isaacs	The Function and Value of Pupils' Records	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Salter Davies	The Training of Teachers	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Dengler	The New Germany and Her Schools	Lecture	11.00 am
Boyd	A Scotsman Looks at New Zealand Schools	Lecture	8.00 pm

The speakers were guests of the Governor-General (Viscount Galway) at a Vice-Regal luncheon held at Government House. Present were: the Acting Prime Minister and Mrs

Fraser, the following speakers – Dr Boyd and Mrs Boyd, Dr Brunner, Dr Paul Dengler and Mrs Dengler, Mr Hankin, Dr Hart and Mrs Hart, Dr Susan Isaacs, Mr and Mrs Salter Davies, as well as Professor Hunter, Dr Beeby and Mrs Beeby, Dr McIlraith and Mrs McIlraith, Mr and Mrs Armour, Rev Father Dowling, Mr and Mrs Martin, and Miss Magill.¹⁴ The South Island group of speakers were not present as they didn't arrive in Wellington until the next morning.¹⁵ Speakers and conference attendees were also guests of the Harbour Board for an afternoon trip around the harbour in the SS *Muritai*.¹⁶

At the end of the last lecture by Boyd on the Friday night in the Town Hall, Professor Hunter (as Chairman of the National Committee) expressed his thanks to all the speakers: 'What had struck him most had been the spirit of co-operation that had been shown, from the Minister of Education downwards, to make the meetings such a success. The committee was especially grateful to Mr Fraser, without whose sympathetic interest the conference could not have been held.' The newspaper reports also added that Mr and Mrs Fraser had attended many of the meetings. Mr W Martin (the Chairman of the Wellington Local Committee) also thanked the speakers.

3) Christchurch

The general pattern of conference sessions in Christchurch comprised a choice of 5 or 6 seminars in the morning, followed by a morning lecture and an evening lecture per day.

Tuesday July 13

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	The Education of the Adolescent	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lisner	The Child as Artist	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Science in General Education with Special Reference to Rural Schools	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	Aims and Methods in Modern Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Mental Hygiene of the Child	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	Basic Principles of Curriculum Making	Lecture	11.15 am
Norwood	The New Conception of Physical Education	Lecture	8.00 pm

After the morning sessions the speakers were given a civic welcome by the Mayor Mr J W Beanland) in the Civic Theatre which was reported as being ‘crowded’. Addresses were given by the Mayor, Mr J G Polson (on behalf of the teachers, and a member of the Executive of the local committee) who hoped to see not only changes to educational aims and methods but also the administrative structures to match these, and Dr J Hight (Chairman of the local organising committee). Hight argued that New Zealand education was behind that of other progressive countries and mainly due to its isolation. He continued that it wasn’t just a matter of the spreading of ideas in New Zealand, but, ‘The ideas must be understood and applied to our peculiar conditions. We hope the soil here in Canterbury is not uncultivated for the seed you have to sow’.

Replies were given by Malherbe, Meadon and Zilliacus. Zilliacus again expressed an appreciation for the organisational work done for the conference and thanked the Tourist Bureau for ‘a very delightful programme’. He then made special mention of Beeby: ‘My special thanks are to our shepherd, our organiser – I almost said our keeper, for I have been lectured on mental hygiene – Dr Beeby’. Also on the stage were: Mr C T Aschman (Chairman of the Canterbury University College Council), Dr Beeby, Professor H E Field (Professor of Education, Canterbury University College), Mr T H McCombs, Mr R J Richards, and Mr J E Strachan.¹⁷

Wednesday July 14

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Lismer	Creative Education in Action	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Control of Environment v. Escape from Environment	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	A Liberal Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Physical Hygiene of the Child	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Individual Methods	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Educational Developments in England	Lecture	11.15 am
Zilliacus	School and International Affairs	Lecture	8.00 pm

On Wednesday July 14, the overseas conference delegates (the South Island Group) and visitors were the guests at a luncheon organised by the Christchurch Committee of the NEF Conference and chaired by Dr J Hight. Dr H E Field (Professor of Education at Canterbury University College) welcomed the guests who also included the Acting Prime Minister (Peter

Fraser), the Director of Education (Mr N T Lambourne), Dr C E Beeby (Director of NZCER), and Mr Frank Milner (Rector of Waitaki Boys' High School).¹⁸

The Press reported a story of a 'conversazione' that presumably took place on Wednesday afternoon.¹⁹ The 'conversazione' was arranged by the North Canterbury branch of NZEI for the overseas speakers and other conference visitors. Mr S. G. Prebble (President of the North Canterbury branch) welcomed the speakers, the Mayor (Mr J W Beanland) spoke on behalf of Christchurch, and Kandel gave a brief address.

Thursday July 15

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	Aims and Methods in Modern Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	Drawing, Design and Handicrafts	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Delinquency and Retardation	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	Rural Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Secondary Education for All	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	The What, How and Why of Education	Lecture	11.15-12.30 pm
Meadon	Education and Citizenship	Lecture	8.00 pm

Friday July 16

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	Differentiation and Selection	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	New Education in Art in the Schools	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Music in Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	The Teaching of the Social Sciences	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Character Building in Modern Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Kandel	School and Society	Lecture	11.15-12.30 pm
Rugg	The Social Sciences and Education	Lecture	8.00 pm

Saturday July 17

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	Examinations and Educational Guidance	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	The Art of the Infant	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Prognostic Value of Matriculation	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	The Use of English	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	The Gifted Child	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	Problems of Central Organization and Administration	Lecture	11.15-12.30 pm

The Press reported that the conference in Christchurch ended with an official farewell for the speakers at the Civic Theatre at 12.15 pm.²⁰

4) Dunedin

The general pattern of conference sessions in Dunedin comprised a choice of 7 seminars in the morning (one from each speaker), followed by a morning lecture and an evening lecture per day.

Monday July 19

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	Problems of Control: Organization and Administration	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	The Art of the Infant	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Delinquency: Its Treatment and Prevention	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	Rural Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	The Use of English	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	Planning the Curriculum	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Pupil Activity in Modern Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Coming Educational Developments in England	Lecture	11.00 am
Rugg	American Culture and Education	Lecture	8.00 pm

The below photograph is of teachers leaving the Girls' High School hall. The only session specifically listed in the programme as being in that Assembly Hall on Monday July 19 was Zilliacus's 9.00-10.30 am seminar on Pupil Activity in Modern Education; although the

Malherbe, Meadon and Rugg morning sessions were scheduled as being somewhere at the Girls' High School as well.



Photograph A15-4 Teachers Leaving the NEF Seminars at the Girls' High School Hall, Dunedin²¹

At 2.00 pm, there was a civic reception in the Concert Chamber for the speakers hosted by the mayor, the Rev E T Cox. Reverend Cox gave a lengthy and well-informed address on the development of education and society in Europe. The mayor concluded by referring to the work the Council was doing in child and adult education, and he hoped 'the inspiration of the presence of the visitors would create such a passion for knowledge that there would be a revival of learning in the country'. Mr Hanna, chair of the local organising committee, then welcomed the speakers and hoped that the attendees would take the advantage to learn about 'modern progressive educational movements'. He noted that 'teachers and a large part of the public were keeping aware of changes going on abroad [and] They were equally aware of the necessity of change in the country if they were to keep abreast of movements overseas, and if they were not to lose touch with the real purpose of education as it was envisaged today'.

Hanna concluded that the visit of the speakers was opportune as education policy in New Zealand was under review and ‘extensive reorganisation of their whole system was under consideration’. Professor Lawson also welcomed the speakers and praised their ‘wider conceptions’ of education and he argued for an extension of adult education in New Zealand. Meadon and Norwood then responded for the delegates. Norwood concluded that every educator in the British Empire had the common task of ‘bringing up a generation that would have a common basis of thought and outlook’ and he argued that if that outlook was spread across the world through education then ‘the ideals of peace among the nations would find a sure foundation – a foundation that did not exist at the present time. That is why, ultimately, they had come out to New Zealand’.²²

Tuesday July 20

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	Examinations and their Substitutes	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	Techniques: School Programmes	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Centralization and Decentralization	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	Education of the Adolescent	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Music in Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	The Curriculum and Its Contents	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Individual Methods of Teaching	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	Education for Leisure	Lecture	11.00 am
Norwood	Christianity and the World Crisis	Lecture	8.00 pm

Wednesday July 21

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	Some Comparative Education Subject	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	Drawing, Design and Handcrafts 1	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Retardation: Its Treatment and Prevention	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	A Liberal Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	Religion and Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	The Social Science in Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	Examinations	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	A School in Finland	Lecture	11.00 am
Lismer	Art and Leisure	Lecture	8.00 pm

A motor trip was arranged for Wednesday afternoon.

Thursday July 22

Speaker(s)	Topic	Type	Time
Kandel	The Preparation of Teachers	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Lismer	Drawing, Design and Handcrafts	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Prognostic Value of Matriculation as an Entrance to University	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Meadon	Adult Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Norwood	New Conception of Physical Education	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Rugg	The Child-centred School	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Zilliacus	The Problem of Differentiation and Selection	Seminar	9.00-10.30 am
Malherbe	Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society	Lecture	11.00 am
Kandel	The Making of Nazis	Lecture	8.00 pm

At the conclusion of Malherbe's lecture in the Concert Chamber on Thursday morning, Dr Lawson presented silver cigarette cases to the Chairman of the Dunedin Organising Committee (Mr A Hanna) and its secretary (Mr W F Abel) on behalf of the conference delegates (it's not quite clear whether this refers to the speakers or the attendees).²³

Kandel's lecture at 8.00 pm in His Majesty's Theatre, Dunedin was the final address of the Dunedin conference, and after the address 'votes of thanks to the members of the visiting delegation were carried by hearty acclamation' by Mr H P Kidson (Committee member) and Mr A Hanna (Chairman) on behalf of the Dunedin conference organising committee. 'Both spoke warmly of the message that the lecturers had brought, and assured them that they would leave New Zealand teachers with a new appreciation of their responsibilities and the aims of their profession'.²⁴ After the final lecture, the conference attendees and delegates were entertained at the Pioneer Hall with a dance.²⁵

Notes

-
- ¹ *The New Zealand Herald*, 12 July 1937, p. 11.
 - ² *The New Zealand Herald*, 13 July 1937, p. 14.
 - ³ *The Dominion*, 10 July 1937, p. 12.
 - ⁴ *The New Zealand Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 17.
 - ⁵ *The New Zealand Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 12; Source: ATL-NP-1617-12.
 - ⁶ *The New Zealand Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 17.
 - ⁷ *The New Zealand Herald*, 12 July 1937, p. 6; Source: ATL-NP-1617-12.
 - ⁸ *The New Zealand Herald*, 12 July 1937, p. 11.
 - ⁹ *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1937, p. 13.
 - ¹⁰ *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1937, p. 8; Source: ATL-NP-1620-8.
 - ¹¹ *The Dominion*, 20 July 1937, p. 14; *The Evening Post*, 20 July 1937, p. 16
 - ¹² *The Dominion*, 19 July 1937, p. 10.
 - ¹³ *The Dominion*, 20 July 1937, p. 11.
 - ¹⁴ *The Dominion*, 24 July 1937, p. 7.
 - ¹⁵ Unfortunately, according to Gavin McLean (Senior Historian, Ministry for Culture and Heritage), official photographs were rarely taken at Government House during this period.
 - ¹⁶ *The Evening Post*, 23 July 1937, p. 11.
 - ¹⁷ *The Press*, 14 July, 1937, p. 10.
 - ¹⁸ *The Press*, 15 July, 1937, p. 14.
 - ¹⁹ *The New Zealand Herald*, 15 July 1937, p. 5.
 - ²⁰ *The Press*, 17 July, 1937, p. 16.
 - ²¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 20 July, p. 4; Source: ATL- NP-1608-4.
 - ²² *Otago Daily Times*, 20 July, p. 5.
 - ²³ *Otago Daily Times*, 23 July, p. 6.
 - ²⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 23 July, p. 7.
 - ²⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 23 July, p. 6.

Appendix 16

Summary of Delegates' Reported Activities in New Zealand

This is an approximate list of each speaker's conference-related activities while in New Zealand. It excludes many other activities of the speakers such as outside engagements, meetings with organisations, demonstrations for groups of educators and visits to schools.

Speaker	Group	Seminars	Lectures	Symposiums	Radio Recordings*	Conference with Peter Fraser**	NZ Proceedings	Australia Proceedings
Boyd, W	NI	11	4	1	1	YES	13	6
Boyd, Mrs	NI		1	1		NO	1	
Brunner	NI	9	3	2	1	YES	6	5
[S] Davies	NI	9	2		3	YES	5	3
Dengler	NI	11	5	1	1	NO	6	5
Hankin	NI	8	5		1	YES	3	1
Hart, F	NI	9	3		1	NO	7	
Hart, Mrs	NI		1	1		NO	1	
Isaacs	NI	10	2		2	NO	7	3
Kandel	SI	8	2		3	YES	7	5
Lisner	SI	9	2		2	NO	3	2
Malherbe	SI	7	2		1	YES	2	6
Meadon	SI	6	3		2	YES	5	5
Norwood	SI	8	4		2	NO	5	3
Rugg	SI	7	3			YES	2	4
Zilliacus	SI	8	2		1	YES	4	2
Totals		120	44	6	21	9	77	57

Table A16-1 Summary of Delegates' Reported Activities in New Zealand

* See *Appendix 13* for a fuller discussion of radio broadcasts by the delegates. At least this number was recorded while most (or all) were also broadcast.

** See *Appendix 21* for information relating to this conference with the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, and the delegates.

Appendix 17

Travel Arrangements of the Visiting Speakers

This appendix outlines the travel arrangements of the visiting speakers to and from New Zealand and also within the country. To give an illustration of the difficulties of overseas travel at the time, some material is also provided on the speakers' travels and accommodation.

1) To and from New Zealand

While all the speakers departed on July 27 from Auckland on the *Monowai* to Sydney, not all the speakers arrived in New Zealand on the same date. The main group of nine speakers arrived on July 9 in Auckland on the *Mariposa* while five speakers arrived earlier and for differing reasons.

On June 11, Isaac Kandel arrived in Auckland on the *Monterey*. He was travelling with his wife Jessie and their sixteen-year-old daughter, Helen Kandel was the only speaker who was not in New Zealand primarily to undertake conference duties but was undertaking a six-month study of education systems in New Zealand and Australia on behalf of, and funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in cooperation with the relevant government authorities.¹ Beeby had ensured, though, that Kandel's visit coincided with the conference as NZCER was making his arrangements for the research visit.²

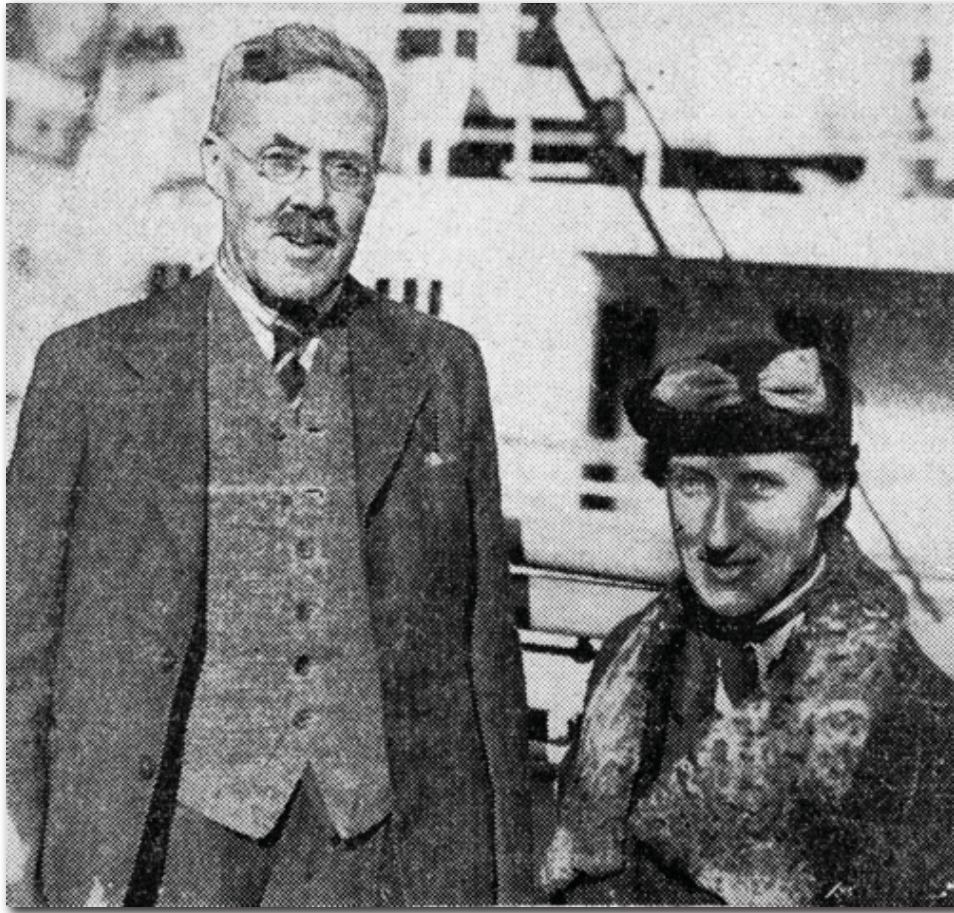
On June 23, Ernst Malherbe arrived in Auckland on the *Wanganella* accompanied by his wife, Janie.



Photograph A17-1 Ernst and Janie Malherbe: Arrival at Auckland for NEF Conference 1937³

On June 28, Arthur Lismer arrived in Auckland on the *Monterey* accompanied by his wife, Esther, and daughter, Marjorie. Like Kandel, Lismer was also travelling under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and had a number of additional activities planned throughout New Zealand besides speaking at the conference.

On June 30, William Boyd arrived in Wellington on the *Rangitikei* accompanied by his wife, Dorothy. It is not quite clear what they did up until the conference started. It had been reported that he managed to visit a number of schools while in New Zealand⁴ and that Mrs W F Kent-Johnston had inquired whether Dr Boyd could visit the South Island to ‘assist in the organisation of the Home and School Movement there’. The minutes of the National Organising Committee approved this on the proviso the group paid his expenses and noted that Boyd would have spare days before the conference.⁵ As Boyd is the only speaker with relatives living in New Zealand (their daughter was married to the New Zealander, Dr P S de Q Cabot), they might have visited his family in Dunedin, although, Dr and Mrs P S de Q Cabot travelled out via San Francisco and arrived on July 9 with the main contingent of conference speakers who were on the *Mariposa*.



Photograph A17-2 Dr William Boyd and Mrs Boyd on their arrival in Wellington⁶

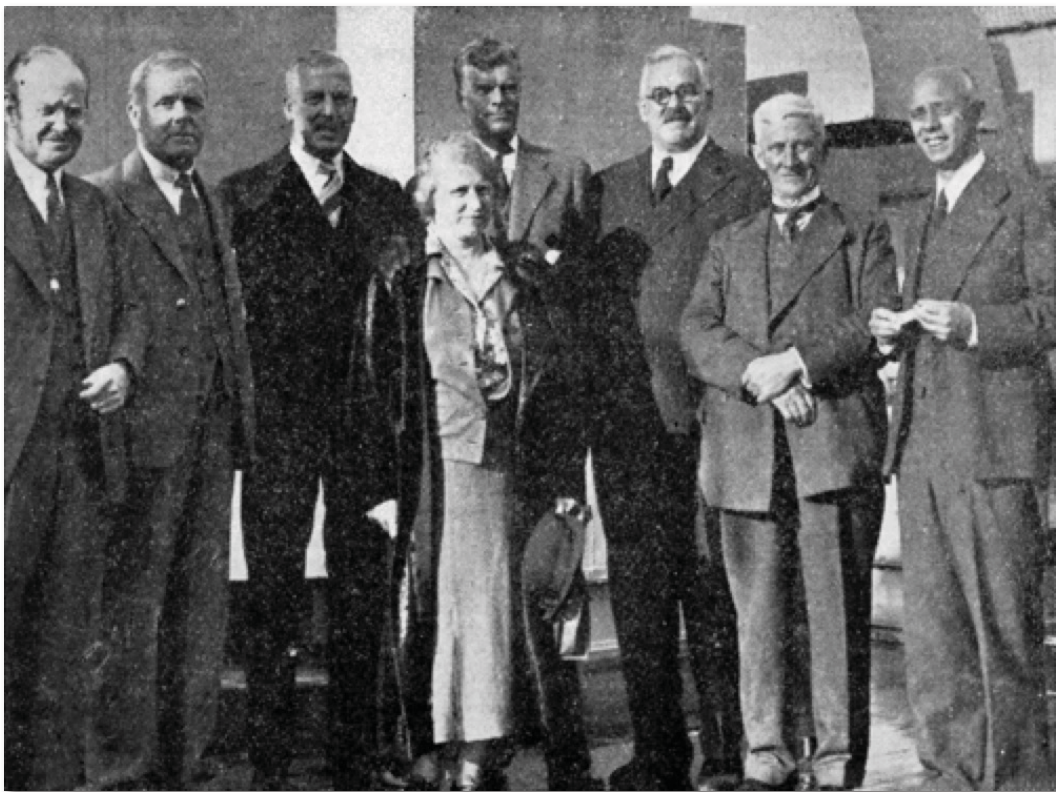
On July 6, Frank Hart arrived in Auckland on the *Maunganui*. He was accompanied by his wife, Louise. The Hart's visit to New Zealand was near the end of a year-long trip around the world where they visited a number of countries including Egypt, India, China, and Japan.⁷

On July 9, the largest delegation of speakers arrived in Auckland on the *Mariposa*. This group of nine comprised: Edmund Brunner (and his wife Mary), Paul Dengler (and his wife), Gerald Hankin (and his aunt and secretary), Susan Isaacs, Percy Meadon (and his wife Alice), Cyril Norwood (and his wife Catherine), Harold Rugg, Salter Davies (and his wife Evelyn), and Laurin Zilliacus (and his wife, 2 Children & a friend). At least five, and probably all nine of these delegates left San Francisco together on June 23 for the 17 day voyage, according to a brief mention in the Los Angeles Times, 'Shipping News':

Scholars will be numerous among the 680 travellers to sail on the Matson-Oceanic liner *Mariposa* tonight; some to teach summer sessions at University of Hawaii, and many to attend the New Education Fellowship Conference at Sydney, Australia, during July and August.

Among the latter will be Dr. P. Sydney de Q. Cabot of Cambridge, Mass; Dr E. Salter-Davies of Kent; Dr. Susan Isaacs, London University; Dr. Cyril Norwood, Oxford University; Dr. Paul Denger, Austro-American Institute of Education, Vienna; and Rector L. Zilliacus.⁸

The below photograph is of all the delegation on their arrival on July 9, except for Paul Dengler.



Photograph A17-3 Delegates who arrived by the *Mariposa* yesterday morning
(L to R: Rugg, Meadon, Norwood, Isaacs, Brunner, Hankin, Salter Davies, Zilliacus; Dengler absent)⁹

At the last meeting of the National Organising Committee before the delegates arrived, it was resolved that Hunter, Beeby and Ashbridge travel to Auckland to welcome the speakers and they would be accompanied by a delegation from the Auckland Local Committee comprising the chair, Dr Fitt (Professor of Education, Auckland University College) and the Hon

Secretary Miss Agnes Kennedy (formerly at the Auckland Training College).¹⁰ The below photograph was taken in Auckland of Beeby and Hunter with Susan Isaacs.



Photograph A17-4 Dr C E Beeby, Dr Susan Isaacs and Professor T A Hunter¹¹

The bulk of the international travel was organised by Ken Cunningham at ACER through the Thomas Cook and Son Ltd travel company. The New Zealand National Organising Committee only needed to pay a smaller contribution per person to cover the costs of travel across the Tasman for each speaker, other than those whose expenses were being covered from other sources, such as by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

2) Within New Zealand

While the conference speakers arrived in New Zealand on six different dates from various overseas destinations, and those fairly complex travel arrangements were coordinated by Cunningham of ACER, the travel arrangements within New Zealand were relatively simpler to organise. After some discussions with the Local Committees about the grouping of speakers by lecture topics, it was eventually decided to split the group of 14 official delegates in two alphabetically (Salter Davies was inadvertently categorised as Davies): Group ‘A’ was the North Island speakers and Group ‘B’ the South Island speakers. The group that would

undertake the North Island sessions comprised: Boyd, Brunner, Salter Davies, Dengler, Hart, Hankin and Isaacs. The South Island group was: Kandel, Lismer, Malherbe, Meadon, Norwood, Rugg and Zilliacus.

The itinerary for the New Zealand delegates was prepared by the Government Tourist Bureau and approved at the mid-February 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee.¹² The following information is drawn from this itinerary. Where possible, the speakers were taken to well known tourist attractions on the way. The New Zealand Government provided free transport between Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin to the speakers (and their wives) while the travel arrangements were arranged by the Government Tourist Bureau.

Group 'A' (the North Island speakers), after their Auckland sessions, travelled from Auckland to Rotorua on Friday July 16 by private bus: 'The route passes through the fertile lands of the Waikato, along the banks of the Waikato River'. In Rotorua they visited the Whakarewarewa Native Village (travelling via Government Gardens): 'On arrival special Maori Reception will be given. Maori Guides will conduct through Model Pa and the unique phenomena of the thermal reserve.' In the evening they attended a Maori concert. The speakers stayed at the Grand Hotel. On Saturday July 17 the speakers travelled to Napier via Wairakei: 'the route passing several miles of State forests, affording further views of thermal activity'. They visited Aratiatia Rapids and in Wairakei they toured Geyser Valley and saw geysers and boiling pools. In Napier, they stayed at the Masonic Hotel.

On Sunday July 18 the speakers travelled from Napier to Wellington: 'This route passes through typical sheep farming country of Hawke's Bay, through the Manawatu Gorge to Palmerston North ...Thence down the East Coast, over Paekakariki Hill, to Wellington'. In Wellington, the speakers stayed at the Hotel St. George for the duration of the conference there. The group then travelled back to Auckland on Monday July 26 on the overnight Express train where they again visited the Grand Hotel before leaving New Zealand on the *Monowai* to Sydney on Tuesday July 27.

Group 'B' (the South Island speakers) travelled from Auckland to Rotorua on Saturday July 10 by private bus. In Rotorua they followed a similar itinerary to Group 'A'. They visited the Whakarewarewa Native Village where 'On arrival [a] special Maori Reception will be given.

Maori Guides will conduct through Model Pa and the unique phenomena of the thermal reserve.’



Photograph A17-5 Group ‘B’ Speakers at the Whakarewarewa Village and Model Pa¹³

(LtoR: Guide Hepine Ransfield, Percy Meadon, probably Mr Appelberg (friend of Zilliacus), Mrs Norwood, E G Malherbe, Oswald Zilliacus (son), Sigrid Zilliacus (back; wife), Monica Zilliacus (front; daughter); Janie Malherbe, C E Beeby, Laurin Zilliacus, Ana Hato, Harold Rugg, Cyril Norwood, Guide Whakarato, probably F R J Davies; missing are Kandel & Lismar)¹⁴

This photograph shows the speakers in front of an ornately carved pataka (store house) at Rotowhio Model Pa, Te Whakarewarewa, Rotorua. This fully decorated pataka was carved in mid to late 1907 by Tene Waitere and includes embracing three-quarter profile heads and a neat paepae border.¹⁵ I am indebted to Clive Fugill (Ngāi Te Rangi), the master carver at Te Puia, New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua for identifying the pataka from the photograph, providing more information about it, and that it had been on public display at the Model Pa but was now not on public view and was awaiting restoration.¹⁶

There is one other photograph from this Saturday July 10 visit and it is of the famous guide (and singer) Ana Matawhaura Hato taking Laurin Zilliacus on a guided tour at the Village (see below). In the evening they attended a Maori concert. The speakers stayed at the Grand Hotel.



Photograph A17-6 Guide Ana Hato and Laurin Zilliacus at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, July 1937¹⁷

On Sunday July 11. The speakers travelled to Napier via Wairakei (again, the activities and accommodation matched those of Group ‘A’). On Monday July 12, the group had a very long day of travel. They travelled from Napier to Wellington following the Group ‘A’ route and, after dinner at the Hotel St. George, caught the 7.45 pm over-night steamer to Lyttelton. After arriving at 7.00 am on Tuesday July 13, the group travelled by train to Christchurch arriving at the United Service Hotel for breakfast. Five of the seven speakers had sessions starting at 9.00 am that day! On the evening of Sunday July 18 the speakers took the overnight train to Dunedin where they stayed at the Grand Hotel for the Dunedin leg of the conference. On Friday July 23, the group travelled from Dunedin (‘The route from Dunedin follows the sea coast, through Timaru, centre of the wheat growing district and over the Canterbury Plains’) to Lyttelton by train, catching the 8.00 pm steamer arriving in Wellington the following day at 7 am. In Wellington, the speakers stayed at the Hotel St George. The two groups travelled back to Auckland together on Monday July 26 on the overnight Express train where they

again visited the Grand Hotel before leaving for Sydney on Tuesday July 27 on the *Monowai*. Clearly, the South Island speakers had the tougher travel schedule having to travel from Auckland through to Dunedin and back, including overnight train and ferry legs and long days of travel.

One person the South Island speakers could not avoid was Arthur Lismer. The group was (some would say arguably) fortunate to be accompanied by Lismer, the Canadian artist who had a strong sense of humour. He was renowned for his caricatures and the South Island group became the particular focus of his attention with a number of drawings. One series portrayed their 'platform manner'; that is, Lismer's interpretation of their style of lecturing. Another series caricatured them with a Scottish theme. [For the record, I have attached a number of his little-known art works completed during his tour of New Zealand in *Appendix 27*.] The quick sketch below is of the whole South Island group, including Lismer, and is initialled by him.



Figure A17-1 NEF NZ, GROUP B by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁸

(Left to Right) Top: Lismer, Kandel, Zilliacus; Middle: Malherbe, Rugg; Bottom: Norwood, Meadon.

3) Travel Comforts and Discomforts

Travelling for the delegates, whether within or outside New Zealand, had its comforts and also discomforts. All the delegates travelled a considerable distance by ship to get to New Zealand. Some delegates travelled directly from the United States, the English delegates travelled to the United States first and then to New Zealand, and others came via other routes such as South Africa. Delegates such as Hart included the conference as a part of a year-long world tour while Lismer added the conference on to the end of an extended project in South Africa. Several of the delegates then used the conference as a springboard to undertake other activities around the world, such as a follow-on visit to India as part of an NEF delegation.

Whatever the delegates' specific travel plans, each had spent, or were to spend many weeks and months 'on the road' (with and without their family). It is perhaps hard to imagine today in this age of relatively quick airplane journeys, what that might have involved. To give a representative idea of the comforts and discomforts of such travel, next is a brief account of Cyril and Catherine Norwood's trip to New Zealand via the United States drawn from both their travel diaries. The Norwoods were part of the largest delegation of speakers who arrived on July 9, and their diaries also include those other delegates. Their travels involved friendships, relaxation, study, unforeseen events, official receptions, food problems and seasickness.

On June 2, 1937 the Norwoods travelled from England on the Queen Mary and arrived in New York on the morning of June 7, 1937. They spent sixteen days travelling in the United States and visited Chicago, the Grand Canyon, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and San Francisco before sailing on the Mariposa at noon on June 22.¹⁹ The majority of the six week trip from England to New Zealand for the Norwoods was recreational with social activities and visits revolving around meeting friends and acquaintances (several of high standing) from Cyril Norwood's educational past, family friends and from their English old school links, and Christian acquaintances.

The voyage to New York, as Norwood put it in his diary,²⁰ was generally relaxing and ‘no adventurers holiday’ and he spent the time engaging in recreational activities, enjoying the ship’s entertainment (‘Excellent conjuror’), coping with illness/ seasickness, and reading books in the library and on deck, such as Vera Brittain’s *Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925* (this included an account of her experiences as a nurse during World War One drawn from her own dairy entries). In New York on Wednesday June 9, Norwood ran into some trouble: ‘Had a shock this morning, discovering that my wallet had been picked with 30-40 dollars in it. I think in the lift ... I don’t know how they did it. Very annoying.’ In both New York and Chicago he visited art galleries and wrote of seeing artworks by Renoir, Monet, Picasso, and Degas. Besides sightseeing in the United States, Norwood also worked on his conference lectures as his diary entry in Santa Barbara for June 20 elaborates:

A hot sunny day, the bathing beach covered from 10-5 with a horde of bathers – nutbrown bodies, brilliant umbrellas, quirky Pacific villas, glorious sun. But spent the morning ... assiduously working at a lecture on science for N. Z., took me all morning and 1½ hours later. Spent a lazy afternoon sitting on the beach, just by the sea at the ‘Private Bay’ ... then on the green margins of the lake, when the ducks came and did their hulas.

The Norwoods sailed on the *Mariposa* at noon on June 22 from San Francisco. Norwood noted in his diary for that day that he ‘Made acquaintance again of Zilliacus, here with wife, friend, and two children. Nice large cabin, comfortable beds. Food not too good, and service bad’. On June 23 in Los Angeles Norwood ‘saw Pacific Fleet of the USA at anchor’ and ‘made acquaintance of Sir Percy and Lady Meadon: he must have had an honorary knighthood. Finished the lecture in cabin at 9.30; noisy crowd outside seeing us off’.

Mrs Norwood’s initial impressions of the voyage on the *Mariposa* were also prophetic:

... the food is poor, and the service of it is shocking. We have to wait about 25 minutes to get the food, it is all brought on a tray and the subsequent course then gets tepid – also we never succeeded in getting what we ordered.²¹

During the voyages by ship to the United States and then out to New Zealand the Norwoods were ill on a number of occasions from both seasickness and the poor food quality (as well as complaining about the 'hot and steamy' conditions as they neared the tropics), and this 'sweet and sour' diary entry of Mrs Norwood's on June 25 was typical:

Sea calmer, and in the afternoon beautiful blue. Saw probably black albatross. Very graceful pointed wings – if not frigate birds. Only for a few minutes.

Everybody nearly recovered – but C. not well again at dinner time ... Mr Hankin very nice, and charming girl looking after his mother or is it his aunt? His aunt: the girl paid sec.²²

Cyril Norwood noted the next day, June 26, that the sea was still rolling but it was getting warmer: 'Spent most of my time in a deck chair. Have read Dorothy Sayers' *Busman's Holiday*²³ and *Education before Verdun* by Arnold Zweig. The last one ... banned in Germany'.²⁴ Norwood also added that they 'Had as our neighbours at dinner the whole Zilliacus family. Have met of our party Sir Percy and Lady Meadon, Mr G T Hankin, Dr Rugg, Miss/ Dr Susan Isaacs, and the Salter Davies live opposite us, Cabin 320 ... There is also on board Dr Paul Dengler, and his wife, also a doctor, but we have not met them yet'.

Nearing the end of the trip to New Zealand, the Norwoods received a cable from Captain Jeffs, the aide-de-camp to Sir Arthur Richards (the Governor of Fiji from 1936-38, later to become Lord Milverton), inviting them to lunch when they arrived in Suva, Fiji. The aide-de-camp met the Norwoods from the ship on July 6 and (along with Mr and Mrs Zilliacus, Mr Hankin, Mrs Wilson and Dr Rugg) transported them to Government House: 'A most beautiful place, lovely grounds' observed Cyril Norwood.

Lady Richards then took the group on a tour of the island:

We were taken in cars to the Queen Victoria School, a boarding school for the sons of chiefs.²⁵ The boys, above 60 of them, aged 13-18, gave us a performance of songs and dances. English and native, which was quite exceptionally fine for accuracy of complicated movement and sense of rhythm ... [The boys had] pure tone of voice, good sense of music and dramatic action. Some had very fine technique ...

Then a lazy beautiful drive round the island. Lovely views, a grand broad river – saw sugar, tapioca, breadfruit, native villages ... Indian houses built of corrugated iron – shocking shacks.²⁶

After lunch at Government House where the Norwoods were guests of honour, Cyril Norwood drove to a meeting where the conference delegates addressed the meeting in turn:

1. Dr Susan Isaacs, 2. The Americans, Dr Rugg and a Professor who deals with rural education,²⁷ Mr Zilliacus, Dr Dengler, Mr Salter Davies and Meadon, then myself and Hankin. Zilliacus acted as chairman and introduced us each in turn with a personal description to inform the wireless listeners.²⁸

Mrs Norwood didn't attend the meeting; instead, 'Mrs Bonton[?] took me to tortoise shell shop and back to tea. Cousin of Lady Richards is Miss Archbold[?] who was at Clifton High with Enid. So ended a lovely day'.²⁹

On Thursday July 8, the day before their arrival in Auckland, the Norwoods were yet again ill:

All Wednesday I packed ... that night was rough and C. felt unhappy on Thursday and I was feeling quite ill, obviously from food – but I just managed to pack for him but it was rather gruesome on the Thursday.³⁰

The sorts of issues that the Norwoods encountered on their voyage to New Zealand were typical of the other speakers' experiences. For example, Ernst and Janie Malherbe arrived earlier in Auckland on June 23 on the *Wanganella*. Unfortunately for them, their crossing from Sydney to New Zealand was one of the worst crossings on record when the *Wanganella* ran into a head-on gale shortly after leaving Australia. For over two days it battled 'mountainous seas, against a fierce gale, and running through torrential rain ... The vessel

was over a day late'.³¹ In Malherbe's autobiography he mused that on this trip the ship was 'lost' at sea!³² This photograph brings to life the inevitable realities of open ocean sea travel.



Photograph A17-7 *Wanganella* experiences one of the roughest Tasman crossings of her career³³

Travelling with the Lismers would have been very interesting, and frequently amusing as long as you were not on the other end of his caricaturist's pen. On these long voyages there was time for study and the preparation or refinement of conference lectures. In this instance, Arthur Lismer travelled from South Africa with the Malherbes, and this caricature of E G Malherbe preparing one of his conference papers was drawn on the back of the 21 May 1937 breakfast menu of the TSS *Ulysses* (many of Lismer's caricatures were drawn on any suitable material close at hand).



Figure A17-2 E G Malherbe by Arthur Lismer 1937³⁴

Fortunately, the delegates while in New Zealand did not have to travel great distances in small cars over roads that, by today's standards, would be viewed as deplorable. However, the delegates did have to use cars during the Australian conference as these photos from the Malherbe archives illustrate.



Photograph A17-8 Arthur Lismer, Janie Malherbe and Unknown 1937³⁵



Photograph A17-9 Unknown, Unknown, E Salter Davies, G T Hankin, Hankin's Aunt [?] 1937³⁶

An additional aspect that the delegates and their wives needed to carefully consider in long distance travelling to conferences was their choice of clothing. Not only did they need casual clothes for travel through hot and cold climates (without the convenience of air conditioning), they needed relatively formal attire for their conference sessions and lectures, and possibly more formal dress for official receptions and banquets. Packing suitcases and trunks to cover these eventualities would have been a challenge.

An illustration of the conference partners' most formal attire was provided by this detailed account in *The Argus* during the Melbourne session of the conference. At the State reception held in the National Gallery by the Premier of Victoria (Mr Dunstan) on 26 August 1937, 'the guest were received at the head of the staircase leading to the main galleries' – a formal entry.

The women's ensembles were:

- Mrs Brunner – ‘wore a long velvet coat with the collar lined with ermine over her black gown’;
- Mrs Dengler – ‘wore a three-quarter length coat of white velvet with a ruched circular collar over her gown of lobelia blue triple georgette’;
- Mrs Hart – ‘wore a tailored coat of Oriental silk over a frock of earth-brown lace’;
- Mrs Lismer – ‘wore a long coat of Canadian mink over her gown of deep purple velvet’;
- Lismer daughter – ‘whose long brown velvet wrap was worn over a frock of pane primrose’;
- Mrs Malherbe – ‘whose gown of white cloque was finished with a line of tiny buttons down the front and back, and who wore a plait of gold on her dark hair’;
- Lady Meadon wore – ‘a cloak of mole brown velvet with a matching fox collar over her gown of heavy black faille silk’;
- Mrs Norwood – ‘wore a gown of russet brown shot with gold and the long sleeve draperies were lined with gold tissue’; and,
- Mrs E Salter Davies – ‘wore a graceful coat of gold lame over her gown of deep violet silk’.³⁷

Finally, to add to the information described in passing relating to meals, it is possible to describe the precise food options the North Island and South Island groups had for their dinners. Two dinner menus exist from the conference and we have Arthur Lismer to thank for this – he used the reverse side of them for drawing caricatures and two menus were duly archived, one in Wellington and the other in South Africa.

The North Island group stayed at the Hotel St George while in Wellington and this menu is from either Saturday July 24 or Sunday July 25; the only days that Lismer (in the South Island group) also stayed at the hotel.

HOTEL ST GEORGE DINNER MENU³⁸

Cornichons Olives

HORS d'OEUVRE

Grapefruit Cocktail au Marasquin

SOUP

Consomme Valetta

Potage au Levraut

FISH

Filet de Sole Chesterfield

ENTRÉE

Duckling Chipolata

Oyster Vol-au-Vent

Roast Sirloin of Beef and Crème Raifort

Roast Hind-Quarter Lamb and Mint Sauce

Baked York Ham and Tomato Relish

Sorbet Martinique

POULTRY

Roast Chicken Montmorency

Steamed Poularde Caroline

SWEETS

Pouding Delaware

Devonshire Custard Pie

Gelle Macedoine d'Fruits

Peach Melba

SAVOURY

Canapes Norwegienne

Nuts Dates Figs Ginger

Cafe

The South Island group, while in Christchurch, stayed at the United Service Hotel and this menu is from Friday July 16.

UNITED SERVICE HOTEL DINNER MENU³⁹

Huitres au Naturel

Consomme Profiteroles

Crème Toheroa

Fried Fillet Flounder sauce Bernaise

Baked Hapuka Newhaven

Vol-au-vent de Volaille

Saute Rognons en Madeira

Roast Sirloin Beef and Crème Raifort

Roast Loin of Lamb Mint Sauce

Corned Silverside Beef and Carrots

Roast Stuffed Turkey and Cranberry Jelly

Boiled Fowl, Ham nad Veloute Sauce

Spaghetti on Toast

Canary Pudding and Lemon Sauce

Apple Pie Topsy Cake

Gelee au Vin d'Oporto

Compote Peaches

Pasion Fruit Sundae

Toasted Cheese

Notes

¹ Kandel, I. (1938). *Types of Administration: With particular reference to the education systems of New Zealand and Australia* [Educational Research Series Number 7]. Wellington: NZCER, p.vi.

² Also see correspondence concerning Kandel's visit; AAVZ, W3418, Box 29.

³ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Archives, File 402/1, Photo 84.

⁴ *The Dominion*, 24 July 1937, p. 12.

⁵ Minutes of the 11 June 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁶ *The Evening Post*, 5 July 1937, p. 16; Source: Alexander Turnbull Library; N-P 1614-16.

⁷ *The New Zealand Herald*, 15 July 1937, p. 9.

⁸ *Los Angeles Times*, 23 June 1937, p. 10, 'Shipping News'.

⁹ *The New Zealand Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 12; Source: Alexander Turnbull Library; N-P 1617-12A.

¹⁰ Minutes of the 11 June 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹¹ *The Weekly News*, 14 July 1937, p. 54; Source: Alexander Turnbull Library; N-P 1612-54D.

¹² Minutes of the 18 February 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹³ The original photograph appears to be lost. Beeby's daughter remembers seeing this photograph before but does not have the original copy; NZCER does not have the original photograph in the publication file for Beeby's autobiography either. Source: Beeby, C. E. (1992). *The biography of an idea*. Wellington: NZCER.

¹⁴ My special thanks go to Ngaroma Williams for taking the time to research within her family the identity of the Maori guides, as well as staff at Te Puia and the Rotorua Museum of Art and History for additional assistance in this regard.

¹⁵ See Neich, R. (2001). *Carved Histories. Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. Auckland: AUP, p. 224 & p. 315 for more information on the pataka.

¹⁶ If any reader has this original photograph, please contact me directly. If any reader has another good photograph of this pataka, it would assist in the restoration of this pataka. Please contact Clive Fugill (Ngāi Te Rangi), the master carver at Te Puia, New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua.

¹⁷ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Archives; File 850/1.

¹⁸ Source: NZCER Archives, AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

¹⁹ Norwood Itinerary New York to San Francisco, Thos. Cook and Son Ltd, April 30 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/6/7A.

²⁰ Cyril Norwood's dairy. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/6/7B.

²¹ Mrs Norwood's dairy entry – June 23, 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/10/7.

²² Mrs Norwood's dairy entry – June 25, 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/10/7. Hankin was accompanied by his aunt and a secretary.

²³ This crime novel was published in 1937 by Sayers who was a well-known English crime writer and Christian humanist; this was her last work to include the character 'Lord Peter Wimsey'.

²⁴ Zweig was a German Jewish anti-war activist and friend of Martin Buber, Thomas Mann and Sigmund Freud and he wrote this book in 1935 and it was published in 1936.

²⁵ Kiste described the school as follows: 'Queen Victoria was an elite boarding school for the sons of families of chiefly rank. Opened in 1907, it was created on the model of an English public school. Life was highly regulated, and the regime paramilitary and rigorous. Discipline was strict and demanding. There was an emphasis on athletics as well as academics. The headmaster was British, the faculty largely expatriate and from the British Commonwealth. Graduates were expected to move to positions of responsibility in fields such as education, medicine, police work, and other government service'. Source: Kiste, R. (1998). *He served: A biography of Macu Salato*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; p. 9.

²⁶ Cyril Norwood's dairy entry – July 6, 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/6/7B.

²⁷ Edmund de S. Brunner, Professor of Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University.

²⁸ Cyril Norwood's dairy entry – July 6, 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/6/7B.

²⁹ Mrs Norwood's dairy entry – July 6, 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/10/7. Enid Norwood/ Canning was one of the Norwood's three children.

³⁰ Mrs Norwood's dairy entry – July 8, 1937. University of Sheffield Library, Special Collections and Archives, Norwood Papers, MS230/10/7.

³¹ The Weekly News, 30 June 1937, p. 18.

³² Malherbe, E. G. (1981). *Never a dull moment*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins; p. 85.

³³ The Weekly News, 30 June 1937, p. 18. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library; N-P 1610-1.

³⁴ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, Lismar Collection; File 279.

³⁵ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Archives, Photo Album 24.

³⁶ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Archives, Photo Album 24.

³⁷ *The Argus*, 27 August, 1937, p. 3

³⁸ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Archives, File 279.

³⁹ Source: ATL, 92-256, Box 1, Beeby's Library Books & Publications.

Appendix 18

Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System – Dr A G Butchers

This ‘Conspectus’ was provided to each of the visiting NEF speakers in an information pack prepared by Beeby and dated 7 July 1937 and was prepared by Dr A G Butchers at the request of the Conference’s National Organising Committee. Its purpose was to provide the overseas delegates with a brief overall summary of education in New Zealand. It was, however, not a progressive document – it was a relatively short twenty-five page booklet of factual information about the education system. It is interesting to see what areas the writer thought were important for overseas progressive educators to know and a brief summary is included in this Appendix as it is a virtually unknown educational document from the interwar years.

This Conspectus started out as a comprehensive Glossary of the New Zealand education system that was to be published by NZCER. However, that project ran into a number of problems. At the 1 July 1937 Executive Committee Meeting of the Council of NZCER, it was explained that it was not possible to finish the preparation of the Glossary on time for the NEF conference. While Butchers had completed his work several weeks earlier the Education Department had not been given sufficient time to check all of the facts in the Glossary and as the Department would have been held responsible for its factual accuracy it not only needed the time to check the material but also the right to make any changes as required. Gould and Beeby met with the Department over the matter and agreed with their position. The Department instead suggested that perhaps NZCER could undertake to appoint an independent outside committee to ‘criticize and advise’ on the Glossary. The decision of the meeting was to hold off on a decision to proceed with the Glossary until after the conference.¹

This left Beeby in a tricky position as he clearly had wanted to provide the overseas speakers with substantive material on the New Zealand education system to inform their understandings and critiques of the scope and workings of the system. It later transpired that Beeby – with his National Committee hat on this time – after

consulting with Hunter, requested Butchers to quickly adapt his draft of the Glossary into this Conspectus. The National Committee then paid for the copying of the Conspectus and made a grant of five pounds to Butchers towards the cost of its preparation.² The Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER later made a further grant of five pounds to Butchers in recognition of the original work he had carried out on the Glossary project. The remaining copies of the Conspectus were held by the Council.³

The Conspectus, then, was stamped ‘Confidential, Not For Publication’ not necessarily because it contained confidential information, but that it had been prepared in some haste and its contents had not been checked and approved for factual accuracy by NZCER, the National Committee or the Department of Education.

The contents of the Conspectus included:

- Historical background;
- Cost of education;
- Administrative organisation;
- Enrolments at educational institutions;
- Native education;
- Child welfare;
- Information on School types (including intermediate education, registered private schools, secondary schools, rural education, The Correspondence School, district high schools);
- Teaching conditions (including class sizes, co-education, curricula);
- Educational certificates (including Certificate of Proficiency, Certificate of Competency, Intermediate Certificate, and School Certificate, Higher Leaving Certificates, and Teachers’ Certificates);
- Information on examinations (including candidate numbers and pass/fail rates);
- Training of teachers;
- Inspectors of schools;
- Grading of teachers;
- Appointment of teachers; and,
- Salaries of teachers.

Copies of the Cover Page and the Foreword by Beeby are included here.

CONFIDENTIAL

NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

C O N S P E C T U S

of the

NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION SYSTEM

Prepared at the request of
The Executive of the National Committee

by

A. G. BUTCHERS,

LL.B., M.Ed., Litt.D.

for the information of Visiting Speakers
at the

SEVENTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

of the

NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

to be held at

Auckland, 10th to 15th July, 1937.

Wellington, 19th to 23rd July, 1937.

Christchurch, 13th to 17th July, 1937.

Dunedin, 19th to 22nd July, 1937.

New Zealand.

Figure A18-1 Cover Page, Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System

F O R E W O R D.

In order to give visiting speakers to the New Education Fellowship Conference the essential facts of the New Zealand education system in short space, the Executive of the National Committee has asked Dr. A. G. Butchers, author of "Education in New Zealand" etc., to prepare this conspectus. Dr. Butchers was asked to do the work only a few days before the beginning of the Conference, and, although he has completed it in incredibly short time, there has been no opportunity to submit it to members of the Committee for their approval. For this reason it cannot be taken as expressing in any particular the official opinions of the Committee. It is therefore marked "Confidential", not because it contains information in any way secret, but because it is not considered desirable in the circumstances to have it quoted verbatim as an official statement.

The Committee wishes to express to Dr. Butchers its thanks for his generous help in this matter, and it hopes that his conspectus will assist visitors to an understanding of an education system which they may have little chance to study at first hand.

C. E. BEEBY,
Programme Secretary,
National Committee.

Figure A18-2 Foreword, Conspectus of the New Zealand Education System

Notes

¹ Minutes of the 1 July 1937 Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

² Minutes of the 29 July 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

³ Minutes of the 30 July 1937 Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

Appendix 19

NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)

This NZCER Report of Conference of Representatives of Four Local Institutes on Educational Reorganisation was completed on 20 February 1937 in response to the Minister of Education's request for submissions on the possible reorganisation of the education system. The Local Institutes of Education were relatively independent bodies set up by NZCER to facilitate and coordinate research in the four main centres and in the main comprised progressive educators.

What is interesting about this rare and little discussed Report is its frank critique of the still generally conservative New Zealand education system as it was in the 1930s and that it was written by a committee comprising several of the leading progressive educators in the country, including Professor Gould and Fitt, J Strachan, A E Campbell, and Agnes Kennedy. The forty-nine page report was part of the broader review of the education system being carried out by the Labour Government at the time and was presented some six months before the NEF Conference 1937. Copies of the Report were given to the visiting NEF speakers by Dr Beeby on their arrival.

The contents of the five part Report included an evaluation of: 1) educational stages, the health and education of the pre-school child, and the school system; 2) the administration of the system; 3) physical education, school accommodation and equipment; 4) summary of principal recommendations; and, Report of Parliamentary Recess Committee 1930. This Appendix reproduces a copy of the Cover Page and the Preface by Professor T A Hunter, where the brief from the Minister of Education was for submissions that would assist in bringing 'our system into line with progressive modern educational principles and practice'. The included Introduction from the Report noted that, 'while our recommendations contain little that will be novel to those familiar with progressive movements in education, some of them imply a radical departure from conventional practice and attitudes'. This Appendix, then, introduces another virtually unknown progressive educational document from the interwar years.

N.Z. Council for Educational Research

Report

of

CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES

of

FOUR LOCAL INSTITUTES

on

EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION

Figure A19-1 Cover Page, NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)

PREFACE

Shortly after accepting office, the Minister for Education, the Hon. P. Fraser, announced his intention of re-organising the education system and invited suggestions for its improvement.

The New Zealand Council for Educational Research, having assured itself that the Minister would welcome suggestions from it, asked the local Institutes at Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago severally to consider the nature of the changes that would be necessary to bring our system into line with progressive modern educational principles and practice, and to appoint representatives to meet in conference for the purpose of framing a report.

The Members of the Conference were:-

Professor W. H. Gould	- Chairman
Professor A. B. Fitt)
Miss Agnes Kennedy) - Auckland
Dr. A. G. Butchers)
Mr. P. Martin-Smith) - Wellington
Mr. J. A. Strachan)
Mr. W. C. Colee) - Canterbury
Professor G. E. Thompson)
Dr. J. Renfrew White) - Otago
Mr. A. E. Campbell	was appointed Secretary of the Conference.

The report which is submitted herewith is the report prepared by the Conference. It is not a report of the Council for Educational Research whose sole function was to facilitate the discussion of the Institutes and provide the funds for the Conference and the incidental expenses of the report.

(Signed) T. A. Hunter.

President.

N.Z. Council for Educational Research.

20th February, 1937.

Figure A19-2 Preface, NZCER – Four Local Institutes Report (1937)

INTRODUCTORY

Those responsible for this report share the conviction that measured by the best educational thought and practice of our day, education in New Zealand falls far short of what the human and material resources of the country make possible. Hence while our recommendations contain little that will be novel to those familiar with progressive movements in education, some of them imply a radical departure from conventional practices and attitudes.

At the same time we desire to avoid the impression that we have looked with a jaundiced eye at everything that is, or that we are unaware of the genuine progress that has taken place in recent years. It must be recognised that in some respects the New Zealand education system is more generous than those of most other countries. In particular there is an approximation to equality of educational opportunity for all. In few countries does such a high proportion of children continue education to the post-primary stage, and in few is there a smaller disparity between educational opportunities in the town and the country.

Inside the schools themselves the past few decades have seen considerable progress. Teachers today have a broader background of culture and a greater degree of technical skill; there has been some liberalization of curricula: school discipline has been humanized; greater attention is being paid to the physical welfare of children; and there has been a wide development of extra-curricular activities of all kinds. Further, there has been a striking improvement in the relations between teachers and parents on the one hand, and teachers and inspecting and administrative authorities on the other.

In the field of administration the adoption of a national system of grading has, in spite of its grave defects, removed previous abuses and ensured in some measure that the best teachers are placed in the most responsible positions; while the adoption of a universal salary scale and other legislative safeguards has rendered the teacher independent of local conditions.

We could continue in this strain, but it is more to the purpose of the report to indicate wherein we believe reform is most urgently needed. In recent years there has been a growing acceptance of the principle that education must take as a fundamental datum the needs of the pupil for growth and development, and workers in many fields have greatly advanced our knowledge of these needs. This principle has so far found only very partial embodiment in the day to day conduct of the school; in too many instances the curriculum and activities of the school are divorced from the daily life and dominant interests of the pupils and consequently fall short of the requirements for growth and development. Material disabilities have, of course, contributed to this condition of affairs. Of these the impossibility under existing primary school staffing schedules of securing classes of reasonable size and stability of staffing, and the lack of suitable equipment (e.g. craft rooms, libraries, seating accommodation) are especially obvious.

The necessity of carrying on the work of the school under these handicaps has helped to perpetuate an academic and scholastic educational tradition which, while it may suit a small minority, does not meet the needs of the great majority, who, in the words of Professor Findlay "can only enjoy a worthy and happy life when the bulk of each day is spent in dealing with concrete experience."

This undue emphasis on formal instruction is especially evident, and especially harmful, in the education of the young child. Only an open-air life with ample opportunities for physical movement and active observation and experimentation can meet the educational needs of this stage.

This emphasis on the formal aspects of schooling is greatly encouraged by the value placed upon examinations both as a means of promoting effort in teacher and pupil and as an indication for fitness for further education. Whatever may be said for professional qualifying examinations, there is little to be said in favour of these hurdles in the child's educational progress. For this reason we welcome the decision to abolish the Proficiency Examination and trust that it will be found possible to free secondary education from the domination of the University Entrance Examination. The mischief of such external tests is that they distort the value of school studies, tending to restrict curricula to those subjects and aspects of subjects which are most readily susceptible of testing by written examination and to relegate to a minor place those which cannot be tested in this formal way. Yet these latter are often by far the more important educationally.

There is little doubt, too, that there has been a tendency to an arbitrary division of the life of the pupil into the successive stages of his school career and that this has been aggravated by the control of these stages by separate educational authorities. This is partly due to the fact that we have thought of schooling too dominantly in terms of preparation, particularly in terms of preparation for some examination. The only safe division is that based on the nature and needs of the pupil at the time.

Two matters may be mentioned here which are dealt with more fully in the body of the report. The first is that for three vitally important years, and often more, far too little attention has been paid to the needs of small children. New Zealand has been an example to the world in the provision it has made for the child during the first two years of his life, but has fallen far behind in the provision made for him after he leaves the care and oversight of the Plunket nurse and before he enters the Infant Department at the age of five.

In the second place the standard of physical well-being among children is much below what it should be in so exceptionally favoured a country as New Zealand. Hence our report calls for increased emphasis on physical education at every stage of development.

Appendix 20

Speaker Articles Published in the New Zealand and Australian Proceedings

Much of what we think occurred at the Australasian NEF Conference 1937 derives from a limited number of sources. Besides newspaper reports, the two conference proceedings include articles by each speaker that give some indication of the academic interests of the speakers and the content of their sessions. This appendix contains a listing of the articles that each speaker had published in the two proceedings of the Australasian NEF Conference 1937 and combined, provides an overview of the progressive content of the Conferences.¹

However, after reading the NZCER and ACER archival correspondence concerning the development of the two proceedings, it is clear that the articles published are far from verbatim or even accurate accounts of what actually transpired. For example, these articles may be near full copies of the actual lecture, they may be summaries made by the lecturer or another person, they may be a précis undertaken by a member of the audience, or they may be a compilation written up from a variety of sources. Moreover, there is no assurance that what is in the article is actually what the delegate said or covered in their session.

In addition, delegates sometimes gave the same lecture under a different title or used the same title and gave a different lecture. Sometimes a shorter version was included in one proceedings than the other. Also, not all the speaker's sessions are included in either proceedings while the Australian proceedings (published after the New Zealand one) sought to avoid overlap (in some cases). In sum, these listings, and the contents of the proceedings themselves, need to be approached carefully. To gain a more accurate understanding of what actually happened in any one session, *each* article needs to be read in conjunction with similar articles in each proceedings as well as the many newspaper reports on the sessions in both countries.

William Boyd

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Leisure Time Education (pp. 42-45).
2. Religious Education in the Schools (pp. 55-57).
3. Problem Children (pp. 109-111).
4. The Reform of the Examination System (pp. 245-247).
5. Educational Guidance (pp. 260-261).
6. Standardised Tests in Educational Practice (pp. 262-263).
7. Vocational Guidance (pp. 263-264).
8. Post-primary Education for All (pp. 286-288).
9. Adult Education for All (pp. 326-328).
10. Methods of Teaching at the University Level (pp. 362-364).
11. The Training of Teachers (pp. 427-428).
12. A Scotsman Looks at New Zealand Schools (pp. 469-486).
13. The NEF and the Future of Education in New Zealand (pp. 487-492).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Education and Citizenship (pp. 191-192).
2. The Training of Teachers (pp. 315-316).
3. The Reform of the Examination System (pp. 324-326).
4. The Education of the Adolescent (pp. 419-421).
5. Education at the University Level (pp. 540-542).
6. Summing Up (pp. 665-668).

Mrs Dorothy Boyd

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Parents and Children (pp. 103-105).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

According to Gregg (1993) (in her account of the Australian NEF Conference (1937), and its influence on the Western Australia Kindergarten Union), the Perth Conference Handbook lists Mrs William Boyd and Mrs F W Hart as presenting papers on 'Parent Education'.² However, these were not published in the Australian proceedings.

Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. The Challenge of Adult Education (pp. 329-331).
2. Rural Trends the World Around (pp. 365-373).
3. Cultural Agencies in American Rural Life (pp. 374-381).
4. Agricultural Extension Education (pp. 382-395).
5. The School and the Rural Community (pp. 396-407).
6. The Rural School Curriculum (pp. 408-413).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. The Place of the School in Modern Society (pp. 58-65).
2. Rural Trends the World Around (pp. 221-229).
3. The School and the Rural Community (pp. 230-241).
4. The Rural School Curriculum (pp. 242-247).
5. Cultural Agencies in American Rural Life (pp. 259-269).

Ernest Salter Davies

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. The Administration of Public Education in England (pp. 64-77).
2. The Elementary School as a Preparation for Life (pp. 149-158).
3. Physical Education in the Universities (pp. 188-202).
4. The Education of the Adolescent in England (pp. 315-319).
5. The Training of Teachers in England (pp. 429-437).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. The Elementary School as a Preparation for Life (pp. 116-126).
2. Libraries and Citizenship (pp. 476-490).
3. Values: or The Old Learning and the New Spirit (pp. 127-140).

Paul Dengler

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. The New Germany and Her Schools (pp. 14-20).
2. European Youth (pp. 21-29).
3. Austria and Her Children (pp. 173-183).
4. Community Classes: An Experiment in Secondary Education (pp. 307-310).
5. Universities in a Changing Europe (pp. 359-361).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Austria and Her Children (pp. 66-76).
2. European Youth (pp. 77-85).
3. Child Art in Austria (pp. 401-402).
4. Community Classes: An Experiment in Secondary Education (pp. 422-425).
5. Universities in a Changing Europe (pp. 548-550).

Gerald Hankin

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Tendencies in English Education (pp. 159-165).
2. Sight and Sound in Education (pp. 203-205).
3. Education for a Commercial Career (pp. 320-321).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. The Teaching of History in the Schools (pp. 360-366).

Frank Hart

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Creative Administration (pp. 78-80).
2. Educational Trends in the United States of America (pp. 80-82).
3. Adult Education (pp. 348-355).
4. Civic Complacency (pp. 356-358).
5. The Freedom of the Teacher (pp. 438-444).
6. Inspection of Schools (pp. 444-445).
7. The Teacher's Status (pp. 445-461).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Education for International Understanding (pp. 14-18).
2. How May We Absorb Our Surplus Manpower In Socially Useful Ways (pp. 159-169).
3. Education for Citizenship (pp. 193-198).
4. Creative Administration (pp. 273-276).
5. The Inspection of Schools (pp. 296-297).
6. Problems of the Modern University (pp. 537-539).
7. Criticisms of Education in Australia (pp. 661-664).

Mrs F W Hart (Louise Rosseel Gibbs)

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Parent Education (pp. 105-108).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

Gregg (1993), in her account of the Australian NEF Conference (1937), noted that the Perth Conference Handbook lists Mrs Hart and Mrs Boyd as presenting papers on Parent Education.³ However, these were not published in the Australian proceedings.

Susan Isaacs

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. The Principle of Activity in Modern Education (pp. 83-87).
2. The Pre-school Child: Home Care and Training (pp. 88-89).
3. Emotional Difficulties and Nursery Training (pp. 90-91).
4. Home and School (pp. 92-102).
5. Recent Advances in Infant School Practice in England (pp. 143-145).
6. Methods and Curricula: Seven to Eleven Years (pp. 146-148).
7. The Function and Value of Pupils' Records (pp. 253-259).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. The Importance of the Child's Emotional Life (pp. 608-622).
2. The Problem Child (pp. 623-634).
3. The Psychologist in Child Welfare (pp. 635-640).

Isaac Kandell

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. School and Society (pp. 1-13).
2. Administration and Organisation (pp. 58-59).
3. Examinations and Their Substitutes (pp. 238-245).
4. The Education of the Adolescent (pp. 288-290).
5. Differentiation and Selection (pp. 322-323).
6. The Preparation of Teachers (pp. 426-427).
7. Impressions of Education in New Zealand (pp. 462-469).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. The Strife of Tongues (pp. 24-45).
2. School and Society (pp. 98-104).
3. Problem of Examinations (pp. 327-328).
4. Problems of the Modern University (pp. 493-504).
5. Impressions of Australian Education (pp. 649-660).

Arthur Lismer

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Art in a Changing World (pp. 216-224).
2. Art and Creative Education (pp. 225-230).
3. Education Through Art (pp. 230-235).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Education Through Art (pp. 379-390).
2. The Teaching of Art (pp. 391-400).

Ernst Malherbe

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Delinquency as an Educational Problem (pp. 112-127).
2. Retardation: Its Causes and Prevention (pp. 265-285).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Adapting Education to Modern Needs (pp. 105-115).
2. Centralization and Decentralization in Education (pp. 277-290).
3. Research in Education (pp. 298-310).
4. Problems Facing Universities in a Young Country (pp. 505-532).
5. Retardation: Its Causes and Prevention (pp. 553-570).
6. Delinquency as an Educational Problem (pp. 571-585).

Percival Meadon

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Education for Leisure (pp. 45-46).
2. A Liberal Education (pp. 46-49).
3. The Administration of Education in England (pp. 59-63).
4. Adult Education in Lancashire (pp. 332-347).
5. Rural Education in England (pp. 414-425).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. A Liberal Education (pp. 153-156).
2. Rural Education in England (pp. 248-258).
3. The Administration of Education in England (pp. 291-295).
4. Adult Education in Lancashire (pp. 443-458).
5. The Development of the Public Library System in England and Wales (pp. 459-475).

Cyril Norwood

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Christianity and the World Crisis (pp. 50-54).
2. The New Conception of Physical Education (pp. 184-187).
3. Science and Its Place in a General Education (pp. 206-212).
4. Music and Its Place in Education (pp. 213-215).
5. Coming Changes in Education (pp. 290-306).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Coming Changes (pp. 141-152).
2. Religion and Education (pp. 199-217).
3. The New Conception of Physical Education (pp. 403-416).

Harold Rugg

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. Education and Social Progress in the 'New' Industrial Democratic Countries (pp. 30-41).
2. The New Psychology and the Child-Centred School (pp. 128-142).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. Education and Social Progress in the New Industrial-Democratic Countries (pp. 46-57).
2. Democracy, Indoctrination, and Controversial Issues in the Schools (pp. 170-177).
3. The Curriculum in the Child-Centred School (pp. 128-142).
4. The New Psychology and the Child-Centred School (pp. 586-600).

Laurin Zilliacus

(a) Articles Published in 1938 in the New Zealand Conference Proceedings

1. A School in Finland (pp. 166-172).
2. Examinations (pp. 248-252).
3. Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools (pp. 311-314).
4. Differentiation and Selection (pp. 323-325).

(b) Articles Published in 1938 in the Australian Conference Proceedings

1. The Race Between Education and Catastrophe (pp. 3-13).
2. Examinations (pp. 319-323).

Notes

¹ The two proceedings are: 1) New Zealand – Campbell, A. E. (Ed.). (1938). *Modern trends in education. The proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference held in New Zealand in July 1937* [assisted by C. L. Bailey]. Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. 2) Australia – Cunningham, K. S. (1938). *Education for complete living. The proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference held in Australia, August 1 to September 20, 1937* [assisted by W. C. Radford]. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press in Association with Oxford University Press.

² *The New Education Fellowship - Education for Complete Living: The challenge of Today*. Perth Session, Monday 13th September to Saturday 18th September 1937 (Conference Handbook).

³ *The New Education Fellowship - Education for Complete Living: The challenge of Today*. Perth Session, Monday 13th September to Saturday 18th September 1937 (Conference Handbook).

Appendix 21(a)

Conference Between the NEF Delegation, The Minister of Education, Department Officers, and Others (July 1937)

Proposed Questions that the Hon Acting Prime Minister Intends to Take Up With the NEF Delegation

On Saturday 24th July and Monday 26th July, nine international speakers from the NEF Conference met for two full days with the Hon Peter Fraser (who was Minister of Education and Acting Prime Minister at the time), the Director of Education and Department officials, the chairman and secretary of the Wellington Education Board, and members of NZCER, and NZEI. This list of forty questions was found in Department of Education files¹ and they were drawn up by Mr N T Lambourne, Director of Education at the Minister's request.² This copy of the questions is reproduced using the original formatting wherever possible.

QUESTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH MEETING OF LECTURERS OF THE NEW EDUCATIONAL [sic] FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE ARRANGED BY THE HON. ACTING PRIME MINISTER

A. ADMINISTRATION:

- (1). Is unification of educational control in an area desirable? If no, what should be the composition of the controlling authority?
- (2). What are the powers and functions of a Director of Education or an education officer under a local education authority?

Should he be a trained secretary and accountant or a trained educationist?

B. STAFFING, SALARIES AND GRADING OF TEACHERS:

- (3). Have you any suggestions to make in regard to a substitute for our grading system?
- (4). How would you secure a national scheme of appointment and promotion of teachers to avoid the disadvantages of parochialism?

- (5). How would country positions be filled?
- (6). How do you under your local education authority acquire a reasonable spread of the most efficient assistants over the schools in your area?
- (7). If New Zealand adopted a salary scheme similar to the Burnham Scales should there be efficiency bars to ensure that the teachers' salaries do not automatically increase to the maximum on account of years of service only?
- (8). Should there be any differences in the salary scales between different branches of the service?
- (9). What is the best method of filling vacancies in teaching staffs to avoid -
 - (a). affects of grading.
 - (b). dangers of favouritism.
- (10). What is the relationship of the headteacher to the assistants in the matter of curriculum and methods?
- (11). How do you ascertain that schools are efficient?

C. TRAINING OF TEACHERS:

- (12). By whom should a training college be controlled -
 - (a). Department.
 - (b). Education Board.
 - (c). University.
 - (d). A special committee representative of these three bodies with one or more principals appointed by the teachers?
- (13). How long should the training college course be for the ordinary primary school teacher, that is, the teacher who does not desire to specialise in a subject?
- (14). Should the Professor of Education be Principal of the training college?
- (15). Should New Zealand aim at requiring all entrants to the training college to be graduates?
- (16). What is the best way of securing sufficient practical training for training college students?

D. POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS:

- (17). Should post-primary schools be of different types or be of the same type?
- (18). Should intermediate schools be separate schools or should they be attached to post-primary schools?
- (19). Is it wise to combine a short course multi-bias school (13+) with a long single course school (13+) in cases where both can function separately with efficiency?

- (20). Assuming that every child can obtain free education on demand after the compulsory period, by what method should needy children be selected for State assistance by way of allowance for maintenance if only a few can be helped?
- (21). What particulars should a leaving certificate contain?
- (22). If pupils pass from the primary school to the post-primary without examination, how would you determine the type of school to which each should go?
- (23). Is it advisable in a country like New Zealand to make all post-primary schools –
 - (a). multi-bias
 - (b). co-educational?
- (24). What should be the duration of the intermediate school course where a further post-primary course is to follow?
- (25). It was said by one lecturer that our system of secondary education is appalling. Can you suggest the direction in which the system should be reformed?

E. EXAMINATIONS:

- (26). Does the School Certificate or the University Entrance Examination serve any useful purpose?
- (27). Should there be accrediting for these examinations?
- (28). Should any subjects be compulsory for School Certificate and University Examination? If so, which?

F. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE:

- (29). What should be the relationship between vocational guidance and vocational guidance and placement?

To what extent is each a matter for the educational authority or the Ministry of Labour?
- (30). How far and in what types of occupations should part-time day training at educational institutions be compulsory for boys and girls in occupations between the ages of 14 and 15, 15 and 18, and over 18? What should be the character of the training?
- (31). Are school farms necessary and what part should they play in the work of the country post-primary school?

G. INSPECTORATE:

- (32). Should there be a single inspectorate inspecting all grades of schools – primary, secondary and technical?
- (33). What should be the functions of an Inspector of Schools?

H. UNIVERSITY:

- (34). How far should the University be concerned with the training of candidates for professional examinations, necessarily largely concerned with professional practice (and taken by students already in offices) of Institutes of Architecture, Engineering, Accountancy and the like, and how far should this training be the function of technical colleges affiliated if necessary to the University Colleges?
- (35). How far if at all should such professional examinations be identical with examinations in corresponding degree courses?

I. GENERAL:

- (36). Should there be any control of curricula through lists of approved text-books -
 - (a). primary,
 - (b). secondary,
 - (c). technical schools?
- (37). Should corrective exercises for physical defectives be conducted only by fully trained specialists? If not, by whom?
- (38). Do women make satisfactory heads of large -
 - (a). primary schools,
 - (b). post-primary schools?
- (39). Do you think that school psychologists are necessary?
- (40). What should be the leaving age for mentally retarded pupils?

Notes

¹ E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26

² Ibid. See the verbatim record of the conference with the NEF delegation reproduced in the following Appendix, p. 1.

Appendix 21(b)

Conference Between the NEF Delegation, The Minister of Education, Department Officers, and Others (July 1937)

Verbatim Record of Conference with the NEF Delegation¹

On Saturday 24th July and Monday 26th July, nine international speakers from the NEF Conference met for two full days with the Hon. Peter Fraser (who was Minister of Education and Acting Prime Minister at the time), the Director of Education and Department officials, the chairman and secretary of the Wellington Education Board, and members of NZCER, and NZEI. This is a verbatim record of the discussions over the two days. This copy of the discussions is reproduced using the original formatting wherever possible.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP DELEGATION, THE HON. THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, DEPARTMENTAL OFFICERS AND OTHERS.

At Wellington, on the 24th July, 1937, a Conference was held when Lecturers of the New Education Fellowship Conference discussed with the Minister of Education (Hon. P. Fraser), departmental officers and others, matters arising out of the attached questions.

PRESENT: Mr. E. Salter Davies, Director of Education, Kent.
Mr. G.T. Hankin, Staff Inspector, English Board of Education.
Dr. Wm. Boyd, Dept. of Education, Glasgow University.
Dr. E. Brunner, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University.
Dr. I.L. Kandel, International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University.
Sir Percy Meadon, Director of Education, Lancashire.
Dr. E.G. Malherbe, Director, National Bureau of Education, Pretoria.
Rector, L. Zilliacus, Experimental School, Helsingfors, Finland.
Dr. H. Rugg, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University.
Dr. Beeby, N.Z. Educational Research Cl. Wellington.

Mr. W.V. Dyer, Chairman, Wellington Education Board.
Mr. W.I. Deavoll, Secretary, Wellington “ “
Members of the N.Z.E.I.
Mr. N.T. Lambourne (Director of Education), and Departmental
Officers.

THE MINISTER welcomed the visitors from overseas and others present. He said he felt they would like the opinions of those who had had experience in the administration of education. He had also invited officers of the Education Board, the Education Department, and others interested in education, so that they could have the benefit of the consultation without actually participating in it. He felt that the question of re-organization of education in New Zealand was not a question for the Government alone. It was a question for everyone interested in education in the Dominion so that there could be the greatest measure of agreement and co-operation. He hoped that as a result of the consideration given to the re-organization of education they would have something in the nature of the consultative committees of the British Board of Education. He had requested the Director of Education to draft out a number of questions to put to the delegates and ask them, out of their long experience, for an expression of opinion. They were meeting in a private capacity and he wanted them to express their own opinions.

A. ADMINISTRATION:

THE MINISTER read the question.

[Questions listed here are not in the original but are for the reader's benefit:

(A1). Is unification of educational control in an area desirable? If no, what should be the composition of the controlling authority?

(A2). What are the powers and functions of a Director of Education or an education officer under a local education authority?

Should he be a trained secretary and accountant or a trained educationist?]

Mr SALTER DAVIES said in answering the main question first he thought he should have no hesitation in answering question (1) in the affirmative. He thought they had suffered in England through the breaking up of the system in various parts and particularly in the divorce of control in elementary schools from the control in secondary schools. The problem had become pressing in England lately through the development of a new form of post-primary school which could not be described as any form of secondary school. In England there were minor municipal authorities controlling elementary education and a borough controlling primary education. In a memorandum recently issued by the Association of Education Committees the striking sentence appeared “Co-

operation to be effective must be mutual". With regard to the composition of the controlling authority, what he felt there was that one of the essentials of good administration was that there should be strong local bodies who had a real power and so could develop a real sense of responsibility. In order that that might be achieved he thought it desirable that there should be an officer with educational experience and knowledge. He was now coming to question (2). He thought it was very important that there should be an officer. "Director" was rather a heavy title. "Education officer" was perhaps a better title, who would be responsible to the district committee and was not a mere administrator. He had no hesitation in answering that he should be a trained educationist. There was the problem of relations between the district committee, the officer and the central department. In England they had worked out a system of relationship which he thought was very effective. The Board of Education, which was a Government Department, supervised the educational arrangements and inspected them, but it did not, in the narrow sense of the term, administer. Administration was left in the hands of the district committee. The Board of Education exercised its control through the possible withholding of grants. It was rare for the Board of Education to have to use its extreme powers. The chief influence was through its inspectors. Mr. Hankin was responsible for the Board in Kent. He (the speaker) was responsible to the local body for education in Kent.

SIR PERCY MEADON said he was speaking personally. Anything he said was not meant in any way as criticising New Zealand because he had not been here long enough to do that. He had been trying, since the Minister put the question, to take a long view of what New Zealand might be ten, twenty and one hundred years hence. Was the Island likely to grow in population? Conditions which might work at the moment might not be ideal if they thought in terms of growing communities and an increasing amount of work in the various departments. The administration should be a help and not a hindrance. In considering whether the present system gave help, both urban and rural, it seemed to him its weakest link was in the localities. He doubted whether in New Zealand local enthusiasm was fostered enough. They must rest it on the foundation of local interest – with mothers, fathers and their representatives who would tell someone working perhaps a long way off just what was needed in that locality.

THE MINISTER: Might I correct what may be a wrong impression? As far as local needs of schools are concerned the avenue of approach is probably easier in New Zealand than anywhere else in the world and also the amount of local interest circulated round the school could not be more in evidence in any part of the world. The amount of work done round the schools by the Committees and the Parents' Associations was really surprising.

SIR PERCY MEADON said men and women had told him they would take a keen interest in education if only they had something to do, and that was in his mind. Would the Minister say the initiation of the work of the schools should be local or central? Whose job was it, supposing a new school was wanted?

THE MINISTER said almost invariably such things came from the localities first as a recommendation.

SIR PERCY MEADON said he thought in any country – they were suffering from it in England – in any system there should be as strong local bodies as possible, and he thought those local bodies should have an officer of their own who was, in the broadest sense of the word, an educationist – not an accountant – not a secretary. He would act as a buffer insofar as the central body was concerned. If they felt that the local boards, as at present constituted, drew the best men and women in the locality that settled that. If not, they should devise a system whereby they did get the best. Very important was the outlook of the man – whether he was a leader and could draw men.

MR LAMBOURNE: Should there be co-opted members of the local Education Board?

SIR PERCY MEADON: Certainly.

THE MINISTER: roughly sketched the present New Zealand system of the election of School Committees and Education Boards.

DR. McILRAITH:² Are you, as Director of Education, a servant of the education authority?

SIR PERCY MEADON: Yes.

DR. McILRAITH: Are you dominated by the local authority? Can the Board of Education, say at Whitehall, dominate the Director or does the local authority dominate the Director?

SIR PERCY MEADON said it was the old question of personality. You did not get your power through your office. A committee would only stand from an officer what he was really worth. So far as the maintenance of education was concerned he would stress its local flavour. In England, after opening a school, they could go away and give no further thought to it. The local people would see that they got the best for their locality. They could tackle another job and know that those institutions would go on progressively. If it was said that a

central body should initiate and maintain and then inspect, it would be inspecting its own work, and you would never get the full picture from the inspectors. No man could report on his own work. The system they had in England now, as the result of the last thirty years, was working very smoothly. He would go as far as to say that the local body should not appoint inspectors; it should leave it to the central body. He would suggest the central body should be a secretarial body with inspectors. All universities should be free and able to run themselves. In the central department he would plead for unification. He was anxious to bring out the central feature. The other followed – the two-fold function. Leave the growing work and the development to the localities.

DR. McILRAITH: Could that be done without local rating?

SIR PERCY MEADON: It could be done without local rating. I should not say that local rating was a central factor in the least.

THE MINISTER: In this country we cannot impose local rating. We had to abandon the idea of local rating in New Zealand. If there were local rating there might be just a slight restraint. I should say the boards, apart from the committees – who have often had a difficult job – taken by and large, scrutinize the expenditure and exercise a conscience in the matter, so that the danger is more theoretical than otherwise.

SIR PERCY MEADON said he looked upon that as a minor point. The longer he served in connection with education the more he thought it was a human thing. That implied that both centrally and locally it was a human agency. The local bodies would not be any good unless they were given a responsible officer who should be an educationist. He would not have a secretary. Again, it should be an educationist.

MR. HANKIN said they had had sketched an interplay of forces in England between local and central. He thought it was fair to say that in smaller authorities the inspector exercised more influence on the education policy than was necessary in strong local bodies. If he were an inspector looking after a small district he would throw his weight about a great deal more.

THE MINISTER: You are, like the others, strong for unification.

MR. HANKIN: Yes.

SIR PERCY MEADON: said that in England, by Act of Parliament, every elementary school must have a governing body. In connection with secondary schools it was left to the local authority to decide whether they would have a governing body or rule it direct. If it was wished to give colour to each school the best way would be to give it a separate governing body on which would be placed the people whose interest it was desired to win. Every school should have its own little administration units on the spot but they would be subsidiary.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: I think it is most desirable that each school should have its own managing body.

In reply to a question regarding the appointments of heads of secondary schools, Mr. Salter Davies said that one could not generalize. He said the vacancy was advertised and there were applicants from all parts of the country. The list was gone through by the clerk to the Governors. Generally such governing bodies had clerks. A provisional list was selected and went to the County Office with all the applications. The County Office had means of acquiring information re all the candidates superior to what was possessed by a small body. The Governors considered their letters and a short list of candidates was agreed on. These were interviewed first at the County Office with representatives of the governing body there. The list was reduced to, say, two. The second interview was held at the school. The governing body made the appointment, but the County authority ensured that their wishes received consideration.

THE MINISTER: Does that apply to all the members of the staff?

MR. SALTER DAVIES: Only the Head. With regard to the appointment of assistants, in Kent we give the power of appointment to the Head of the school, subject to the approval of his governing body.

DR. BOYD said he was in general agreement with what had been expressed. They got local interest in the school life of the community in Scotland by the appointment of bodies composed of parents and teachers. They were rather feeble bodies because they had no say in appointments. Their most important function was in granting and withholding grants. The School Management Committee appointed two or three of its members to act as managers of local schools. Their best service was done by acting as a go-between if anything went wrong. The teachers got in touch with Dr. Boyd and their opinions were passed on. The amount of local interest was very small.

DR. KANDEL: You have already established the fundamental principle of administration when your constitution was being drafted. Any type of administration is necessarily an education function. You have stumbled into a system which is not British at all, but which is French.

Dr. Kandel added that the Board of Education could not dominate the local education authority. The function of education administration was the education principle, which had been the keynote of conferences; the promotion of freedom and the sense of responsibility which could not be developed if the system was one built up on the principle of domination from its central body. The strength of the English system lay in the first section of the Act of 1918, which said that local education authorities were responsible for the comprehensive development of education in their area. They were required to draft schemes covering three years. The schemes were submitted to the Board of Education which might criticise but could not reject a scheme. If there was any disagreement between the Board of Education the representatives of both groups met together and discussed the questions at issue. If the two groups could not come together the case was submitted to Parliament, but to his knowledge no case had yet been submitted to Parliament. In the United States the system had grown up from the district system. In each small district the administration was responsible for its education system in the main. Could quality of education be provided by a small local area? The tendency today was to consolidate local areas, but the function of the State was to provide those conditions under which each school could do its best work. In New York city they had had a system of domination. Since the appointment of a new superintendent recently there had been a definite movement in the direction of decentralization in each locality. As he had followed the development in England he saw that the central function had not been one of administration but one of education. No Director had been successful unless he had taken part in a campaign of publicity in his own area. In the United States that had resulted in some excellent types of education reports under the title of "All your children." It was a definite appeal to the parents concerned. They had developed largely in the United States in educating the people. Gradually, the whole theory of administration was settling down more upon publicity or the education of the people. As that function had been developed they had moved in the direction of expert training of the superintendent. The administrator must not be only an administrator, but an educationist.

Referring to the German system, Dr. Kandel said that although the system was young in Germany, whatever other country had that system such country would be educationally the least progressive.

MR. ZILLIACUS: I should like to record my opinion that I think the system you now have is not an accident, but has been the most effective means of bringing the educational level as high as it is now. The idea of giving a great deal of responsibility and also freedom of choice as between different parts of the country will necessarily be supplemented by giving freedom in making the syllabus of schools.

DR. KANDEL said unification implied not merely unification of administration but unification of everything that affected the life of the child, adolescent and also the adult. It implied not only formal education but everything he could think of as informal education.

THE MINISTER: One thing we have to bear in mind in New Zealand is its geographical position and the smallness of population.

DR. BRUNNER referred to the experience of some of the less populated areas of the United States. The educational authority must regard not only the question of population, but the whole social and economic milieu of the community. The determination of the area was of very extreme importance. It was a matter that had to be taken into account in relation to New Zealand's road programme, tramways, the building up of market towns and the open country adjacent to them. The use of motor cars and the road building made the problem of school consolidation one of extreme importance which could not be solved economically without the technique of economics and social analysis. The problem of the building up of local interest in a community in the United States was regarded as of extreme importance, because it was not only a matter of school publicity, but of the school recognising that it was a tax-supported institution existing by the grants of all the cities. They were finding that there were often conditions arising within communities which defeated the objective of the school. It required consideration of teacher education so that it be not too highly confined to techniques.

DR. MALHERBE said that as a Government official in a country similar to New Zealand he realised the difficulties. Much of England's excellence had come out of her historical system because she had that wonderful system of local government already developed. For local boards to initiate their functions if they had not any financial responsibility put them in a difficult position. In South Africa they could not get men to serve on boards because they said they were not just official beggars. In South Africa, in each province, the centre paid a great deal for education and they had done a great deal of equalising education for the areas. The cost was about £22 per pupil.

B. STAFFING, SALARIES AND GRADING OF TEACHERS:

MR. SALTER DAVIES said his personal opinion was that it was disastrous if any Education Department or body of teachers was concentrated on the business of attempting to grade human personality. In England they tried to appoint the best man to the best job. They considered the circumstances of the appointment, the conditions of the school, the sort of qualifications required, and then selected a number of people from the applicants. They then interviewed the applicants. They had a system whereby the responsibility of appointments was divided between the local education authority and the managers or governors of the individual school. Advertisements were issued for that particular post and the applications were considered by the managers of the school and the local education authority.

With regard to the training of teachers, Mr. Salter Davies said that he thought any duplication of the functions between the University and the Training College was to be regretted. He noticed in New Zealand a division of loyalty in students between their own Training College and the University they attend. In England there was a dual system of two-year Training Colleges run sometimes by local authorities and sometimes by denominational authorities. Many of the Universities were not in as close touch with the education system as the Training Colleges. He would like to see a closer relationship between the Training Colleges and the Universities. He should be sorry, in England, to see the abolition of the two-year Training Colleges.

SIR PERCY MEADON, referring to grading, said he was under a system of grading himself some years ago, and he felt that, with all the skill of the inspectors, the showman won all along the line. The more conscientious the inspector the more he suffered under it. As to the alternatives, they needed thinking over in view of local conditions. With regard to the training of teachers, he would support the idea of working towards a University standard for the teachers. The University was the most perfect place for knocking off all the corners among people who were going into all sorts of professions.

MR. SALTER DAVIES thought the Universities and Training Colleges might attach too much importance to academic knowledge and too little to professional training.

MR. HANKIN said they had had a lot of trouble in England over inspectors in the past. They did not recruit all their inspectors from elementary schools. They sometimes put in men with University attainments. About half the inspectors were recruited from elementary schools and half were men of considerable knowledge and experience who came in from another angle. The method of giving inspectors and teachers a short course together at Oxford and

Cambridge yearly helped them to understand each other. They had found that particular method of short courses a good effect both on the inspector and the teachers, and it also had a good effect on the relations between the teacher and the inspector when they lived together for a fortnight. Grading problems might be solved if the teacher learned to trust the inspector.

THE MINISTER: I can take it there is a unanimous verdict against the grading system, because none of you say a word in its behalf.

DR. KANDEL: The function of an inspector ought to be that of a peripatetic Inspector of Education; that of a Professor in a Training College should be that of a peripatetic inspector. There is a danger that we on our side of the profession tend to get too far removed from the actual job done in the schools.

DR. BOYD said that to a large extent they escaped from the problems of supervision by improving the training of the teachers. The training of the teacher was the fundamental consideration. He was anxious to have a fundamental reconstruction of the training system. He was convinced it had to be a University business. The Training Colleges were training teachers for immediate service in the schools. It was unsatisfactory to have a Training College run on a low level of performance. The line of development was in the direction of some kind of co-ordinating course which would provide teachers for the schools.

THE MINISTER: Too much emphasis on academic attainments.

DR. BOYD: “I agree with that entirely.” He advocated a course which would combine training in a cultural background and then technique – four years after they have passed out of a secondary school. It would lead to better education. The essential thing was to get the right teachers in the schools and then inspectors would not be needed.

DR. KANDEL considered that in all Universities the course should be cultural and academic. He had said that secondary education in New Zealand was appalling. He should say that secondary education everywhere was appalling. The root of the problem was the question of liberal education.

(At this stage the discussion was adjourned until Monday, 26th July.)

26th July, 1937.

C. TRAINING OF TEACHERS:

MR. LAMBOURNE apologised for the temporary absence of the Minister and read the questions under “D” – POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS. He explained the purposes of an Intermediate School. It gave the children greater facilities to determine the kind of post-primary course they should take. Facilities for manual training and domestic arts were provided in an Intermediate School which it was not possible to provide in a public school.

DR. BOYD: Are these questions based on 13+?

MR. LAMBOURNE said the children went into an Intermediate School or Intermediate Department at 11+ from Std.4. If a pupil had not passed Std.4 it was considered he had reached an age when it would be better for him to go out of the primary into the Intermediate. The Director had power to approve of his going to an Intermediate School.

SIR PERCY MEADON: In your High Schools your length of school life is ...

MR. LAMBOURNE: About 2 years and 8 months.

SIR PERCY MEADON: If you could do away with that two-year intermediate course you would prefer to do it because of the longer course you would get in the secondary schools?

MR. LAMBOURNE: I do not know.

DR. KANDEL: It means that although the Intermediate School is meant to be an exploratory course the exploration is very slight.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: Is it your intention to make the Intermediate School general in the country?

MR. LAMBOURNE: We are moving in that direction.

SIR PERCY MEADON said that when the Haddow³ Committee went into the matter they decided to raise the age to 15 for the great mass of the children. They said they wanted not less than a complete four-year course. That was why they put the age at 11. They had been working on a four-four-four system,

coming in at 7 to the nursery schools, 11-15 senior stage. That was going through the whole of England, Wales and Scotland for 90 per cent. of the pupils.

DR. KANDEL said he considered the two-year unit was extremely inadequate. Any change for any pupil from one school to another meant a period of unsettlement. Everything pointed in the direction of a three-year unit.

MR. CARADUS:⁴ Would there be any objection to getting those about whom we are quite certain into the secondary schools at the 11+ stage.

SIR PERCY MEADON: We are endeavouring to do that. Let them make their choice at 11. You will probably be right in respect to the bigger number but you will make mistakes. After they are 13+ why not review them again and if you find you have made a mistake transfer them then. I write to every school in the month of May and ask them to let me know of any misfits. Last year there were 100. It would be a very low percentage. Your system of transfer can be worked up in time to a far more perfect stage.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: The important point is that by splitting up your education course into a large number of sections you unsettle the child. In Kent we agree that the atmosphere of corporate life with the school is very important and you have not time to develop that in a two-year course as in a four-year course. It is not scientifically arranged. The Headmaster, in Kent, reports the pupils he thinks should be transferred to a secondary school. If it is agreed that the transfer would be useful the child is transferred with the consent of the parents.

DR. KANDEL: What about a misfit in a secondary school?

MR. SALTER DAVIES: The secondary school particularly, because its fee is higher, has acquired a prestige which is very attractive. The danger is that too many children are attracted to a secondary school who would be better placed in a technical school. No child is admitted into a secondary school unless the parents enter into an undertaking that the child will remain there until 16.

MR. ZILLIACUS: Differentiation of curricula is the essential thing. Whereas I admire the English system of inspection and administration lots of us on the Continent are not certain of this system of selection and distribution. Though we have a majority of children transferring at the age of about 11 the whole tendency of the State is to have that transfer at 13. We are coming to the stage when nobody will be transferred from the primary till 13. The bulk of our children leave at 14.

MR. HANKIN: Is not your technical high school destined to be on the same level as the secondary school?

MR. LAMBOURNE: I think so.

DR. KANDEL: In the United States we have a multi-bias school. The prestige of the non-academic course is not the same.

MR. ZILLIACUS: From the purely educational point of view I am sure the thing to aim at is to have as little split as possible. I am sure the best education results come from having children of different ages together in the same building under the same guidance as long as possible.

MR. LAMBOURNE: If we are to have intermediate schools would you have them attached to some other school?

MR. ZILLIACUS: I should certainly do that.

DR. KANDEL: If you have the technical or trade course in the same institution as the academic course it is going to suffer. It will become academised as in the United States. Your ordinary business school gives a better preparation for the kind of commercial work that most girls and boys will undertake.

DR. BOYD said the Scotch experience cut through a lot of the problems. It had become the practice more and more to realise that some provision had to be made for all the children of all the people. Their secondary education was to all intents and purposes free education. The 1918 Act stipulated that the Committee must provide free secondary education on the same level of achievement.

DR. KANDEL: We have to find out by what methods we can impart a good general education as long as possible to all our pupils. Specialization should come later. I think in four years from 11, with experienced teachers, we can do all the language work which is necessary.

DR. McILRAITH: You would not approve of technical schools taking children at 13 or 14?

DR. KANDEL: I think the term "technical education" is used in rather a confused sense here. The primary function of a junior technical school is to give a cultural education.

D. POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS:

MR. HANKIN: The tendency now is to keep your general training until 16, if possible.

MR LAMBOURNE: Might I ask for some advice on 21. "What particulars should a leaving certificate contain?" I think we will have to issue at the end of the year a certificate which will show that the pupils have completed the primary school course. We have debated considerably what should be on that certificate – whether it should be a plain statement of fact that he has completed the work of Form II. At the end of the compulsory primary school course are we to give them a certificate at all?

DR. McILRAITH: When a pupil does leave what should we say on the certificate?

DR. KANDEL: What use is to be made of the certificate?

DR. McILRAITH: For the sake of the public and the Public Service Commissioner.

SIR PERCY MEADON: No certificate you could give would enable him to judge from 100 boys which is the best. He would want to know which candidates had passed a certain course of study.

MR. LAMBOURNE: He has to select them.

SIR PERCY MEADON: But not on that. Supposing one headmaster said a boy was third in his Form and another boy from another school was thirteenth. Could he say that the boy who was third was a better boy scholastically than the 13th?

MR. SALTER DAVIES: I do not think a certificate of that sort is of the slightest use. I think the employers should learn to do without that sort of paper certificate. In our re-organised elementary schools, which keep children to 14 and 15, we have no examination and no certificate. In our junior technical schools we have no certificate. Employers depend more on the personal recommendation. I should cut out the certificate altogether.

Monday afternoon: 26 July, 1937.

E. EXAMINATIONS:

DR. McILRAITH said investigations showed that only one in ten or twelve went on to University. Some people said the remaining nine or eleven were sacrificed for the sake of that individual. It was suggested that the University should cut out the Entrance Examination and allow any student who had reached Form VI, or any who had not reached Form VI, to go into the University. Would any particular harm be done by eliminating Matriculation? Outside employers had taken Matriculation to heart and some commercial and business firms always demanded Matriculation as a preliminary.

MR. HANKIN said they had substituted a school certificate examination which was tied up with Matriculation. The reason why Matriculation had so much importance was that headmasters advertised it on their platforms. They were coming rapidly in England towards separating the school certificate from Matriculation. Was it possible to get a really capable body of teachers to properly criticise the papers and get a proper type of paper set? Five credits in the school certificate entitled a pupil to say he was a matriculated student. If it were possible to get a strong enough consultative body in control to set the papers they could reform the papers.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: The secondary school curriculum is largely controlled by the examinations. We can never reform the curriculum of secondary schools until we get the teachers in control of the papers. Employers are beginning to realise that the value does not lie in the Matriculation but in the sound course of education the applicants have.

MR. CARADUS: The chief trouble is that the Matriculation Examination is necessary in so many professions. A boy leaving school, and not knowing just what he wants to do, wants to have the necessary qualifications.

DR. BOYD: It is the fundamental consequences of the University. I think it should be one of the functions of the State Education Department and not the University. It is one of the functions I would leave to the Education Department – that you have your national system of education with the needs of the whole population in view. We have a national leaving certificate. Some do not go to University but some do and we get an agreement that certain subjects qualify for a University entrance.

MR. LAMBOURNE: Is there any need for the University Entrance Examination at all?

DR. KANDEL: That is a question you will have to decide for yourselves. If you are going to have a satisfactory accrediting system you need more than the “branding of their own horns” by the teachers. I think there is general evidence now to the effect that teachers are not adequate for prognostic purposes. The results of all the inquiries about examinations is not to recommend the abolition of examinations but to recommend an accumulation of information derived in all sorts of ways and a variety of tests in examinations.

MR. HANKIN: I think they do point to an abolition of external examinations in the hands of the teachers.

MR. LAMBOURNE explained the difference between the school certificate and the University Entrance Examination.

MR. ZILLIACUS: Personally I should like to see a school leaving certificate of some sort granted without any consideration of whether the course given will end in the University or not and which, say at the end of two years, continues work in the schools for those who want to go on to the University.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: I think if you have two competitive examinations the University examination will win every time – not only with the general public but with the masters.

MR. CARADUS: Regarding compulsory subjects, what they do criticise are compulsory French and foreign languages and, to a lesser degree, compulsory mathematics.

MR. ZILLIACUS: It might be of interest to you to know how they are working at it in Sweden. There the whole tendency has been during the last 20 years to put more and more of the examining in the hands of the teachers. The oral part is conducted by the teacher in the presence of an inspector. The written part is sent out by the central boards, but marked by the teachers. In the matter of Swedish they have a special proviso that the marks given for the essay are given by the teachers, plus the results of the written work for a year before the examination.

G. INSPECTORATE:

MR. LAMBOURNE explained the system of inspectorate in force in New Zealand.

MR. HANKIN: May I mention the sort of changes we have found necessary in recent years – the distinction between technical adviser and administrative chief. We now have a Senior Chief Inspector who is technical adviser to the head of the Department. He has access to the Minister. The result of the change has been that you get a much more unified policy than if each branch consulted the head. It is unified by the Senior Chief Inspector, who is also responsible for collecting the opinions from other officers. We find that particular system has been an enormous success. You want a strong unified inspector at the top. Every inspector must get out into the schools. The Senior Chief Inspector gets out amongst the teachers quite a lot.

MR. LAMBOURNE: Do your secondary inspectors inspect primary schools?

MR. HANKIN: We are getting to the stage – I think quite soon – when the inspector will have to be in touch with all types of education in the district and call in the specialist inspector for discussion. He would have to leave his district to go across. I should think in New Zealand it would be valuable to spread the interchange.

MR. LAMBOURNE: You would have no inspectors at Head Office?

MR. HANKIN: The Senior Chief Inspector. I do not think you want the others in.

MR. LAMBOURNE: If we adopted that system one would have to be stationed in Invercargill, for instance, and he would be a long way from headquarters.

DR. BOYD said that every county in Scotland had its inspector, who inspected all types of schools. His headquarters was in his county. There were times when he required to bring in experts for subjects like music. In addition, he looked after the secondary schools.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: While a number of years ago there was considerable hostility to a young man coming in, that hostility has passed away.

MR. LAMBOURNE: Does the headmaster scrutinise the scheme and approve it? We have been told that if the headmaster looks too closely at the scheme of work he does not remain long at the school.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: He has the right of scrutiny of all members of the staff.

DR. KANDEL: The whole administrative system is based on the influence of the man of wide experience on a person of lesser experience.

DR. McILRAITH: In your report of a school, after a full dress inspection, did you make individual inspections?

MR. HANKIN: Yes. I report on subjects.

DR. BOYD: In the Scotch system you have the co-ordinating man and the county inspector.

DR. McILRAITH: In elementary schools what is contained in the report?

MR. HANKIN: I should say a general description of the school with a great deal of detail about its equipment.

DR. McILRAITH: If we criticise the equipment of a school it might be resented because the local body would immediately apply for better equipment and quote its own officer against the Department.

MR. HANKIN: I report to the Board of Education, but the education authority always has a copy of the report. One wants a strong corps of inspectors who are prepared to speak out quite frankly on what the school wants.

(At this stage the Hon. Mr. Fraser re-joined the Conference)

MR. SALTER DAVIES: There is this distinction between England and New Zealand. The Inspectors of the Board of Education in England are criticising the work for which the local authority is really responsible and can therefore criticise with a greater amount of freedom.

THE MINISTER: I should much prefer, as Dr. McIlraith says, that they should report direct to the Department and send copies to each.

F. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE:

MR. SALTER DAVIES said that in England a number of authorities had become responsible in place of the Ministry of Labour. He thought that juvenile vocational guidance was a matter for the educational authority.

DR. MALHERBE said that Juvenile Affairs Boards were responsible for 64 per cent. of placements of boys in vocations in South Africa. They were now starting them in rural areas. There was vocational guidance and selection work during their last year of school. A Juvenile Affairs Board was a statutory body but the members were not paid. They were appointed by the Government on the nomination of employers.

MR. HANKIN said that in Kent there were about 20 officers who were appointed by the education authority. They were not teachers; they were vocational guidance officers.

DR. MALHERBE said the largest schools were developing now. They used an ordinary teacher and released him for half time from his usual instruction work. The principals of the primary schools had to do the real guidance work. Officers were sent round in groups.

THE MINISTER: What are the qualifications for a job like that?

DR. MALHERBE: They are mostly drawn from the teaching profession. The Labour Department is now using these people as their guides. They always appoint men with sound judgement and have a few women.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: Our system is rather different. The local vocation guidance officer is an administrative officer who tries to establish the necessary link between school and industry. He is drawn from various sources. Some have been teachers but they are not necessarily teachers. The Vocational Guidance Committee acts as an after-care committee. They keep in touch with the boy to see how he is getting on. If he is not getting on they try and move him from an unsuitable job to a suitable job.

DR. BOYD said that in Scotland the business was almost entirely part of the Ministry of Labour. An officer of the Ministry of Labour was able to find places for practically all such people. There was nothing in actual guidance.

MR. ZILLIACUS: The motive of giving vocational guidance can provide a very powerful stimulant to making the syllabus the study of real life around the children and bringing the parents into close contact with the school. Also the question of accumulative records comes in there. That provides me with a good deal of guidance and enables me to answer questions from employers.

DR. KANDEL said that in the United States the tendency was to turn vocational guidance back into a subject of social studies. Some localities had special vocational guidance officers, but there was no universal practice.

THE MINISTER said that in New Zealand the establishment of agricultural clubs, calf clubs, etc., had resulted in many of the post-primary schools having farms attached to them. He asked how much of that had been done in the various countries.

DR. MALHERBE: We have agricultural training schools, which are three-year vocational schools to train boys specifically for going on the land. That is the low grade of farm land we have. I am not talking of Agricultural Colleges like Massey College. We have eight or nine of those institutions which fill an important role in our country and give the farmers what they want. The boys go there after the 6th Std., and stay there from 16 to 18. The other type is in connection with consolidated schools. The Government has bought so-called school farms which centralise the children after Std.4. The farmer supplies the food and the children get the agricultural bias.

THE MINISTER said that with the desire to give pupils a greater interest in agriculture it was made a subject for Matriculation, but the Senate had come to the conclusion that agriculture was really a composite of the various sciences and wanted to substitute those sciences. There had been a first-class argument about it and the taking out of agriculture was construed by the rural people as a slight and discouragement.

DR. MALHERBE said that in South Africa they had agriculture as a Matriculation subject.

MR. LAMBOURNE: Those who advocate the abolition of agriculture as a University subject do so in the belief that we could give a more practical course in rural science if it were not a University subject.

THE MINISTER: The worst feature is that employers and others look upon Matriculation as an open sesame.

MR. ZILLIACUS: You will have that difficulty. If it admits to University you must consider University entrance requirements in that examination.

THE MINISTER: To what extent in Britain are there school farms and clubs?

MR. SALTER DAVIES said they found that agriculture was being very largely neglected in the primary schools, both in the town and country, so they were making an effort to remedy that. They had no farms attached to primary schools. In his own area they allotted two acres for experimental work and an attempt was made to link that work with the work which was done in the woodwork room and the metalwork room. Its purpose was not to try to persuade children to go on the land but to give both town and country children some idea of the importance and process of agriculture. Specific institutions tried to give some actual instruction. There was a horticultural college for women and a farm institute. One of the difficulties was the urban bias of the teachers.

DR. MALHERBE said the schools in his country were always biased in favour of the academic side.

DR. KANDEL said there had been a strong movement in the United States about 30 years ago for a better adaptation through rural environment. On the agricultural side there were, of course, a large number of agricultural high schools and agricultural departments in high schools. He thought their chief strength had been encouraging parents to give pupils a small plot in their own home farm and so enter into competition with their own parents.

H. UNIVERSITY:

DR. KANDEL, in referring to Paragraphs 34 and 35, said: Is it not a question of the absorptive power of the country for engineers, architects, accountants, etc?

DR. BOYD said there was a large engineering school in Glasgow. Alongside the University system was the Technical College system and those people were also working for University degrees. There was also a great body of people getting instruction of a high level but not of a Degree level. There was the need to get both sets of people represented by the University and the Training College separately working together in one system.

MR. LAMBOURNE: Do you think domestic science should be a subject for the University?

DR. BOYD: When any subject reaches a high level it immediately becomes a subject for the University.

DR. BRUNNER considered the most important thing was to survey the needs. In the United States they had no analysis of the needs. If New Zealand could do that they would do what no other country had done.

DR. KANDEL referred to the publication entitled: "Unemployment among Intellectuals", by Dr. Kotschnig – published by the Oxford University Press.

DR. KANDEL: I think on the whole a good deal of your art work is too formal and technical and there is not enough encouragement for creative work.

THE MINISTER: While no doubt a great deal of leeway can be made up we have got to the root of the matter.

He referred to the attention given at the Training Colleges to art.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: Does not the development of the cultural arts depend very much upon the supply of suitable material?

DR. McILRAITH: Not only material, but the necessity for properly equipped rooms for craft work.

MR. ZILLIACUS: It is a question again of loosening up the syllabus and the method of work. The most startling results are noticeable in schools where most of the studies result in something tangible, where they have the complete materials.

I. GENERAL:

DR. RUGG considered that some scheme should be provided whereby men and women would be encouraged to write material for text-books. In the United States they had started with the idea that in the first place they should increase the volume. They thought the basic books should be more voluminous and written in a more interesting style. They produced a great amount of material, but since the War there had been almost a revolution in the kind of text-book produced. In the States they were surrounding children with large libraries, using pamphlets and booklets as much as possible, using the city libraries in getting books into the schools in connection with definite problems. There was a vast increase in the

amount of reading material to which young people had access. That could be done with wise administration and without an enormous increase in expense.

THE MINISTER: Do the text-books occupy the important position they did once in view of the more changing material available?

MR. SALTER DAVIES: No. He added that they were becoming relatively less important. The teachers examined the text-books available and the Board of Education issued an approved list with the condition that the choice of the teachers was not limited to the schedule. It was simply a guide. They had at headquarters an exhibit room where all the books could be seen. Books were supplied free in the elementary system and now in the secondary system also. If the Board thought there was a choice which was not justified they might not allow it, but on the whole it was thought desirable that the teacher should have the type of book he wanted. The education authority did not write any of its text-books. In preparing the schedule they received great help from the Board of Education inspectors.

THE MINISTER: What is the life of a primary school text-book?

MR. HANKIN: I should say about 5 years.

MR. SALTER DAVIES: It varies.

THE MINISTER referred to the unhygienic condition of old text-books and to the risk of disease. He had been told the possibility of risk was almost negligible. Was that their experience?

MR. SALTER DAVIES: "That is our experience also." His authority had decided that in every re-organised elementary school there should be a large room devoted to a library; that was also the case in the secondary schools now. The smaller elementary schools were very largely supplied with reading matter by the County library. The Education Committee paid the Library Committee a sum.

DR. RUGG said that in the States in addition to making sure that they had more books one of the most important things was the content of the material itself. Since the world war books were being made more directly out of the life of the community and the Nation. There was a more direct attack on the problems of the people.

MR. ZILLIACUS said, speaking from the point of view of one small group, they had a lot of different books and had met the problem of cost by not having a copy for each child, which was easy when there was individual study each day. The

school library was always available and in certain text-books – such as the foundation of languages – each child had a book. They were trying to get teachers interested in making their own materials. In his schools he provided a cyclostyle and a secretary typed out the material. He supplemented the books by building up a large reference library with articles, periodicals, pictures, etc.

DR. BOYD said he was in favour of leaving the teachers to look after the books themselves. The Education Committee prepared a comprehensive list from which the teachers chose the books. If not on the list a teacher could obtain a book by applying for it. If it was approved it was then put on the list and supplied free to the pupils. The list was approved by a sub-committee of the General Education Committee. In the country with which he was connected there was a central library from which books were sent to the schools. In some cases paintings were circulated. They were sent for six months from one school to another.

MR. SALTER DAVIES, referring to paragraph (37), said they always warned their physical training instructors that they should not conduct corrective exercises without the advice of a medical officer.

DR. BOYD said he was interested to see in Wellington the training of dental nurses. At present they had nothing corresponding to that in Scotland.

DR. McILRAITH referred to mentally retarded pupils and asked if such cases should be investigated by skilled people.

DR. KANDEL: Are they examined and by whom? How do they find their way into the special classes?

DR. McILRAITH: They are examined by a psychiatrist and on his report are recommended for admission to special classes.

MR. SALTER DAVIES said that very often the work done in such special classes did find out the cause of retardation.

DR. McILRAITH: In connection with the school leaving age, would you differentiate between retarded pupils and normal pupils?

DR. BOYD said he had set up an educational clinic to be run by the teachers. In Scotland they had their education degree which had given them people who knew thoroughly the needs of the schools. If there were children in the ordinary schools in difficulties they did their best to advise. They were now in the next stage of development. Two years ago in Scotland they set out to give teachers who wanted to know more about guidance a course of training in psychology and mental

hygiene; also a short course in delinquency, speech defects and vocational guidance. They could deal with the simpler cases and pass on the difficult cases to more experienced people. Those people were the best professionally trained teachers. His general point was that most teachers were not professionally trained at present. It was a most valuable bit of work and was a special development along psychological lines.

DR. KANDEL, with regards to Paragraph (38), said that in the United States the problem was very largely economic. They tried to keep men in the profession and consequently kept the plums for them. He did not think there was much difference.

DR. RUGG: I am convinced there is not any.

MR. ZILLIACUS said in his country they had many instances of co-heads and they had women heads in many girls' schools.

DR. BOYD said from the point of view of the profession, to keep the men in, there had to be some such encouragement, and in most of the elementary schools in Scotland they had a headmaster and a second master. They had very few high schools with women heads.

Notes

¹ E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

² Dr J. W. McIlraith was Chief Inspector of Primary Schools.

³ Presumably referring to the Hadow Committee and its Report of 1926.

⁴ Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools.

Appendix 21(c)

Conference Between the NEF Delegation, The Minister of Education, Department Officers, and Others (July 1937)

Summary of the Discussion with the NEF Delegation

On Saturday 24th July and Monday 26th July, nine international speakers from the NEF Conference met for two full days with the Hon Peter Fraser (who was Minister of Education and Acting Prime Minister at the time), the Director of Education and Department officials, the chairman and secretary of the Wellington Education Board, and members of NZCER, and NZEI. This document summarises the verbatim record of the conference outlined in the previous Appendix and was written four months later on 29th November, 1937.¹ This copy of the summary is reproduced using the original formatting wherever possible.

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN VISITING MEMBERS OF THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP AND THE HON. THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND OFFICERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, AUGUST, 1937.

A. ADMINISTRATION:

Five speakers gave definite opinions in favour of unification of control. Only two opinions were expressed as to the composition of the controlling authority; in each case this was "Strong local bodies with a trained education officer – not a Secretary, nor an Accountant – responsible to the local body["]]. One said there should be co-opted members. Mr Zilliacus thought the present New Zealand system had been the most effective means of bringing the educational level as high as it is now.

B. STAFFING, SALARIES AND GRADING OF TEACHERS:

All the speakers condemned the grading system; one speaker thought grading problems might be solved if the teacher learned to trust the

inspector.

Only one speaker dealt with any definiteness with a system of selection of teachers for vacant positions – The Education Authority selected a number of applicants and interviewed them; the applications were considered by the Managers of the school and the local education authority. He proceeded no further in his elaboration, except in the case of head teachers of secondary schools – The list of applicants was gone through by the Clerk to the Governors of the school and a provisional list was sent with all the applications, to the County Office. Those on the list were interviewed and the number was reduced to two, who were again interviewed at the school. The governing body made the appointment, but the County Authority ensured that their wishes received consideration.

C. TRAINING OF TEACHERS:

Mr Davies thought any duplication of the functions between University and Training College was to be regretted; he would like to see closer relationships between Training College and University. Sir Percy Meadon supported the idea of working towards a University standard for teachers and Dr. Boyd that the training of teachers is a University business.

D. POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS:

The general opinion seemed to be that the breaks in a child's education should be as few as possible and the units longer than two years. (Dr. Kandel – 3 years. Sir Percy Meadon – 4 years.)

Leaving Certificate: The general opinion was against the issue of any certificate.

E. EXAMINATIONS:

In England the tendency was to separate the School Certificate from Matriculation. Scotland had a National Leaving Certificate. Dr Kandel said the question of whether there was any need for the University Entrance Examination, New Zealand would have to decide.

F. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE:

Vocational guidance was carried on by a variety of officers – teachers, special officers of Education Authorities, members of After-Care Committees, Ministry of Labour, Juvenile Affairs Board.

Agriculture: Agriculture was being neglected in the primary schools of England, but an attempt was being made to remedy that to give both town and country children some idea of the importance and process of agriculture.

In South Africa, schools were always biased in favour of the academic side, but there were agricultural training schools to which boys went after the Sixth Standard, and where they remained until the age of 16 to 18. There were also farms attached to consolidated schools taking children after Standard 4.

In the United States of America, there were a number of agricultural high schools and agricultural departments in high schools.

G. INSPECTORATE:

England was coming to the stage when the Inspector would have to be in touch with all types of education and would call on the specialist inspector for discussion.

In Scotland, every county had its own inspector who inspected all types of schools; at times he required to bring in experts in certain subjects.

Young men were favoured for appointment.

In England, individual subjects were reported on, and the report contained a general description of the school, with a great deal of detail about its equipment. The report was made to the Board of Education and a copy was also sent to the Education Authority.

H. UNIVERSITY: No comments.

I. GENERAL:

Textbooks should be more voluminous and written in a more interesting style. Children were being surrounded with large libraries, pamphlets, booklets, and the city libraries were being used in getting books into the schools in connection with definite problems.

In England, textbooks were becoming relatively important. The Board of Education issued an approved list as a guide, but teachers were not limited to the schedule. Books were supplied free in both elementary and secondary systems. The teacher should have the type of books he wanted. The county library provided much reading matter.

In Finland: In languages each child had a text-book. This was supplemented by cyclostyled material and by building up a large reference library with articles, periodicals, pictures.

In Scotland the Education Committee prepared a comprehensive list from which teachers chose. Books were supplied free to pupils. A central library also sent books to the schools and, in some cases, paintings were circulated.

Corrective Physical Exercises: In Kent, physical instructors did not conduct remedial exercise without the advice of a medical officer.

Dr Boyd was interested in the training of dental nurses.

Women as heads of large primary and of post-primary schools:

The United States of America tried to keep men in the profession and kept the plums for them. Drs Kandel and Rugg did not think there was much difference between men and women as heads. Mr. Zilliacus said they had many instances of co-heads, and they had women heads in girls' schools.

Education Department,
WELLINGTON, C1.
29th November, 1937.

Notes

¹ E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26.

Appendix 22(a)

Reports on the Australasian NEF Conferences 1937 to the Carnegie Corporation of New York from Beeby and Cunningham

This Appendix contains both Beeby's and Cunningham's letters to Dr F Keppel who was President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York at the time. The CCNY was the main funder of the conferences and NZCER and ACER.

Beeby's account is significant as it succinctly sums up to CCNY the Minister of Education's role and attitude towards the Conference (and by inference, to progressive education) and the broader impact of the Conference. Cunningham's letter is considerably longer and provides a much deeper insight into each of the speakers and their progressive views (and their personalities) while also touching on the sensitive politics surrounding the popular new educator from Austria, Paul Dengler, and the considerably less popular Japanese politician and nationalist, Yusuke Tsurumi.

1) Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 3 August 1937¹

3rd August, 1937

Dr. F.P. Keppel,
President,
Carnegie Corporation of New York,
522 Fifth Avenue,
New York City,
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Keppel,

I fear that I now have to pour on to you an accumulation of small matters that have been allowed to pile up during the New Education Fellowship Conference. The conference closed last week and we are struggling with the usual posthumous flood of inward and outward letters of thanks and congratulations as well as with a semi-religious fervour for education that is almost embarrassing.

The Conference appears to have been a huge success in every way. One of the most pleasing things has been the effect of the Minister of Education, who attended all the lectures in Wellington. As you probably know, he started out with pretty sound ideas on education, but 18 months as the head of a dreary Department must have made him doubt whether education could ever be anything very different from what it is. He has recovered, I think, the courage of his convictions. I have never before been as hopeful as I am now of something happening in education in New Zealand. The organizing of the Conference has meant a serious drain on the time available over the past few months for the council's own work. I hope it will be justified.

Kandel got an astonishingly good grip on our local situation during his few weeks here, and can give you inside information on everything when he returns. The best part of the whole Conference to me was contact with a mind as clear as his.

Rather than drag this letter out endlessly I shall write separate letters on the different topics. That will, I expect, be more convenient for you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

2) Letter Cunningham to Keppel dated 30 October 1937²

MT MARTHA,

30th October, 1937

Dear Mr. Keppel,

I must take advantage of a quiet week-end here at Mt. Martha to write you an informal, "inner", and quite unofficial account of our recent educational conference. It would be much simpler if you were here so that I could chat to you instead of writing. It will probably be the most interesting line of attack if I deal primarily with our visitors and my impressions of them.

All of them spoke, and many of them have written, in appreciative terms of the arrangements made for them. With a party which reached its maximum size at Canberra with fifty, and was still close on thirty by the time we reached Perth, (some of the speakers and some of the family members began to drop off from Melbourne onwards) there were inevitable minor worries but on the whole things went very smoothly. Not even a single piece of luggage went astray.

The only two matters in connection with which there were any real heart burnings were the honorary degrees and the fact that hospitality was provided in private homes rather than hotels. Of course we had no responsibility in connection with the degrees. The six Universities surprised me by showing a willingness to provide degrees for all. The names were allotted to each of the six universities by the vice-chancellors' committee on no particular principle except that care was taken to see that each of the major universities had a least one of the more important visitors on its list. However the scheme worked out in very mixed fashion because of the varying rules under which the universities work in such matters – they had probably not realised before that such variations existed. Sydney, for example, give ad eundem degrees only. The result was that a man like Norwood got an M.A., while Happold, who was allotted to Melbourne, received and L.L.D. Adelaide, too, can give only a degree already possessed. As a consequence Susan Isaacs received a D.Sc. while Salter Davies, whom everyone would regards as the more prominent person of the two, received only an M.A. at the same University. Zilliacus was by accident allotted to Adelaide and since his only earned degree is a B.Sc. from the Mass. Institute of Technology, he was offered a B.Sc. by Adelaide. He was greatly worried about this and was thinking seriously of refusing it when to everyone's relief Melbourne came to the rescue and arranged in record short time for him to be included in the Melbourne conferring and to receive an L.L.D. Perth proved to be the least restricted of all the universities and gave doctorates to all of its group including Mrs. Ensor who had no degree at all.

Most unfortunately Lismer received no degree. Perth was the only University which either could (or, would, I am not sure which) consider giving degrees to non-graduates like Lismer, but, coming from South Africa as he did, he passed through Perth several weeks before the Conference and, of course, did not return that way again with the main body.

I had a suspicion that there would be anomalies and possible heart-burnings so I sent a special note on the matter in one of my circular letters to the speakers before arrival. It would be unfair to blame the universities although there is little doubt that if the same situation arose again they would either not touch the matter at all or else go into it very much more fully than they did. It was a ticklish problem however it was tackled. It may well be doubted whether all the universities in any other country would have cooperated in the way our Australian universities did to do honour to our educational visitors.

Strictly speaking our visitors had no right to grumble about being provided with private rather than hotel accommodation since this was one of the conditions mentioned when I wrote inviting them to come. New Zealand put them up in hotels but, of course, they had then a much shorter time and they did not have to test the heavy costs of overseas passages. Most of the speakers accepted the situation with a very good grace, indeed they were often happier and more comfortable than they would have been in hotels. It was noticeable that the ones who showed any signs of dissatisfaction were, in the main, the more highly-strung members of party who appeared to need the more complete relaxation which hotel life made possible. In Perth the local committee had not secured offers of private accommodation for all so we put about a third of the party into hotels. In the other centres we also used hotels in several instances where the available homes were rather far out or where the visitors were afraid of their health. In several of the capitals Rugg and Zilliacus chose to pay their own hotel costs though homes were available. One good result of the private hospitality was the formation of a number of quite close friendships between hosts and guests.

Since this is a confidential letter you will probably not mind if I give you a frank statement of my experiences with and impressions of the speakers, or at least of some of them.

Mrs. Ensor, in the main, made quite a good impression. Her vigorous style and ready flow of language appealed to her audiences even if those who wanted really solid intellectual fare were at times not completely satisfied. She held her place well as leader of a team in which almost all had greater academic achievements than her own. It was obvious that her personality and her driving force commanded their respect. Norwood, for example, paid several tributes in his public addresses to her devoted work in the cause of the N.E.F. She showed considerable tact in her dealings with her colleagues especially at a meeting of speakers held while we were in Canberra to discuss the rather violent differences of opinion which had arisen on the question of criticising Australian education. At luncheons etc. when a reply had to be made on behalf of the N.E.F. to a speech of welcome she frequently passed the job on to one of the other delegates. She naturally had a good deal of limelight but I formed the opinion that she was far from being a mere lover of it. Certain minor travelling

incidents – particularly her inability to get a sleeping compartment to herself on the trains or some instance of what she thought inadequate service at hotels – produced a rather temperamental flare-up which almost called for a spanking but was very short-lived.

With no initial advantages in the way of previous reputation Zilliacus made a profound impression on most who heard him or came into contact with him. In his addresses his somewhat monotonous tone of delivery at times went against him, but his wonderful command of English, his seriousness, and his ability to take a balanced view, had a far deeper effect than mere fireworks would have done.

His outstanding theme was the present day threat throughout the world to democracy. He was uncompromising in his hatred of the totalitarian states and what they stood for. He and Rugg had much in common here. Both of them were worried at the presence of Tsurumi and Dengler in an N.E.F. group. But “Zilli”, as he was affectionately called by a number of the party, was not at all satisfied with present-day democracy. He confessed to me – an one could see it by implication in his addresses – that he was annoyed by the complacent way in which Norwood used to suggest in some of his addresses that the chief trouble with the rest of the world was that it failed to model itself on the English pattern – as if the perfect democracy had been achieved in that country. Off-stage Zilli was one of the most friendly and approachable of all the group. I doubt whether any member of the party came into effective contact with as many of the rank and file of teachers as he did. He lives at a rather high pitch of nervous tension; indeed we were at times rather worried that his health would not stand up to the strain.

From most points of view Norwood carried more prestige in Australia than any other member of the group. He was in great demand for preaching sermons on Sundays and though I tried to prevent his being “overworked” by the local committees they saw to it that he figured fairly largely in their programmes. He was very generous in meeting without complaint all the demands made upon him both within and without the conference. His addresses were always worth listening to, but his rather ponderous style – his voice has little light and shade in it – made him difficult to listen to for too long a time on end. The N.E.F. leaders were both pleased and surprised that in many of his talks he identified himself as much as he did with the organisation and its aims. “We of the New Education Fellowship” was used in his lectures more than once. For all that, one never felt that he completely burned his boats. There was far more fun and friendliness in his make-up than one at first suspected. Indeed at some of the social gatherings he produced the raciest of all the stories told.

Meadon was a valuable member of the team. His pleasant easy style and his background of administrative experience made his talks both popular and useful. He and his wife gave me as little trouble as anyone in my capacity as “manager.” We found them very likeable people.

There is no need to tell you that Salter Davies made some really useful contributions to the conference. His major lecture was the one on libraries at Canberra and this I am told – I was too busy telephoning etc. to Melbourne to attend it, nor have I yet had time to read it – was a great success. He did everything that was asked

of him and did it most willingly, but I think it not unfair to say that he lacked the vigour and challenge which will cause some of the speakers to remain long in the memories of their audiences. He was, I think, the patriarch of the team and was liked by everyone.

Happold did some useful work in describing the experimental work in his own school at Salisbury in his other contributions. He was, however, so full of his own importance that the other members of the group, particularly the other Englishmen, thought much less of him than they would otherwise have done. To give one instance, he noticed that he did not appear on the Adelaide programme for the first couple of days (quite a common thing when we had so many speakers) so he asked me to telegraph ahead to see whether he could not be given an extra lecture on the day the conference opened. He even asked me whether he should not have been one of the small group invited to a dinner party at Canberra by the British High Commissioner. My reply was that this was entirely a matter for the High Commissioner. Apart from his conceit he was a likeable fellow.

After having formed a high opinion of him in South Africa I was rather disappointed with Boyd. He appeared to think that his mission in the Conference was to be a kind of official fault finder. I was always afraid when he spoke that he would make some biting criticism of Australian education which would lend itself to headlines in the next day's newspapers. We had, of course, hoped and expected that the conference would bring forth plenty of critical comments but it was rather important that these comments should be tactfully made. Adey, in South Australia, was very wrath with him: in fact he got so indignant that I think he put himself in the wrong. Although there was generally an element of truth in Boyd's criticisms (the newspapers of course did not reproduce the anile with which he made them) he probably ran more risk than any other speaker of laying himself open to the counter-charge that he was condemning the Australian system without knowing it adequately.

Hamley was one of our best men. His lectures were always full of meat and were delivered in perfect English. He carefully avoided extremism and yet was sufficiently outspoken to challenge interest and attention. He had a particularly busy time with his conference engagements – to which he was very faithful – and the many contacts he had to make with relatives and old friends. I think everyone in the group thought highly of him.

Dr. Susan Isaacs was very popular both with her audiences and her fellow-speakers. She gave many useful contributions though her rather weak voice was a handicap in large halls.

Hankin, the representative of the Board of Education, "did" the capitals as far as Adelaide in rather jovial and casual fashion with his own huge build and five great cases of exhibition material. Thanks to reliable carriers and good local secretaries nothing was lost or damaged seriously and all arrangements for displaying the exhibition and for Hankin's talks on radio and films in education (often given in hired cinema halls) went off quite satisfactorily. Hankin had a special message of greeting from the President of the Board of Education which he read with such gusto on each of the opening nights. This is the first time the Board has officially given its blessing

in this way to the N.E.F. The exhibition showing developments in English education was really good and Hankin's own talks were highly appreciated.

Vedel, the Dane, proved to be a somewhat gentle soul, a really nice fellow but a little lacking in vigour and effectiveness.

Dengler, of Austria, I think you know. He was the Conference's greatest draw-card. In particular he appealed to the ladies, although some sober-sided men whose opinion I respect were extremely enthusiastic about him. In the one or two talks I heard him give myself I found it a little difficult to see just why he drew such large crowds. He was a very willing worker - on several occasions he volunteered to repeat talks when audiences could not be accommodated. In some ways he and his wife were my most "troublesome" pair. They made such a fuss about being placed with hosts some distance out of Sydney that in order to preserve the peace we allowed them to come in to a hotel. And yet no one in the groups was more appreciative of the general arrangements which had been made when it came to saying good-bye. Dengler's position in the group was interesting. His general attitude was that, though democracy may be the best form of government, we just adopt an understanding attitude towards the totalitarian states - we must realise all the suffering the people have gone through etc. Zilliacus and some of the others were worried by the idea that Dengler could not speak out his own mind with safety to himself and his position, and, so they said, by the fact that he was giving a picture of Austria as it was several years ago, not as it is today.

Tsurumi, of course, was in an even more difficult position. In some ways it was rather fortunate that his boat was delayed and he arrived on the final day of the Sydney meetings. He was thus available for Adelaide and Melbourne only. It did not improve matters when the newspapers printed an interview on the day after his arrival in which he said that Japan's motive in China was chiefly that of "protecting" her. Fortunately the two days at Canberra and the journey by road to Melbourne gave ample opportunities for informal contact. Most of the delegates, however strong their feelings about Japan, realised that it would be churlish to be individually unfriendly towards Tsurumi and his family and there was no obvious avoidance of their company. Tsurumi's cheery disposition made matters much easier than they would otherwise have been. We might easily have had unpleasantness. When we were leaving Sydney by car on the first morning I had to make a last minute change because of one couple who refused to travel in the same car as "the Japs." At Canberra I had a personal chat with Tsurumi about the whole situation and found him very understanding. There was later the meeting of all the speakers at which it was agreed that any statement with political implications should be clearly presented as the speaker's personal opinion only. Tsurumi was quite well received by his audiences, he was also in some demand by outside bodies. Several articles from his pen have appeared in the press since the conference ended. He expresses himself as extremely appreciative of the courtesies he received everywhere he went.

Our other potential cause of dissension was the attitude towards "new" education. Most of our speakers occupied positions from "middle" to extreme "left", with Kandel, in some respects at least, standing in solitude on the "right." At any rate those most responsible for the welfare of the H.E.F. felt that he "belonged" less than anyone else. This, of course, was to be expected in view of the arguments which he

has had with the “progressives” in U.S.A. personally I thought it an excellent thing to have all sides represented at the Conference but I heard some grumblings from the most ardent reformers in our group at “their work being undone” and so on. One of the biggest occasions during the whole conference was the John Smyth Memorial lecture on the final night at Melbourne. For the first time Melbourne University held its degree-conferring ceremony in the City Hall. It was a brilliant gathering and the visitors agreed that the “conferring” was the most dignified and impressive of all those which took place in the Australian universities. Kandel was specially honoured with a Litt.D. (the others received L.L.D’s) and after the ceremony was over gave his lecture under the heading “The Strife of Tongues.” It was a very thoughtful and scholarly address, perhaps a trifle heavy for the average member of the audience on what was in some respects a popular night. Lismer’s cartoon on the occasion was both clever and significant. It was labelled “The Tongue of Strife” and showed a be-robed Kandel about to put an extinguisher over the flame of a candle labelled “N.E.F.” The cartoon was, I think, a trifle harsh to Kandel’s intention. A few days ago when Kandel was leaving Melbourne I asked him whether the lecture had been intended as an attack on the N.E.F., as some of the visitors thought it was. His reply was that it was not an attack on the N.E.F. but on the N.E. He agreed with my suggestion that there was not nearly the same need for clipping the wings of the educational radicals (I cannot resist the temptation of sustaining the metaphor and saying that an educational radical in Australia is a *rara avis*) in this country as there is in America. Although Kandel is much less distressed about the elements of formalism in Australian school work than some of the other guests were he is himself giving utterance to some quite healthy criticisms. He is, of course, in a much stronger position for doing so because he has really had time to see the schools. His prestige is such that serious attention is likely to be paid to what he says. Being the student of comparative education that he is he is rather scornful of some of our conference delegates who began giving comments on Australian education almost as soon as they landed. On the whole I am convinced that there are special advantages in having Kandel’s visit just now and am very glad that we had him as one of our team for some of the Conference meetings.

There is no need to tell you that Lismer found plenty of scope in Australia for his view of art as creative and expressive as opposed to the formal type of work which is still in vogue here. As usual he attracted a great following. His lectures are almost certain to bear fruit.

Brunner made an excellent impression as a man of character and ability. His approach to the problems of rural life conveyed a very valuable lesson to Australia where objective studies of the kind in which he is interested are greatly needed. Brunner did all his jobs well. If he had to reply to a toast at a social function he did it with a finished neat effort; of all the speakers he was the only one who gave me full reports of his addresses, indeed he sent them on ahead. We had a good deal of preliminary trouble about his travelling arrangements – he is either very particular or very unlucky in such matters – and I expected to find him rather “difficult”. We had to make some special arrangements for him because of his health, but I found both him and his wife very pleasant, indeed I felt that I got as close to them as to any of our visitors.

Rugg was one of the group whom I felt I got to know much better than I had known him before. I think you are aware that I had much hesitation about asking him after what Malherbe told me in confidence about certain difficulties which he experienced with the gentleman in question at the South African Conference. However we finally decided to accept Clarke's view that we could scarcely omit him in view of his long association with the N.E.F. Rugg had some very successful meetings but on the whole was, I think, neither greatly pleased with the degree of prominence he got nor with his own performances. At an evening address at Brisbane he had the harrowing experience of losing the thread of his discourse and of wandering on and on without being able to stop. More than anyone else he was emotionally disturbed by the underlying (or potential) cleavages in the party to which I referred earlier. At time he had very bad headaches due, I think to sinus trouble. He was worried about the private hospitality business. At one stage, so Mrs. Ensor told me, he was threatening to take the next boat home. You will see that he was not one of my "easy" passengers. Please do not think that he had a completely unhappy or unsuccessful time. Several things he did really well, notably a reply at a luncheon given by the State Government in N.S.W. during which he had a well-disguised dig at Dengler and his popular appeal by contrasting "altar-rail" methods with the really solid work needed for genuine educational reform. I heard only about two of his formal addresses and neither of them were up to the standard of what I expected from his work at the South African Conference. In spite of this my general opinion of him went up. From our private talks I formed the view that he is able and well-informed and quite honest in his opinions.

Hart was the most picturesque (using the word in non-visual sense) member of our group. As you know we had asked him to speak at the Conference on Browne's recommendation before the scheme for an exchange with Brown had broken down. We then felt that we had gone so far that we could not very well cancel our invitation. In spite of certain crudities he left, on the whole, a favourable impression. He was outspoken and critical – perhaps too much so in view of his slight knowledge of local conditions – but he was patently honest and not merely seeking for limelight. He is of course strongly wedded to American ideas of education and life in general but he is the most candid critic of certain things in his own country whom I have heard. There was a rugged "Westernism" about him and an absence of some of the usual inhibitions of polite society which made an appeal to a good many Australians – more particularly perhaps to the young people with whom he was extremely popular. It was interesting to note, however, that the opinion of him formed by the rest of the visitors (or the great majority of them) withstood the shocks it received and, indeed, stood higher at the end than it did at the beginning.

Debenham was a modest but quietly effective member of the team. His talks were of great practical service to geography teachers. Unfortunately his voice did not carry well enough to fill one or two of the larger halls he was in.

Bovet and his wife were charming folk who would not dream of giving offense to anyone or giving me any work or worry they could possibly avoid. His addresses were very well received. Their directness and simplicity had an appeal of its own.

Finally we come to Malherbe. I already thought of him as a colleague and was glad to have this chance of better acquaintance with himself and his wife. We managed to get away from education for an occasional game of golf together. We had useful consultations about the investigational work in which we are mutually interested. Although from the point of view of preliminary fame he was one of our lesser luminaries he quite held his own with the "big guns". His talks covered a wide range of topics and were very well received. In his out-of-conference contacts he also made an excellent impression. The visit of himself and his wife was of no small importance in fostering relationships between our two countries.

When the team came to break up there was much genuine regret at parting. Hart's war-cry on the wharf at Fremantle in honour of the group departing for Colombo and Europe did not seem an inappropriate, even if it were a rather vociferous, expression of the general feeling. Mrs. Dengler made the interesting remark to me that she attributed the good fellowship to the fact that ninety per cent of the group were Englishmen and Americans: she could not imagine a similar group of Europeans travelling and living together for so long and finishing up better friends than when they started.

Mr. Tate's action in travelling all the way from Brisbane to Perth with the conference was most appreciated and his grit was much admired.

I cannot speak too highly of the work of the local committees and particularly of the unselfish work and cordial cooperation of the local secretaries who in all cases but one had long-standing associations with the Council. We made as few rulings as we could by the general committee so that the local bodies would have as much autonomy as possible. For at least eighteen months before the conference I bombarded the secretaries with suggestions regarding their detailed arrangements and I think the general adoption of these helped things run smoothly. While we were moving round from capital to capital I dropped into the background as much as possible – although one had more than enough of sitting on platforms at opening functions – indeed there was more than enough to do in attending to the wants of speakers and their wives, in making arrangements about travel and luggage, in communicating with the secretaries of future sessions, and conferring with the secretary of the current one. At the request of the Sydney committee I was to have taken the chair at Malherbe's lecture on educational research but an important trunk line call from Canberra happened to clash with the opening time for the lecture and someone had to act in my place. As a consequence I went through six sessions (I did not go to Hobart) without speaking a word at any public function, social or otherwise. This, I think, was somewhat of a feat for the organising secretary. (I think I am correct in saying that not one of the local secretaries was called on to speak either) Speaking, of course, was not our job and I was entirely happy about the situation until it came to the final dinner in Perth where I really did want to say a few words to express my feelings towards the speakers and towards the local secretaries who had done all the really hard work without receiving much of the limelight. However the programme for the night consisted of "three-minute speeches" from each of the visitors (a jolly night it was too) and Cameron, who as chairman of the Perth committee took the chair at all the Perth functions other than lectures, apparently got scared of the way the time was running on. He expressed regret afterwards for not having called on me but I'm afraid I have not yet quite got the feeling of soreness out of my system.

I must apologise for this terribly long letter. I had written it because from the long talks we had about the Conference when you were here, and from your letters, I have felt that you have taken a really personal interest in our arrangements. The letter may serve to give you a fairly definite and concrete picture of the people who took part and of their contributions – as seen through my own eyes of course. I shall be glad for you to share the letter with John Russell if he would be interested and if he would have time read it.

Very cordially yours,

K. S. CUNNINGHAM

Notes

¹ Letter Beeby to Keppel dated 3 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

² Letter Cunningham to Keppel dated 30 October 1937; ACER, Box 4904, Folder 36.

Appendix 22(b)

Report on the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 to Peter Fraser, Minister of Education, from J E Purchase, Christchurch

This Appendix contains a four page report of the salient points made by the South Island group of speakers and summarises many of the core ideals of the new education. It was sent in a letter from J E Purchase, the Hon Secretary of the Christchurch NEF Organising Committee, to Peter Fraser.¹

NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE.

MAIN POINTS

I. The Place of Education in a Democratic State.

Unless we take a more enlightened view of education in this critical age there is a grave danger that the march of mankind towards civilization and culture may be defeated or at best delayed. The danger takes a political form in the totalitarian state which attaches little if any importance to individual freedom and “growth beyond the type.” Science as applied to business and industry is morally neutral. Care must be taken to see that applied scientific discoveries operate towards human welfare. Education should play a more important part in keeping the democratic spirit alive and active in every department of social life.

II. The Teacher

1. The teacher must be given much greater freedom. Greater freedom implies:
 - (a) wider scope for initiative in planning the curriculum and adapting instruction to satisfy the distinctive needs of each community.
 - (b) the removal of hindrances such as detailed prescriptions of courses by a central or local authority, and replacement of theses by syllabuses prepared by the teachers subject to approval by the authorities.
 - (c) the removal of barriers to full and friendly co-operation between inspector and teacher such as that type of inspection which attempts a rigid measurement of the teacher and his work for purposes of promotion – a

modern variant of the old “payment by results” system. This should be replaced by a type of supervision under which inspectors will come to the school “as advising and consulting visitors.”

(d) external examinations should be discontinued as far as possible and replaced by cumulative records of each child’s work, progress, attitudes and aptitudes, to serve as a basis for educational guidance.

2. There is a definite tendency in advanced countries to extend the period of teacher training to three years and to make much greater provision for specialization, both in training and in the use of specialists on school staffs. There is evidence that in most other countries there is a larger ratio of staffs to students than in New Zealand.

3. The services of educational psychologists and other specialists should be made available to teachers.

4. Opportunities should be provided for educational research and the results of research should be communicated to teachers.

III. Curriculum.

The traditional curricula of primary and post-primary schools are inappropriate to present conditions. Curricula must be brought into closer relationship with human life and natural environment. Sufficient attention has not been given to the sociological studies and the expressive activities (literature, music, fine arts and crafts) and to the general principles of science as related to the whole of life. The so-called subjects or “units” have been regarded too much as self-contained areas of knowledge.

There must be more freedom in the schools to develop curricula in relation to life as mentioned in II 1 above.

Physical health and welfare should be a primary consideration at all stages from the nursery schools upwards.

IV. The Pupil.

Education should be continuous throughout life. Ample provision should therefore be made for each stage and for articulating the work of the different types of schools.

The gap between the work of the Plunket Society and of the Infant School might be bridged by the provision of Nursery Schools, and particular importance should be attached to physical care at this stage.

The age of 11 plus is a convenient point at which to terminate the primary course.

The trend in democratic countries is to raise the school-leaving age and to provide secondary education for all. This implies a wide differentiation of types of secondary courses or of secondary schools.

Generous provision is needed for stimulating and meeting the demand for adult education.

V. Administration.

The visitors were careful to avoid any direct criticism of our educational administration and to show a clear appreciation of the fact that each country must work out machinery best suited to its own needs. However, emphasis was placed upon the fact that the English Board of Education confers with Local Education Authorities and does not issue commands. The board offers suggestions to teachers through its Inspectors and through its publications; it also provides the consultative services of experts, but it does not interfere in the administration of schools.

The visitors seemed to be in agreement with the principle that the Central Authority in Education should be a source of inspiration and leadership, and a guide in the maintenance of standards but that it should not be in a position to dominate or dogmatize.

They regard it as a normal condition of efficient and progressive administration that the organisation and control of all public schools primary and post-primary in each well-defined district should be under a single local authority, due care being taken to preserve and foster the individuality of each school. This would help to secure the continuity mentioned in IV above.

They appeared to be in agreement also that one of the strongest features of the schools of Britain and U.S.A. lies in their diversity and that the stereotyping of schools and educational practices will certainly be an obstacle to progressive effort. Insistence upon uniformity results in complacency and inertia. Variation and experiment are indispensable conditions of healthy growth.

Notes

¹ Letter Purchase to Fraser dated 26 August 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c, Record 4|10|26. The file also has McIlraith's initials on it indicating that he had read it.

Appendix 22(c)

Reports on the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 to ACER and NEF from Peter Fraser, Minister of Education

This Appendix contains personal letters of thanks by Peter Fraser (as the Minister of Education) to both Ken Cunningham at ACER and Beatrice Ensor and Laurin Zilliacus at NEF. The letters provide an illustration of the importance of the Conference for Fraser's planned progressive reorganisation of the education system in New Zealand.

The second letter, demonstrated the growing professional relationship between Dr Beeby and Peter Fraser which was to culminate in Beeby's appointment as Assistant-Director of Education the following year. In this letter, Beeby provided a ghost-written response for Fraser to use and this is also provided here.

1) Letter Fraser to Cunningham dated 27 October 1937¹

OFFICE OF MINISTER OF EDUCATION
WELLINGTON C.1.

27th October, 1937

Dear Mr. Cunningham

In reply to your letter of the 7th September, I have much pleasure in saying that when the idea of holding a conference of the New Education Fellowship in New Zealand was first discussed I had no hesitation in recommending the Government with which I am associated to give the plan its full support.

Much as I appreciated the advantages which would accrue from such a dissemination and exchange of ideas, I must say that the enthusiasm manifested by teachers and the general public far exceeded our anticipations. In all the four centres interest was maintained to the very last.

The Conference, I may say, came at a most opportune time, for we had but recently taken our education system under critical review. By no means the least effect of such discussions, so representatively attended and so fully reported, has been the creation of a deep public interest which makes reform possible and subsequent progress assured.

New Zealand, I feel, is much indebted to the Australian Council for Educational Research and to the lecturers generally for the privilege thus enjoyed.

Yours sincerely,

Minister of Education.

2) Letter Beeby to Fraser dated 12 October 1937²

12th October, 1937

The Hon. the Minister of Education,
Wellington.

Dear Mr. Fraser,

Perhaps the simplest method of giving you the material you ask for in connection with the Conference is to write to you in the strain in which I personally should support the New Education Fellowship claim for financial assistance. After all, the really important facts concerning the Conference are not the attendance figures and the cash balance, but the effects upon the minds of men. These can be gauged only from one's own experience, and my impressions may not tally with yours. However, such as they are, here they are. Facts first.

The Conference was invited to New Zealand by a National Committee representative of all branches of education. Sessions extending over three weeks were held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Total enrolments were well over 5,000. The members included about two-thirds (rough guess only) of the teachers of the Dominion as well as numbers of educational administrators, social workers, parents and members of the general public. Enthusiasm ran high, not only at the meetings but in the public press. After the sessions officially closed certain of the lecturers conferred with the Minister of Education and officers of the Education Department on questions of reorganization of education in New Zealand. (Of the value of this you know better than I do.) Sixteen overseas speakers took part in the New Zealand sessions.

As to the effects of the Conference. Branches of the New Education Fellowship have been started in each of the four centres, and groups of teachers and parents are springing up all over the country and asking for affiliation with the Fellowship. An index of the interest taken in the Conference is seen in the 2,000 people who have already subscribed for the publication of the proceedings, although this cannot be ready for six to nine months.

But the most important effects of the Conference are more intangible than this. In the first place, it definitely established education as a thing a community can become excited about, a thing that can be discussed in trams and over afternoon tea. This in itself was sufficient to raise the status of teaching as a profession and the self-respect of teachers. During the period of the Conference, if no longer, even the poorest-spirited were proud of their job. For hundreds of teachers the broadness of the Fellowship's concept of education expanded the world of the school to new proportions.

To those who, long before the delegates came, had tussled with problems of teaching and administration, the Conference gave, if nothing more, the courage of their convictions. Any teacher who breaks new ground here must feel alone and uncertain of himself. By showing him that his problems are the world's problems and his solutions ones that have been tried by others, the conference did much to assuage the loneliness of the educational pioneer. No country can pick itself up educationally by its own bootstraps, and New Zealand is so far from world centres that personal stimulation from outside is hard to come by. Time will probably show that the greatest benefit of the Conference to New Zealand will not be the detailed facts expounded but its stimulation of New Zealanders to do their own job in education.

Quite apart from education in the narrower sense, an isolated country such as ours must have gained something towards international understanding from contact with men and women from overseas at once so cultured and so personally pleasant.

All these benefits, important though they are, may be relatively fleeting if New Zealand has to wait for another generation to renew the contacts made. Here lies the need for a permanent international organization such as the New Education Fellowship which can act as a permanent centre for both information and stimulation.

Yours sincerely,

3) Letter Fraser to Ensor dated 22 December 1937³

22nd December, 1937.

Mrs. B. Ensor,
c/- Professor Cameron,
The University
PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Dear Mrs. Ensor,

In reviewing the educational progress made in New Zealand during the year now drawing to its close, I am convinced that the most important event of the year, and indeed of many years past, has been the session of the New Education Fellowship Conference that took place in July. The Conference aroused considerable enthusiasm among teachers and others when in session, and sufficient time has now elapsed for the fact to be clear that the enthusiasm was not ephemeral, but expressed a deep and lasting interest in matters educational. I see so many indications in our schools of the influence of the Conference that I feel obliged to write to you in grateful appreciation, with some hope that thereby the work of the Conference may be advance in other places.

The Conference was invited to New Zealand by a National Committee representative of all branches of education. Sessions extending over three weeks were held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. The total enrolments were well over five thousand. Those enrolled included about two-thirds of the teachers of the Dominion, as well as numbers of educational administrators, social workers, parents and members of the general public. Sixteen overseas speakers took part in the New Zealand session. Enthusiasm ran high, not only at the meetings but in the public press. After the session officially closed certain of the lecturers conferred with myself and officers of the Education Department on questions of reorganization of education in New Zealand. The value of those last mentioned discussions so impressed me that I have arrange for a full report to be supplied to each member of the Education Committee of the House of Representatives for consideration in connection with the bill to be introduced next year for the reorganization in certain particulars of our educational system.

One of the results of the Conference is that branches of the New Education Fellowship have been formed in each of the four centres of the Dominion, and I understand that groups of teachers and parents all over the country are applying for affiliation. An index of the interest taken in the Conference is seen in the two thousand people who, I am informed, have already subscribed for the report of the proceedings, notwithstanding that this cannot be ready for six or nine months.

From evidence obtainable on all sides it is beyond doubt that the zeal and enthusiasm for education aroused and consolidated by the New Education Fellowship visit to New Zealand is a permanent and not a passing phase of our educational activities.

It gives me great pleasure, therefore, as Minister of Education, to pay a sincere tribute to the value of the work and enlightening influence of the New Education Fellowship during its New Zealand visit.

Yours faithfully,

Minister of Education.

Notes

¹ Letter Fraser to Cunningham dated 27 October 1937; ACER, Box 4923, Folder 92.

² Letter Beeby to Fraser dated 12 October 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c.

³ Letter Fraser to Ensor dated 22 December 1937; E, Series 2, Box 1938|1c.

Appendix 22(d)

Post-Conference Correspondence to Beeby from Visiting NEF Speakers

This Appendix contains two personal letters written to Beeby from Isaac Kandel and Ernst Malherbe. Malherbe letter in particular provides an interesting insight into the barriers facing progressive educational change in New Zealand after the Conference and also hints at the need for someone like Beeby to lead such changes.

1) Letter Malherbe to Beeby dated 30 July 1937¹

30/7/37

My dear Beeby,

1. Several persons, e.g. Armour of Wgton College & Dunningham of Dunedin, have asked me for details concerning our Ed. Film Institute in S.A. I have just instructed the Officer-in-charge of the Film Institute to make up 3 sets of materials & send them to you. You can then lend these out to people interested.

2. I have given similar instruction to my secretary to send you our publications in duplicate or triplicate. You can then distribute these as you see fit – or better still, loan them out.

3. I've received the checked "Criteria" (Mort's stuff) from the Auckland inspectors: viz. Bain, Prichard, McChesney, Henry, East, Blake, Scott, Robertson, Mills, Cumming. There are very few negative responses. The few, however, which are given, are very revealing – e.g. that a principal teacher should have no say in the appointment of an assistant; & that "inbreeding" is justified.

Will you please see that Fitt, Rae & other suitable persons get copies of these criteria to score.

If you care to summarise the responses for your own information I shall be very glad to get such a summary – also your own reaction to the general validity of the procedure. If you haven't time to do the former, please let me have the lot when completed & I shall summarise them myself.

4. We've all been a bit under the weather the first day & none of us seem inclined to do any writing up of addresses. I shall however, send your summaries of my addresses as soon as I get somebody to type them out for me.

On the boat it is rather difficult to write because it is so very crowded. We are having lovely weather, however, & the sea is like a mill-pond & great contrast to what it was like when we crossed over, the other way. Nevertheless poor Zilliacus has been dead to the world since the first day. I've never seen one suffer so badly from seasickness as he.

5. I am still bit hesitant about writing Fraser that confidential memo he asked me do for him on N.Z. education. It seems rather ungracious to criticise, when the root of the trouble lies with persons - persons who were so gracious & kind to all of us overseas visitors. Much of what is wrong with your system is mere out-of-dateness - clinging to outworn traditions due to an appalling lack of leadership at the top & an inertia of the old & staid in the frontrank of your ed. dept. if I say anything to Fraser it will be to say: "N.Z. must give her young men a chance."

Much better than getting outsiders like us to give spasmodic advice will it be to put a premium on your younger & abler men going overseas to study education, by giving them accelerated promotion when they return. At present N.Z. seems to be doing just the opposite. They will be the future leaders of education in N.Z. & are the men to pull the cart out of the rut – not we outsiders – merely “locusts” swarming thro’ your country & leaving a trail of exhausted conference organisers in our wake!

In discussing our diverse impressions of N.Z. we “square heads” have come to one unanimous conclusion & that is that Beeby is by far the outstanding man in N.Z. education & is the only one really fitted to undertake the job of Director of Education. While I am in hearty agreement with this conclusion I cannot help feeling a bit sorry for you, if you were to be saddled with this responsibility right now. In the first place, it will break you if you were to try today to reorganise the system without the active help & support of a whole team of younger men. In the second place, your work with the N.Z. Council of Research is not half done yet, and it will be a thousand pities to deprive N.Z. at this stage of your beneficently critical influence.

Your present work enables you to get at the facts & to present those facts. You will soon be the most powerful force behind the scenes in N.Z. education. Public opinion must be built up gradually, as that is one’s only safe & permanent backing at the last instance when it comes to reorganisation. It is your function to build up those public & professional attitudes. I wonder whether it would not be possible in the meantime to get somebody like Hunter, who has prestige & also has the confidence of the public & political organisations to take over the Directorship & to make it the main part of his job to gather around him a band of young men in the meantime & thus lay the foundation for the team with which you can work & really do things when you take over later.

This may all sound kind o’ Utopian-dictatory to talk like this, but my point is that good leadership is your main need in N.Z. education & some such plan will have to be made, if you really wish to effect any real reorganisation & find some remedy for the deadening inertia of the departmental machine.

But I’d better stop this long rigmarole of a letter – Perhaps I’ll add a few lines before posting it at Sydney.

t.t.

E.G.M.

2) Letter Kandel to Beeby dated 19 September 1937²

Dear Beeby,

I was glad to receive your letter of the 6th and to learn that you are recovering from the Conference. I left the group after the Melbourne meeting which closed with my lecture on 'The Strife of Tongues'. Lismer drew a cartoon after the lecture with me putting the extinguisher on the N.E.F. candle.

For the last two weeks I have been visiting schools around Brisbane and the N.S.W. border. It is an interesting life if one does not weaken – and I still have more than two months of this kind of work ahead of me.

I will be grateful to you if you will send me a few extra copies of 'Inverted Snobbery' and the broadcast, when they are off the press. 'The Strife of Tongues' should be out in a week or two and I will be glad to send you a copy.

The story of the honorary degrees here is humorous but will probably not be told. Zilliacus refused to accept the M.A. from somewhere or other and an L.L.D. was sourced [?] for him from Melbourne; he bought his gown (£20 worth) next morning. There was some doubt even at Brisbane whether Hankin should be given an M.A. for his Oxford or Cambridge B.A., until it was pointed out that he could have bought it at anytime by paying the fee. At Adelaide Susan Isaacs was given a doctorate but Salter Davies had to make the speech for an M.A. One poor sap, who was not in N.Z., asked Mrs Ensor if his wife was not entitled to be rated the third lady of the party now that he had an L.L.D. as well as a D.S.O. At the degree conferring at Melbourne Hart drew a mortar board that was too small for him and jammed it on his head so tight that when proceedings began with God Save the King he struggled half way through to get it off and kept the 'trencher' in his hands with the result that he could not go through the proper genuflexions when he got his degree! I wish that you had been there to see Ajax sulking in his apartment because the size of his audiences was too small and because he could not go to official functions without his tails! And so on ad lib.

Please convey to the National Committee the expressions of my deepest esteem for their expressions of deepest esteem conveyed to me by one to whom I herewith tender my expressions of deepest esteem, etc. I did enjoy my visit to New Zealand and a large part of that enjoyment was due to you. If I come back again I will survey the whole calendar of N.Z. engagements and come when there is no Conference!

Mrs Kandel and Helen decided not to stay in Melbourne owing to the infantile paralysis epidemic. They accompanied me to Brisbane and will remain in Sydney until after my return visit to Melbourne. We will then combine forces for an attack on Tasmania and the rest of the trip to Perth. Helen at least learned something of life and shooting craps was not a bad preparation for the Horace that she is now reading.

Our combined regards to all the Beeby's. We fully expect to see at any rate Mrs Beeby and yourself in New York before long.

Sincerely yours,

I. L. Kandel

Notes

¹ Letter Malherbe to Beeby dated 30 July 1937; Beeby papers, ATL-MS-Papers-4585-2. The letter is on the letterhead of the *Monowai* and written en route from Auckland to Sydney.

² Letter Kandel to Beeby dated 19 September 1937; Beeby papers, ATL-MS-Papers-4562-18. The letter is on the letterhead of Usher's Hotel, Sydney.

Appendix 23

The Publication of the New Zealand Conference Proceedings (May 1938)

The planning, organisation and publication of the conference proceedings started before the conference was held and was completed more than a year later in May 1938. The proceedings was the official record of the conference and included a substantial amount of material relating to the organisation of the conference and all of the speakers. Today, despite the fairly limited number of surviving copies, the proceedings is the only easily accessible remaining source of official information that is publically available that relates to the events surrounding the conference. The New Zealand National Library's 'PapersPast' web portal for digitally archived national newspapers is an accessible alternative for conference information, although it is a somewhat arduous task to build a full picture of the conference from that source alone.¹

The proceedings were edited by A E Campbell, with assistance from C L Bailey, and was published in Wellington on behalf of the New Education Fellowship Conference National Organising Committee by Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd in May 1938 with the title: *Modern Trends in Education. The Proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference Held in New Zealand in July 1937*. It included a Foreword by the Hon P Fraser (Minister of Education) and an Introduction by Professor T A Hunter.

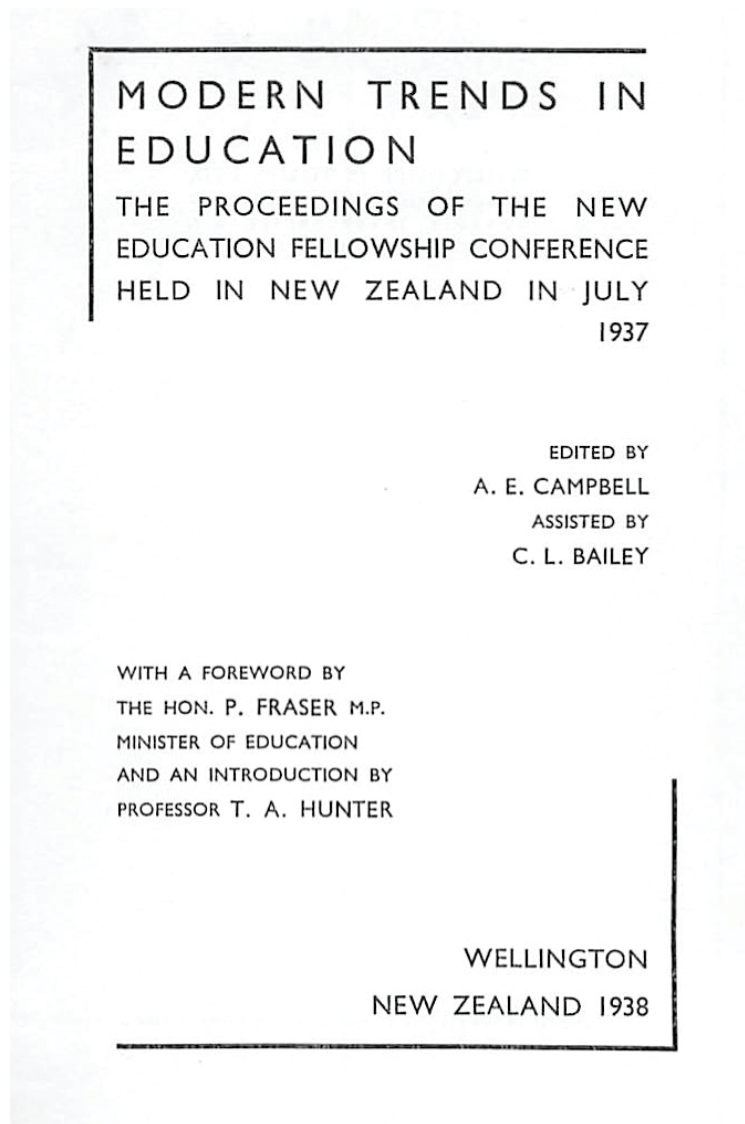


Figure A23-1 Cover for *Modern Trends in Education*²

(a) The Initial Planning for the Proceedings

Initially, in 1936 and early 1937, in line with Cunningham's original plan for an Australian conference with a short 'session' in New Zealand, the official proceedings were conceived as having two parts – a major Australian publication with a smaller New Zealand volume that dove-tailed with it. New Zealand participants would have needed to purchase both proceedings to gain a full record of the conference activities. That plan unravelled as the New Zealand conference registrations unexpectedly grew and as the National Committee realised that the conference was going to be a major event on the New Zealand educational and political landscape that would require a substantive proceedings devoted to the activities of the conference in New Zealand.

(b) The Appointment of an Editor and the Editing of the Proceedings

At the National Committee meeting on 11 June 1937, Hunter recommended that 'Mr A E Campbell act as Editor with a small committee to advise him, and that Mr Campbell should receive an amount equivalent to that which he would lose by giving up his WEA work'. The arrangements for the proceedings were left to Beeby and Campbell.³ The next National Committee meeting after the conference was held at the end of July and Beeby and McIlraith were appointed as the advisory committee to A E Campbell to facilitate the arrangement and publication of the proceedings.⁴

Campbell quickly set about working on the editing and organisation of the material for the proceedings. Three months after the conference, in early November 1937, Campbell reported to the National Committee that work on the proceedings was progressing well. He did request that Mr C L Bailey 'be associated with him for the purpose of discussing minor points which it is difficult for one man alone to decide' and this was approved.⁵ It later became apparent that Bailey took on a much greater workload than this statement suggested.

However, editing the proceedings was to become no simple task with considerable debate around the relationship between the New Zealand and Australian proceedings and its focus and title.

(c) The Publication of 'Modern Trends in Education'

The proceedings, *Modern Trends in Education*, was officially published later in May 1938 with a print run of 3,007 copies. The over 520 pages text included a Foreword by the Hon Peter Fraser, an Introduction by Professor Hunter, and An Editorial Note by A E Campbell.⁶

The contents of the proceedings provide a broad and representative record of many of the sessions and lectures for each of the fourteen official speakers and is ordered into twelve areas with a thorough six page index.⁷ Ken Cunningham published the Australian proceedings later and had the advantage of being able to assess and draw

on all the New Zealand material, including its layout and structure. Cunningham wrote to Beeby in June 1938 to congratulate him on the appearance of the New Zealand proceedings and added that, 'I wish ours were out of the way too'.⁸

(d) Reviews

The reviews of *Modern Trends in Education* were generally very positive. The New Zealand reviews were positive about the conference, the speakers and their message, including R G C McNab's long review in *The Southland Times* (14 June 1938), the review in Dunedin's *The Evening Star* (18 June 1938) and the review in *National Education*. However, these New Zealand reviews, published barely a year after the conference, appeared gloomily critical of the lack of progress the conference had made on Government policy, schools and teachers.

The overseas reviews were coordinated by Claire Soper of the NEF Headquarters. Soper had organised for reviews in *New Era*, *The Schoolmaster* (the National Union of Teachers' journal), and three other publications. The *New Era* review in the September-October 1938 issue (pp. 254-255) was by one of the speakers, G T Hankin, and was overwhelmingly positive and praised the high quality of the material throughout the text. Of interest, the correspondence between McQueen and Soper over the organisation of these reviews highlighted the value of the building of these sorts of personal relationships and the additional insights their letters provided. For example, in October 1938, Claire Soper outlined the situation of the NEF in London and the upcoming war preparations:

Lately things here have been held up. We have all been busy making gas proof shelters. I had arranged to transfer the office to a cottage in the country – the staff giving most of its time to an emergency children's camp nearby. But we have been granted a respite ...⁹

(e) The Trustworthiness of the Proceedings' Material

The New Zealand conference proceedings was over 500 pages long and included synopses of 76 of the over 160 unique sessions and lectures. It is the main primary source of publically available material on the conference and its contents are often

cited and quoted by authors who wish to include material concerning the conference lectures in their publications. The question that needs to be asked of it is, how trustworthy is it as a representation of what happened at the conference?

While this might seem an unusual question to ask of a proceedings, which today is frequently assumed to include full copies of the papers presented, it is worth noting that this and other NEF conference proceedings of the era only included a 'selection of synopses'. As A E Campbell's one page Editorial Note in the proceedings explained, the material was a collective patchwork of summaries, verbatim reports, excerpts, and an incomplete record for a variety of reasons. In addition, not all of the material was provided by the speakers themselves, and some came from notes taken by attendees or rewrites of newspaper article. In sum, while the proceedings presented the spirit of what was delivered at the two conferences it did not always accurately represent what exactly might have been said or occurred in New Zealand.

Concluding Comments

The New Zealand proceedings was initially planned to supplement the larger Australian proceedings but ultimately was developed independently of, and published in May 1938 before the Australian report. It was over 520 pages long, had a print run of approximately 3,000 copies and cost approximately £720 to print. It cost approximately 5/- to print and distribute and was sold at 5/- to the conference attendees and retailed afterwards for 10/-. Of the print run of 3,007 copies, 2,250 went to conference attendees, 200 copies were complimentary, while approximately 300 more were sold locally and 250 were sold overseas, most by the end of 1940. While it was predicted before the conference that the proceedings would make a loss, it at least broke even and perhaps made a small profit.

It is important to note that while the proceedings are the main most comprehensive publically available primary source for the conference their trustworthiness is somewhat suspect for a variety of reasons, as discussed, despite the best efforts of the editor. In light of this, care needs to be exercised when reading research which has cited or quoted from these proceedings as it provides only a broad indication of what the lecturers might or might not have covered in their sessions.

A E Campbell was the main editor of this time-consuming task. Campbell also gratefully acknowledged C L Bailey for on-going editorial assistance (initially intended to be of a minor nature). Although it is not quite clear exactly what aspects of the proceedings that Bailey worked on, his remuneration of two-thirds of that of Campbell's gives a clue as to the extent of his contribution, which was apparently well beyond that which was initially approved.

In the Editorial Note, Campbell also briefly thanked Beeby 'who read the material in type-script and made a number of very useful suggestions' (and he also thanked H C McQueen who assisted in other ways). It is not apparent from this statement just how much Beeby had been involved in the initial planning and production of the proceedings. Beeby had, from as early as February 1937, worked out an initial structure for the speakers' material which formed the basis of Campbell's organisation of the proceedings. Beeby solicited the material from the speakers both during and after the conference. Beeby may well have recommended Campbell's appointment as editor to the National Committee (although there is no correspondence to that effect and it possibly could have been another Committee member such as Hunter). Beeby also dealt with a large amount of correspondence concerning the proceedings, including extensive liaising between Campbell and Cunningham. Finally, Beeby spent a considerable amount of time going through the material before it reached type-script stage.

Besides Bailey and Beeby, a number of other people were directly involved in the development of the proceedings including Ashbridge (who worked behind the scenes on the financial aspects of the proceedings), McQueen (as Beeby's assistant and was involved in considerable correspondence relating to the gathering of material and the production and eventual sales of the report), and McIlraith (who along with Beeby was on the advisory committee for the proceedings),

At the final meeting of the National Committee in July 1938, the Committee paid an honorarium of £60 to A E Campbell and £40 to C L Bailey.¹⁰ Of interest, the National Committee's letter of thanks from McQueen to Bailey thanked him for his services as

‘co-editor’¹¹ and Bailey’s receipt for the honorarium also clearly stated that it was for his work as co-editor of the proceedings.¹² However, he is only listed as an assistant in the final publication.

Unfortunately, there are not many copies of *Modern Trends In Education* still in existence. The New Zealand Libraries’ Catalogue gives a fairly clear idea of the New Zealand libraries that still hold at least one copy:¹³

- 3 Government-level libraries – National Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, Ministry of Education Library;
- 7 University libraries – Otago, Victoria, Lincoln, Massey, Canterbury, Waikato, Auckland;
- 4 City Libraries – Dunedin, Hamilton, Invercargill, Waipa; and,
- 4 Private libraries – NZEI Te Riu Roa Library, Good Shepherd College Library, Catholic Diocese of Auckland Library, Te Wananga o Raukawa & Te Whare Pukapuka Library.

These eighteen libraries hold the publically available copies of the proceedings in New Zealand. Some may have multiple copies and most would be in ‘stackrooms’ in danger of disposal at any time. There are also a small number of copies in Australian and United Kingdom libraries and presumably a relatively small number in private collections. It would not be unrealistic to speculate that there may only be between 50 to 100 copies left world-wide.

Notes

¹ See <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>

² Campbell, A. E. (1938). *Modern Trends in Education. The Proceedings of the New Education Fellowship Conference Held in New Zealand in July 1937*. Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs (for the New Zealand New Education Fellowship Conference 1937 National Organising Committee).

³ Minutes of the 11 June 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁴ Minutes of the 29 July 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁵ Minutes of the 2 November 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

⁶ When the National Committee officially disbanded in June 1938 it delegated responsibility from that point for matters relating to the proceedings to the Library Trust Fund (itself being disbanded in the 1940s). Consequently, it was not possible to obtain permission to reproduce these selections from *Modern Trends in Education*.

⁷ When the National Committee officially disbanded in June 1938 it delegated responsibility from that point for matters relating to the proceedings to the Library Trust Fund (itself being disbanded in the 1940s). Consequently, it was not possible to obtain permission to reproduce these selections from *Modern Trends in Education*.

⁸ Letter Cunningham to Beeby dated 6 June 1938; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

⁹ Letter Soper to McQueen dated 11 October 1938; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

¹⁰ Minutes of the 21 July 1938 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹¹ Letter McQueen to Bailey dated 27 July 1938; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

¹² Filed in AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹³ Source: <http://nzlc.natlib.govt.nz>; as at June 2013.

Appendix 24

The Development of the New Zealand Issue of *The New Era in Home and School* (June 1938)

The June 1938 issue of *New Era* was devoted to New Zealand progressive initiatives and the impact of the NEF Conference 1937. The issue put New Zealand education on the international stage and heavily relied on involved Dr Beeby and H C D Somerset for its development. This Appendix outlines the initial planning for the issue and highlights the important progressive educators considered in the early stages and the pivotal role that Beeby continued to have as a now internationally recognised progressive educator.

Unlike the conference proceedings which clearly was an integral part of the organisation of the New Zealand conference, the development and writing of this issue of *New Era* was arguably more on the periphery of the National Committee's activities. The task could well have been undertaken independently of the Committee by a separate group of writers or by NZCER alone perhaps. However, in November 1937 the National Committee retrospectively approved of the project and the appointment of its editor, which brought the task under the ambit of the Committee. The Committee subsequently paid the out-of-pocket expenses of the editor after its publication.

Beeby was appointed the National Committee's secretary from the latter part of August 1937 when Ashbridge went on overseas leave, and in this role he became responsible for the organisation and development of the *New Era* issue. The project began with a letter from Ensor to Beeby dated 25 August 1937; approximately a month after the end of the New Zealand conference. Ensor, writing as the Editor of the *New Era* journal while in Melbourne, advised Beeby that she had arranged with Cunningham (and other 'Conference people') to produce an Australian issue of the journal that sought to provide 'a birds-eye view' of education in Australia. She

queried whether Beeby, or someone he might wish to choose, could gather material for a New Zealand issue and requested it to be posted during October. Ensor outlined that the material needed to fit with the style of the Journal: it cannot be too long, the total number of pages needed to be consistent with their normal issues, and the pitching 'must not be too stiff but rather a popular presentation'.¹ Not receiving a reply from Beeby, Ensor again wrote to him ('Dear Doctor Beeby') on 16 September to inform him of the sorts of articles she was obtaining for the Australian issue. She hoped to publish the Australian issue in January 1938 and the New Zealand issue in February 1938, with the due date for New Zealand material pushed back to a slightly more realistic November. Ensor finished her letter with a note about the other delegates: 'those of us who are still at it, notwithstanding having enjoyed the whole tour, are getting a little weary, and beginning to think about home'. She added that the European party was due to depart on September 20 while she was remaining until October 7.²

At the end of September, Beeby approached Somerset to see if he would be interested in assisting Ensor with the New Zealand issue. He noted that, 'She wants it ... at a ridiculously early date, but there is no reason why she should not put it off for one or two issues if you are willing to do anything about it'. Beeby then summarised Ensor's previous two letters and concluded with the comment that, 'I have not brought it up officially before any committee, but if you cannot do anything I shall ... advise the New Education Fellowship Committee here to turn the idea down'.³

Somerset quickly replied that he would be willing to collect the material, although he added that Ensor 'hasn't a hope' of getting material before the end of January 1938. Somerset had already worked out that a standard issue of *New Era* had about 20,000 words which would mean eight or nine 2,000 word articles (plus an introduction). He then quickly suggested a few tentative possibilities for the articles and authors (punctuation and strike-throughs in the original) and asked for Beeby's advice:

- Foreword – Minister of Education
- The New Zealand Background: Our Education System in Perspective – Somerset
- Kindergartens – Miss Scott, Taranaki Street Free Kindergarten, Wellington
- Elementary Education – F L Combs
- Rural Schools & Consolidation – Somerset
- Special Rural Secondary Schools (Rangiora & Feilding) – Strachan?
- Intermediate Schools (?) – C E B⁴
- The University of N Z – Beaglehole?
- Correspondence Schools – Butchers?
- The Health of the Child – ~~Eliz Gunn?~~ Dr Phillips, Auckland
- Educational Research in N Z?
- Adult Education – G T Alley?
- Private Schools – McNab?
- Technical Education – Dr Nicol, Correspondence School
- The School and Radio – Shelley?
- Secondary Education – Dr Murdoch⁵

Beeby replied, thanking Somerset for taking on the task and agreeing with his assessment of the timeframes. He critiqued that what Somerset had proposed was more like a complete account of education in New Zealand whereas he reflected that Ensor probably wanted material that was ‘more specific and more experimental; not an account of a whole dull, dreary system, but of the bright spots in it, or, at any rate, the interesting and somewhat unusual spots’. Beeby then suggested which articles could be cut and which to keep (e.g., Rangiora, Feilding, the Correspondence School, and aspects of Adult Education such as the Box Scheme). He then finished by noting that he could send Somerset a list of people who were doing ‘jobs of special interest’

and that he would advise Ensor that the material could not be submitted until early the following year.⁶ The following day, Beeby wrote to Ensor in South Africa and he apologised for the delay in getting back to her: 'The conference threw things rather out of gear in New Zealand and I have been struggling to get both personal and professional affairs back into normal running order'. He appraised her of the difficulty in finding a suitable person and then highly commended Somerset for the task: 'He probably knows more about the New Education Fellowship than anyone else in New Zealand, has been a regular subscriber to the *New Era* for many years, writes well, and has very fine judgement'. Beeby also sought final clarification on the 'whole system' versus 'highlights' approach to the issue and requested that the issue be put back to June 1938, which it ultimately was.⁷

On October 16, Somerset wrote to Beeby in agreement with his ideas, noting that, 'it simplifies matters to hit some of the high spots and leave the other to the imagination'. He also asked for Beeby's suggestions and a list of people.⁸ Nearly two weeks later Beeby replied with a list of possible people and topics (the list is not in the files so perhaps it was hand-written). Beeby candidly wrote:

It is a depressing business trying to find people in New Zealand schools who are doing something out of the ordinary and any such list must seem rather pathetic to anyone abroad. Another difficulty is that the people who are doing the interesting jobs are not generally the people who write about them ... The articles may all need doctoring up a bit.⁹

In early November, Beeby sought approval for the project from the National Committee. At the meeting of the Committee held on Tuesday November 2, Beeby reported that he had been approached by Ensor to edit a New Zealand issue of *New Era* and that he did not have the time. He stated that he had approached H C D Somerset who had agreed to do the task. The Committee approved this action.¹⁰

Somerset wrote to Beeby in early November thanking him for the list of people and advising that he had written to them requesting up to 2,000 words of material from them by the end of the month. He also asked Beeby for an article on educational

research.¹¹ Nearly a month later he following that up with a further letter advising that material was coming in, 'but most of it is very wooden'. He again queried Beeby concerning the possibility of writing an article on educational research and noted that he had received a well-written piece from R Gilpin: 'Your Seatoun – marine biology man'.¹²

Ensor finally replied to Beeby in mid-December thanking him for obtaining the services of Somerset and advising that she would ask Peggy Volkov, the Assistant Editor, to communicate directly with Somerset. She confirmed Beeby's impression that the issue should be focussed on 'accounts of experimental work in N. Z.' but that there also needed to be a more 'solid and initial' article on the general education system to provide the background content.¹³ Volkov did contact Somerset, and in a letter to Beeby in late January 1938, Somerset brought Beeby up to date with the issue's progress. Volkov had requested the material urgently so that they could publish it in May or June but Somerset advised Beeby that he had 'a lot of stuff requiring re-writing but it is beginning to take shape'. He was concerned about who was going to write the initial 'solid' article and enquired whether Beeby or Webb might be able to write it. He again reminded Beeby about writing an article on educational research. He finished the letter by stating that, 'I've had to maul the articles about so much that most of them will need re-typing' and he queried whether NZCER could undertake that or whether he should get this done locally.¹⁴ Beeby quickly replied that he was unable to write the initial article and suggested Somerset do it, or otherwise Webb; though, he warned that 'it is not easy to get a manuscript out of him and you have a better knowledge of the inside workings of the show'. He suggested the typing be done locally.¹⁵

March 1938 brought a flurry of letters between Somerset and Beeby over the issue. On March 12, Somerset wrote to Beeby about his article on educational research and that 'the N. E. F. people clamour for N. Z. dope'.¹⁶ Almost a week later McQueen (writing for Beeby) advised Somerset that Beeby had 'no hope' of getting the article started until the beginning of April and that Beeby had been 'looking very tired lately'.¹⁷ Somerset responded to McQueen to tell Beeby not to worry about the writing of the article, and that: 'I don't think it's worth it: no one reads it in any case'.

Somerset had to post the material on April 2 and suggested, instead, that he could make reference to educational research in his introductory article.¹⁸ McQueen replied that Beeby 'gratefully accepts his release from the task' and agreed with Somerset's suggestion, and sent him a copy of NZCER's last Annual Report.¹⁹

On April 9, Somerset wrote to Beeby advising that he had finally got the material in the post to London: 'It's not very good but the best that could be done with the material to hand. A dull lot of stuff really'.

Notes

¹ Letter Ensor to Beeby, dated 25 August 1937; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

² Letter Ensor to Beeby, dated 16 September 1937. Her address on her previous letter was c/- the Bureau of Social and International Affairs, 177 Collins Street, Melbourne and on this letter it was c/- Professor Cameron 'at the University'. Her home address was 'Appledale', Lauterwater, C. P., South Africa. AAVZ, W4881, Box 18.

³ Letter Beeby to Somerset, dated 29 September 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

⁴ Beeby

⁵ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 6 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

⁶ Letter Beeby to Somerset, dated 14 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

⁷ Letter Beeby to Ensor, dated 15 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

⁸ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 16 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

⁹ Letter Beeby to Somerset, dated 28 October 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁰ Minutes of the 2 November 1937 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

¹¹ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 6 November 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹² Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 3 December 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

Seatoun is a coastal suburb of Wellington.

¹³ Letter Ensor to Beeby, dated 14 December 1937; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁴ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 20 January 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁵ Letter Beeby to Somerset, dated 27 January 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁶ Letter Somerset to Beeby, dated 12 March 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁷ Letter McQueen to Somerset, dated 17 March 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁸ Letter Somerset to McQueen, dated 21 March 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

¹⁹ Letter McQueen to Somerset, dated 23 March 1938; AAVZ, W3418, Box 17.

Appendix 25

First Issue of the New Zealand *NEF News*

*Issue One – October, 1941*¹

The *NEF News* was the official journal/ newsletter of the New Zealand section of the New Education Fellowship. This first issue highlights the impact the NEF Conference 1937 had on progressive educators in New Zealand and the strength of the NEF as an organisation after the Conference. The national and local membership include many key progressive educators in New Zealand and the membership numbers even in 1941 were strong for such an organisation.

This copy of the first issue is reproduced using the original formatting wherever possible.

N. E. F. N E W S - - - OCTOBER, 1941.

New Zealand Section – New Education Fellowship

Editorial: It is with pleasure that we present the first issue of 'N.E.F. News', in the hope that it will prove an interesting and useful medium for the exchange of information on branch activities and for N.E.F. news in general. The Wanganui Branch, in undertaking the editing of 'N.E.F. NEWS', would first ask for the co-operation of all branches by sending forward their news items promptly, and secondly would welcome criticism and invite suggestions which might result in an improved service. We have begun in a modest way, believing that a small paper published regularly and with reasonable frequency will serve N.E.F. purposes better than a larger one issued at longer intervals. We propose, therefore, to send out 'N.E.F. NEWS' on the first of each month with the exceptions of the holiday months of January and February. Contributions from individual members will be welcome, while the closing date for material will be the twentieth of the month. All contributions should be sent to the Secretary, N.Z. Section.

N.E.F. DIRECTORY

New Zealand Section: Executive Committee:-

President: C.L. Gillies, 7 Marsden Ave, Mt. Eden, Akld, S1.

Vice-President: W.J.Scott, 4 Monaghan Ave, Karori, Wgton.

Secretary-Treasurer: K.H. O'Halloran, 26 Halswell St, Wang.

Executive Members:-

Mrs. K.M. Griffin, 29 Ridings Road, Remuera.

Mr. A.G. Linn, Training College, Christchurch.

Mr. G.W. Parkyn, 24 Pryde Street, Dunedin.

Representative from Feilding to be appointed.

<u>Branches</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Secretary</u>
Auckland	70	C.L. Gillies, 7 Marsden Ave, Mt. Eden
Christchurch	80	A.G. Linn, Teachers' Training College
Dunedin	39	G.W. Parkyn, 24 Pryde St, N.E.1.
Feilding	30	H.C.D. Somerset, Community Centre.
Wanganui	16	Mrs. K.H. O'Halloran, 26 Halswell Street
Wellington	58	J.L. Ewing, 30 Bentinck Ave, E.5.

---oOo---

NOTE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Mrs. Beatrice Ensor and her friends founded the N.E.F. in 1915. It was an international movement born of the World War. For many years in New Zealand our principal link with the movement was the 'New Era', official journal of the N.E.F. and all will acknowledge its continual inspiration. Isolated teachers travelling abroad brought back accounts of stimulating experiences from World N.E.F. conferences.

Then in 1937 came the New Zealand and Australian Conference bringing a breath of fresh and vitalising air to education in this country. Teachers thrilled to the new contacts; progressive parents took fresh heart; the general public rubbed shoulders with the N.E.F. Since that conference, in many centres groups of people have been working out in practice the ideals of the N.E.F. Wise administration of trust funds, surplus from the conference, has resulted in the establishment of six N.E.F. libraries, while smaller grants have been made for other activities. To the trustees, who also made possible the recent meeting of delegates, we are indeed grateful.

The formal constitution of a New Zealand Section marks a further important milestone in N.E.F. history in our country. May I, as your newly elected President, first of all send greetings to all members throughout New Zealand. I believe the N.E.F. is, and will continue to be a powerful force not only in influencing directly educational work but also in building a new social order. Let me quote here the Secretary of our American Section. 'We can move too slowly. If we would defend democracy we must be vigorous in our planning and action'.

Let us remember that we belong to a Fellowship – and in that spirit let us go forward courageously together.

- C.L. Gillies.

---oOo---

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILD

Members will no doubt be interested in the coming programmes of this session, from 2ZB at 10.15 a.m. Sundays.

Oct.	5 th	“Too much Liberty”.
Oct.	12 th	“Day of a Busy Mother”.
Oct.	19 th	“Room of One’s Own”.
Oct.	26 th	“Answers to Correspondents”.
Nov.	2 nd	“Parent – Teacher Co-operation”.

---oOo---

CONFERENCE

An all day conference was held in Wellington on Thursday, August 28th to which came two delegates from Auckland, Feilding, Wanganui, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Mr. McQueen, Secretary to the Trustees, who was asked to preside. It was first decided to form a New Zealand Section of the N.E.F. and to affiliate with the International Headquarters. Most of the morning was devoted to drawing up a constitution – and this wasn't as simple as it sounds! Much interest was shown in the reports of activities in the various branches. The conference adjourned to 2ZB and saw the room in which 'Understand Your Child' Programmes are recorded. The Director expressed his interest in the session and his appreciation of the way the Wellington group prepared and presented their material. An Executive Committee was elected and pleasure expressed that Timaru and Palmerston North were forming branches which have been invited to affiliate with the section. The atmosphere of the conference was very friendly and indicated that, with all branches

maintaining an independence to work according to the needs of their own area, the prospects for the future of the co-ordinating body, the New Zealand Section of the N.E.F., are bright. Thanks were accorded the Director of the N.Z. Council for Educational Research for the use of his office and to Mr. McQueen for his preparatory work.

---oOo---

NEWS FROM HEADQUARTERS

Mr. K. Ingram, who opened the discussion at the recent conference at Oxford made a very important point in regard to the constitution of the new social order. He considered that it was bound to be a planned economic system, but it would be far more than a matter of mere economics. In fact, he considered that, at bottom, the democratic issue was a religious one because the positive task of religion is to safeguard the rights of the individual on grounds of the sacredness of personality. Therefore the success or failure of the democratic order will depend upon the degree of religious force possessed by those who desire to implement it not only because it involves change in every aspect of existence, but because a new framework of society – to fill that framework with a culture is essentially the task of education and religion.

---oOo---

BRANCH NOTES

Auckland: with seven discussion groups, has concentrated on library activities, circulation of art material to schools, loans of university material. A study has also been made of 'Education and the Democratic Idea'.

Christchurch: has groups studying Infant and Nursery Schools, Art Education, Re-Education of the Mal-Adjusted Child. General meetings have been addressed by visitors while an N.E.F. bay has been established in the public library. This branch has held annual conferences with great success and the next is to be on 'Conservation'. This commenced on October 14th, lasted for two and a half days, and the Education Board allowed interested teachers leave from their school work, to attend.

Dunedin's group of 39 has met monthly for a varied lecture programme including Child Guidance, The N.E.F. Abroad, Functions of Primary and Secondary Schools and Modern Poetry. Schools have been circularised and encouraged to make use of the educational books in the public library.

Feilding: has made this year an extensive survey of the mechanics and methods of teaching reading, and of the general level of adult reading. Individual experimental and diagnostic work, including intelligence tests, has been undertaken. This group is fortunate in being allowed the use of the Community Centre Building, its library and its equipment, while the N.E.F. library, too is housed there.

Wanganui's branch has spent its evenings in spirited discussion of children's activities, at home, at school, in the social world; and in reviewing several aspects of education policy. Meetings have been held at three-weekly intervals and much of the discussion has been based on information gathered directly from the children of several Wanganui Schools. The newly established N.E.F. library is being well appreciated.

Wellington's five groups have donated speakers to various Home and School groups in the City, in an attempt to popularise interest in educational matters. The success of this plan is evidenced by the calls upon speakers and by the forming of two new Home and School groups. This branch has also inaugurated, with the help of material forwarded by other branches, and through the co-operation of 2ZB, the 'Understand Your Child' Session which should be on other Z.B. programmes shortly.

---oOo---

Notes

¹ AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.

Appendix 26

The Origins of the Australasian NEF Conference 1937 Early 1934 to June 1936

The origins of the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937 could be said to have begun in early 1934 with Dr Ken Cunningham, the Executive Officer of the Australian Council for Educational Research. From 1934 to April 1936, Cunningham planned for an Australian conference while the probability of a New Zealand session of the conference was only given more serious consideration by NZCER in the first part of 1936. It was not until late April 1936 that NZCER was in a position to make a decision to definitely proceed with a New Zealand session of some sort (yet to be determined). This timeline outlines the critical events that lead up to NZCER's decision to hold the New Zealand NEF Conference 1937.



Photograph A26-1 Kenneth Stewart Cunningham (1937)¹

1934 – ACER investigates the idea of an Australian conference. NZCER hears about the conference late in the year.

Early in 1934 Cunningham received an invitation from E G Malherbe² to be a speaker at the South African regional NEF conference that was to be held in July 1934 that had the theme, Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society. Cunningham immediately applied for leave to attend the conference from the ACER. As Williams (1994) recounted, ‘the Council not only granted this leave but also gave Cunningham permission to investigate with the NEF the possibility of holding a similar conference in Australia’, while on Tate’s recommendation, ‘the Carnegie Corporation open-handedly agreed to cover the expenses of Cunningham’s journey’ (pp. 228-229).³ The early origins of the NEF conference in 1937, then, arguably began in early 1934 in Australia with ACER and Cunningham.

Cunningham and Malherbe corresponded regularly before the conference concerning the particular topics that Cunningham would lecture on.⁴ Ultimately, he presented at least three papers at the conference sessions which were held in both Capetown and Johannesburg. The conference proceedings included: New Developments in Tests and Examinations (pp. 243-245); Research in Education (pp. 248-249); and, Education in Sparsely Populated Areas with Special Reference to Australia (pp. 297-301).⁵ In addition, Cunningham contributed to the section on The Educability of the Bantu where he opened the discussions by arguing, in relation to the papers on the mental testing of individual attributes, ‘whether individual tests were suitable for a people, the solution of whose problems were normally the collective responsibility of the group’ while also voicing serious concerns around intelligence tests that were designed for one racial group being used on other groups (He wryly commented, ‘Had any attempt been made to use Native material in tests upon White children?’).⁶

Cunningham was no stranger to progressive education, cutting-edge international educational research and practices, E G Malherbe, or the NEF. In 1925, Cunningham won a Macy Scholarship to Teachers’ College, Columbia University where, with the maximum academic credit, he completed his mainly taught doctorate in fourteen

months starting in the 1925 academic year and completing in February 1927. At Teachers' College he came into contact with James Earl Russell (the Dean), Bagley, Dewey, Hollingworth, Kandel (who later introduced him to Malherbe), Kilpatrick, Manzo, McCall, Pinter, Ruger, Rugg, Snedden, Spence, Thorndike, and William Russell (James Earl Russell's son). Cunningham also met Keppel several times in New York in 1926. After his appointment as Executive Officer of ACER in 1930, Cunningham and Tate undertook an eight month Carnegie-funded study trip focussing on international research institutions from September 1932 to April 1933 where they visited:

- America (including academics at Teachers' College, John Russell at the CCNY, and Ellwood Cubberley at Stanford University);
- Canada (including Fred Clarke at McGill University);
- England (including Percy Nunn at the Institute of Education, Spearman and Burt at University College, London);
- France (including in Paris, Henri Bonnet of the League of Nation's International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation);
- Scotland (including Robert Rusk at the Scottish Council for Research in Education and Thompson at Edinburgh University); and,
- Switzerland (including in Geneva, Jean Piaget at the International Bureau of Education).

While in London, Cunningham also gave a talk on Educational Research in Australia to the London section of the NEF. As Williams (1994) put it, in the NEF Cunningham found an organisation 'whose principles and practices ... so closely matched his own' (p. 210).⁷

While at the South African regional NEF conference in July 1934, Cunningham approached members of the NEF to discuss the possibility of holding a regional conference in Australia. It is not clear at this point whether he entertained a possible session in New Zealand. His initial discussions with Beatrice Ensor and members of the Executive Committee were received favourably with the proviso that the Australian educational community was also fully supportive of the idea.⁸ At the

Executive Committee Meeting of the NEF in July, 1934 (held in the train between Cape Town and Johannesburg), Beatrice Ensor, who was chairing the meeting, reported that:

Mr Cunningham, Secretary, Australian Research Council, has asked formal permission to explore the possibilities of holding a Regional Conference in Australia, probably in 1937, on the same lines as the South African Regional Conference. This was unanimously agreed to.⁹

With formal permission from the NEF to proceed with exploring a possible Australia conference, Cunningham was able to start investigating what might be involved. According to Williams (1994), Malherbe was able to provide Cunningham with detailed information on how he had planned the SA conference and notably, the overall organisational structure for both the New Zealand and Australian conferences closely drew on this model.

While Cunningham was in South Africa in July 1934, Beeby was finishing plans for a trip to Melbourne to visit ACER in August 1934. One of the first official actions of Beeby before he actually took up his position as Executive Officer of NZCER on 1 November 1934 was a visit to ACER in August 'for the purposes of acquainting himself with the details of the working of the Australian Council, particularly details of the activities of the Local Branches and the organisation and equipment of the office'.¹⁰ In Beeby's subsequent report on the visit, he recounted that he spent 14 days in Australia split almost equally between Melbourne and Sydney. In Melbourne, Frank Tate elaborated on the organisation and practices of the Council while he also spent time with Professor A Mackie in Sydney. He also discussed educational research with: Mr J McRae (Director of Education, Victoria); Professor Browne and Dr Bachelard (University of Victoria); Mr G R Thomas (Director of Education, NSW); and, Dr Cole, Dr C R McRae and Mr Mann (Sydney Teachers' College). As well, Beeby spent four days visiting a representative selection of schools. Beeby's report also noted how the Local Institutes were organised, how research and research grants were carried out, how ACER looked after its finances, plus ACER's staffing levels, office accommodation, equipment and administrative routines (including their

book-keeping, record-filing and office practices) as well as ACER's relationships with State Departments of Education.¹¹

As Beeby also pointed out in his report, Dr Cunningham was absent at a conference in South Africa and 'the burden of explaining the organisation of the Council's activities fell entirely on Mr Tate'.¹² At this point, presumably, Beeby would not have been aware that Cunningham had been given formal approval by the NEF to investigate the holding of a conference in Australia. However, given that Cunningham had been asked to approach the NEF about this *before* he left for South Africa it might well have been possible that Tate had brought up the subject during the several days he spent with Beeby. Beeby had not previously met Cunningham in person at this time either.¹³

On 11 September 1934, shortly after his return to Australia, Cunningham announced publicly his intention to hold an Australian conference. In a speech he made at the University of Western Australia, Crawley, to the West Australian Institute of Educational Research he reflected on the South African conference some of the areas that might relate to Australia. In attendance were Professor R G Cameron (President of the Institute), Professor H E Whitfeld (Vice-Chancellor of the University), J A Klein (Acting-Director of Education), and J F Lynch (Superintendent of Technical Education). Cunningham argued that Australian education faced two significant problems:

- 1) The nature of the examination system ('The system under which a child's future may be decided on a single examination should be abandoned and that it should be replaced by a system whereby an accurate record of a child's work over a period of its school life should be kept with a view to obtaining a more satisfactory estimate of the child's capability'); and,
- 2) The levels of professional freedom for teacher in the areas of curriculum and method ('In Great Britain the individual teacher and the individual school is much more apparent').

Cunningham concluded his speech by proposing that a similar conference be held in Australia in 1937. In his vote of thanks, J A Klein (then Acting-Director of Education) agreed and noted that ‘there was an urgent need for educational science to be uplifted in Australia’.¹⁴

At the end of September 1934, ACER held a meeting in Melbourne that Dr H L Fowler attended as representative of the West Australian Institute of Educational Research. In his report to the Senate of the University of Western Australia, which also included an account of a proposed (in hindsight, fortuitous) visit by Keppel early the following year (then chief executive officer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York), Fowler reported that:

It was decided that an attempt should be made to hold a New Education Fellowship conference during 1937 and the executive officer, Dr K. S. Cunningham, was commissioned to make preliminary inquiries. If the conference can be arranged, prominent educationists throughout the world will be invited to visit Australia ... This will probably be the most important educational event in some years.¹⁵

Cunningham initially wanted to hold the conference in January 1938 as teachers would be on their vacations and it would coincide with celebrations for the 150th anniversary of Europeans settling in Australia. However, after correspondence with Beatrice Ensor, it was decided to hold the conference in August 1937 in order to allow the overseas speakers sufficient time during their long vacation to travel from the southern hemisphere.¹⁶

In November 1934, one of Beeby’s first on-the-job actions was to write to the Executive Committee of NZCER asking for their consent for the Council to join the New Education Fellowship.¹⁷ This proposal was approved and in December Beeby applied for membership of the NEF (along with membership of the American Educational Research Association).¹⁸

The news of the proposed Australian conference first reached 'the executive' of NZCER in December 1934, according to Williams, and that they were keen to 'cooperate with the project'.¹⁹ However, there are no records of this news being discussed in the minutes of the Council or the Executive Committee of NZCER around that time or in the NZCER files viewed. That the news of the Australian conference had only reached the executive of NZCER in December is a little surprising as ACER's intentions had been made public in Australian newspapers since September 1934 and presumably some members of the Council and Executive of NZCER, including Beeby, would have previously been aware of the plans. Perhaps, more likely, is the view that the news was heard earlier (hence Beeby's November application to join the NEF) but that the proposal to 'cooperate with the project' was considered informally in December.

Exactly what 'cooperate with the project' meant is a little unclear. As T A Hunter (the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand) recounted in his Introduction to the New Zealand proceedings; initially, Australia was to be the only location for the regional conference and ACER had 'courteously invited New Zealanders to participate in the benefits of the conference by enrolling as members, and by attending the meetings in one or more of the Australian centres'. This may be what 'cooperate' meant at this point. Hunter continued that, presumably later, 'It was felt ... that it would be more satisfactory and effective if some of the educational experts going to Australia could stop over for a short time in New Zealand and address meetings in the main centres'.²⁰

By the end of 1934, then, NZCER was aware of ACER's proposal to hold a conference in Australia. However, it is quite possible that New Zealand sessions of the conference had not yet been entertained, or perhaps, only initially considered by Beeby, who at the time had only been in the position of Executive Officer for two months and had other more pressing duties to attend to.

1935 – From January, ACER starts planning in earnest for the Australian conference (including inviting speakers). In November, the Australian National Organising Committee holds its first meeting. By December, NZCER still remains cautious about the feasibility of a New Zealand session.

By January 1935, Cunningham had already gained high levels of support for the conference from the various State education departments, teacher organisations and universities and he wrote to the Australian Prime Minister to discuss the possibility of holding a conference in 1937. Cunningham and Tate met with the Prime Minister (Joseph Lyons) in February and at the meeting ‘Lyons offered his personal support to the project’.²¹ With this backing, Cunningham formally began to undertake preliminary planning for the conference in earnest and this included the setting up of a national organising committee some six months later.

During 1935, Williams (1994) explained, it was primarily left to Cunningham to approach possible international speakers. Cunningham had a wide range of contacts to call upon for advice, including the NEF based in London, Clarke at the Institute of Education (University of London), Keppel at the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), old friends and colleagues from Teachers’ College (Columbia University, New York), and the many contacts he had made while at ACER and during his travels abroad to the United States, Britain, and South Africa.

Cunningham set to work inviting a wide range of speakers with initially a particular focus on those most well known by Australian educationists. Cunningham’s progress is detailed in more depth below. Of note, Cunningham was particularly interested in having Dewey attend and he not only sent a formal invitation but requested Keppel to approach him as well; unsuccessfully. Keppel suggested that General J C Smuts from South Africa also be invited to be involved in a ‘presidential capacity’. However, a key obstacle for many of the speakers was the long trip out to Australia and New Zealand and the time to be spent within each country. For northern hemisphere invitees (many of whom were late in their careers) such a trip would require at least three to four months away from their home country while considerable demands were

being required of them, both in terms of lecturing and international and local travel arrangements.²²

In New Zealand, Beeby had other related activities to attend to. Keppel was undertaking a trip to New Zealand, Australia and then South Africa and he wished to spend four weeks in New Zealand.²³ By early February, Beeby was heavily involved in making arrangements for Keppel's visit to NZCER and he had to prepare a memorandum for Keppel on the Council's activities to date.²⁴ In the report Beeby makes no mention of the conference.²⁵ On February 4, Keppel visited Professors Hunter, Gould and Shelley at NZCER and met with Beeby. Keppel 'expressed himself as satisfied with the work to date and stressed the necessity for the Council's following its own policy and not seeking a lead from the Carnegie Corporation'. He also asked about any large special projects the Council might be interested in outside of their current research scheme and 'Maori education and the founding of an experimental school' were discussed. Keppel also advised that he hoped to see Council's recommendations for travelling fellowships.²⁶

After his visit to New Zealand in February 1935, Keppel undertook an eight week trip to Australia (he also spent three weeks in South Africa).²⁷ While there, according to Williams, Cunningham had discussed the proposal to hold a conference in Australia with Keppel and he had shown strong interest in the project and how it might be funded. In a subsequent letter, Keppel recommended that Cunningham apply for Carnegie funding for the conference when the budget was closer to being finalised.²⁸ The likelihood of substantive Carnegie funding for the conference was therefore a real possibility. On 14 May 1936, Coffman wrote confidentially to Cunningham advising that, 'I am inclined to believe the Carnegie Corporation will assist you generously ... Ask for enough to enable you to stage the most conspicuous educational conference ever held in the British possessions'.²⁹ Finally, on 3 September 1936, Cunningham formally applied to Keppel for conference funding with a detailed analysis of the expected levels of financial support he hoped to receive from the State and Commonwealth Governments (combined they contributed 2,175 pounds)³⁰ and local organisations. Keppel responded quickly; in a letter dated 18 November he advised that the Carnegie Corporation had granted ACER over three thousand pounds which

ultimately ensured the financial success of the conference.³¹ According to Connell, the funding was primarily for the speakers' travelling expenses to and from Australia as well as for covering the expenses of Kandel and Lismer who were already overseas undertaking research and teaching activities supported by Carnegie funding.³²

The April issue of *The New Era* published a report from the President of the Queensland Educational Fraternity (a group of the NEF), Mr E C D Ringrose. Ringrose wrote about 'the enthusiasm which is being aroused among teachers in Australia for the ideals of the NEF'. He added that an NEF conference 'may be held in Sydney in 1937 or 1938' and that approval for the conference had recently been given by the Federated State Schools Teachers Association of Australia.³³

Given the political and demographic nature of Australia, Cunningham faced a significant challenge in organising sessions in all the State capitals and his solution was active, cross-sector organising committees in each State with supportive local secretaries. As Williams (1994) elaborated,

Cunningham was a prolific correspondent. He diligently pursued each and every detail, leaving nothing to chance. He wrote a continual stream of circular letters to all those involved or interested in the conference ... He particularly relied on the local secretaries who, under his guidance, saw to the day-to-day arrangements such as regional publicity, registration of members and accommodation, thereby leaving the general committee free to concentrate on such matters as the selection and organisation of speakers and the control of finances.³⁴

On 27 August 1935 Fred Clarke wrote to Beeby and discussed the conference. It might be inferred from this now that a New Zealand session(s) was at least being considered. Clarke had just undertaken a lecturing tour of New Zealand in July before going to Australia in August. He wrote:

I had a long indaba³⁵ with Cunningham in Melbourne about the proposed Conference for 1937. I shall do my utmost to get representative men to come out. You should agitate the point also at your end so that, in time, means may be available to bring men along.³⁶

By early September reports of the recent annual meeting of ACER provided more details on the arrangements for the conference. It was confirmed that the conference would be held in Australia in July and August 1937 under the auspices of the NEF. An executive committee had been formed to organise the Conference and this comprised Frank Tate (President of ACER), Dr R E Priestley (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne), Professors H T Lovell and A Mackie (University of Sydney), J McRae (Director of Education in Victoria), and Ken Cunningham (Executive Officer of ACER).³⁷

With regard to political and presumably financial support that had already been sounded out, it was reported that:

Preliminary inquiries by the Australian Council for Educational Research indicated that the conference will secure the support of the various Australian universities, of the State education departments, of the Federated State School Teachers' associations, and of the general body of teachers in both State and non-State schools. A preliminary approach to the Commonwealth Government has indicated that its support can be expected. It is also hoped to receive the assistance of the State Governments.³⁸

At this early stage, the speakers Cunningham had invited were reported to be prominent educationists and 'steps have already been taken with a view to securing speakers from England, Scotland, Canada, the United States, South Africa, China, Japan and several countries in Europe'.³⁹ Early organisational decisions had also been considered with one report that there would probably be sessions of the conference in each capital city and that 'strong local committees will be formed for making detailed

arrangements in each centre'.⁴⁰ Of interest, it was reported that the conference plans were being made 'in conjunction with the New Zealand Council for Educational Research since it is proposed to hold a session in that country'.⁴¹ Finally, this was confirmation that there was a possibility of a New Zealand session being planned, although the feasibility and nature of that 'session' had yet to be worked through.

On September 17, Cunningham addressed a Teachers' Conference at the Teachers' College (Kintore Avenue) in Adelaide and provided further information on ACER's conference plans. He noted that General Smuts, the South African Minister of Justice had been invited to attend and had replied that he wished to, if possible. While there Cunningham also attended a meeting of the South Australian Institute for Educational Research where it was reported that he 'outlined a comprehensive plan for the 1937 conference, which he said would be based on the South African conference held last year'. Dr A J Schultz (Principal of Adelaide Teachers' College) remarked that 'the conference would fill teachers with enthusiasm ... [and] would be an epoch making event in the history of Australia'. Cunningham added that Sir William Mitchell (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide) had promised 'the whole resources of the University' if a session was held in Adelaide.⁴²

On September 25 a newspaper report provided full details of the educationists who had been or who were about to be invited to date (but also noted that a number of other suggestions were still being followed up).⁴³ Cunningham is reported as having invited the following speakers:

- 1) Burt, Professor Cyril (Professor of Psychology, University of London);
- 2) Dewey, Professor John (Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University);
- 3) Ensor, Mrs E [sic] (President, New Education Fellowship);
- 4) Hart, Professor F W (Professor of Education, University of California);
- 5) Meadon, Mr P E (Director of Education for Lancashire);
- 6) Norwood, Dr Cyril (President of St John's College, Oxford);
- 7) Nunn, Sir Percy (Director of the University of London Institute of Education);
- 8) Percy, Lord Eustace (President of the Board of Education in England, 1924-1929);

- 9) Sadler, Sir Michael E (Master of the University College, Oxford, 1923-1934 and previously Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University);
- 10) Salter Davies, E (Director of Education for Kent);
- 11) Smuts, General (the South African Minister of Justice);
- 12) Tawney, Professor Richard H (Professor of Economic History, University of London); and,
- 13) Thomson, Professor Godfrey (Professor of Education, University of Edinburgh).⁴⁴

The report continued that ‘the committee’ also intended to invite:

- 1) Boyd, Dr William (Lecturer in Education, Glasgow University);
- 2) Kandel, Dr I L (Columbia University);
- 3) Lisner [sic], Mr A (Education Supervisor, Art Gallery, Toronto);
- 4) Malherbe, Dr E G (Officer in Charge, National Bureau of Education, Pretoria, South Africa);⁴⁵
- 5) Shu, Hu [sic; actually, Dr Hu Shih, Professor of Philosophy, University of Peking]; and,
- 6) Along with a speaker from China and Japan.⁴⁶

This list indicates the sorts of speakers that Cunningham was approaching with most being either strong NEF members or top-level academics and administrators. Connell (1980) adds that A D Lindsay was initially invited as well. Lindsay was a well-known Professor of Philosophy, Master of Balliol College, and from 1935 Vice-Chancellor of the Oxford University.

In late September 1935 NZCER was slowly coming to terms with what a New Zealand session might involve and it was proceeding cautiously; not surprising given its relatively small size, limited funds, ambitious research programme, and its recent formation. Cunningham had written to NZCER confirming that the conference was to be held in July and August of 1937 and he attached a list of the speakers he had invited. Cunningham requested whether NZCER would be prepared to assist in paying the speakers’ expenses. The Council’s response was ambivalent:

The Executive Officer was instructed to reply saying that the Council could not decide on this matter until it knew what educationists were coming, how long they were likely to remain in New Zealand, and what benefits New Zealand would receive directly from the conference; also that we were approaching other organisations to discover what assistance they would be willing to give.⁴⁷

On October 3 a brief report added that enrolments for the Australian conference would be handled by the teacher organisations. It also noted that the first full meeting of the national executive committee for the conference would be held in Sydney during the week of November 4.⁴⁸

In a letter dated October 18 from H R Hamley to Beeby there is no mention of the conference. Hamley was a Professor of Education at the Institute of Education and was one of the twenty-one delegates who did attend the Australian conference in 1937, although he presumably hadn't been invited at this stage. Hamley's letter was complimentary of NZCER's activity and his letter outlines his links with Australia and New Zealand, as well as the separation of his Department of Post-graduate Studies and Educational Research from Clarke's Overseas Department at the Institute:

Ever since I learnt that you had been appointed Executive Officer ... I have been intending to write to you for the purpose of establishing contact between your Council and our Department of Post-graduate Studies and Educational Research. I need hardly assure you that we shall follow your work with keen interest. I know a little of New Zealand and its educational problems, for I myself was born in Victoria, and my assistant, Dr Field, is a New Zealander. I note that New Zealand students are coming to this country in increasing numbers.

I have just received from Mr. Fred Clarke, Director of our Overseas Department, a copy of your first Bulletin ... The Department of Overseas Education ... and the Department of Educational Research are, of course, housed in the same building, but they have different rooms, and their own library facilities. Students working in my department rarely, if ever, find their way into the Overseas Department unless, of course, they happen to be overseas students. Could you place both departments on your mailing list as the Australian Council has done through the kindness of Dr Cunningham?⁴⁹

Later in October the Executive Committee of NZCER considered a letter from Cunningham about the conference. Cunningham outlined some possible financial arrangements and Beeby was instructed to reply that, 'the proposals seemed fair enough but that no pledges could be given before the general meeting of the Council'.⁵⁰

In mid-November, Kandel wrote to Beeby about his research trip to New Zealand and Australia and seemed under the impression that the conference was only being held in Australia:

It is very probable that I will visit New Zealand sometime in 1937. The Carnegie Corporation has been good enough to invite me to visit New Zealand, Australia and South Africa in our academic year, 1937-38. The prospect is very alluring. Since we are now in correspondence I will discuss details with you about a year from now.

At present I feel that I ought to go first to New Zealand and then to Australia in time for the Educational Conference which they are arranging. I shall have to rely on you and a few of my friends in New Zealand to arrange an itinerary for me.⁵¹

Later in November H C D Somerset 'received word from the Carnegie Corporation that he had been given a grant of \$3,000 to enable him and his wife to travel abroad to study rural education'. The relevance of this is covered in the 1936 section.⁵²

On November 21, the Council of NZCER discussed Cunningham's letter that set out 'the plans made in Australia for the New Education Fellowship Conference in 1937' and enquiring about the level of support the Council would be willing to provide. It was noted that, 'After considerable discussion, it was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the Executive Committee until it could be ascertained for certain what educationists would be willing to spend some time in New Zealand'.⁵³ This would take Cunningham some time to ascertain.

Just before Christmas 1935, Beeby wrote Cunningham a long letter outlining NZCER's cautious position in relation to their involvement in the conference, his own more optimistic viewpoint, and the Government and Department of Education position at that time:

I brought the matter up at our Council meeting and there was a very full discussion. Most members were of the opinion that unless we could be sure of sufficient overseas educationists spending some time in New Zealand we should not be justified in pledging the Council's money in any way. I am perfectly sure, however, that as soon as we know what people are likely to come to New Zealand I shall have no difficulty in getting the Council behind the idea.

I have not been able to make very much progress either with the Education Department or the Government. As you are aware, we have just had a change of Government and, whilst the new Minister is certain to be more sympathetic than the last, he cannot be expected to promise much until he has been in office a month or two. The Director of Education is at present in England and the acting-Director, whilst sympathetic, does not feel that he can commit the Department at this

state. The Director returns, I think, in February and I shall get on to him as soon as he arrives. I don't know whether he is going back through Australia, but, if he does, you might do a little good work on him en route.

I am now on my vacation, but I shall be back in Wellington by the middle of January. Fowler,⁵⁴ of Western Australia, will, I suppose, be staying in Melbourne on his way through. He will be spending a week with me in Wellington and, if you let him know how matters stand with regard to both the conference and the intelligence test, I could talk things over with him.⁵⁵

1936, January to June – ACER has made significant progress with Australian funding arrangements, local State organising committees, and prospective speakers. NZCER waits and then hears about the invited speakers who might be able to attend a New Zealand session. In late April, NZCER makes the decision to proceed with some form of NZ session. In June the National Organising Committee was constituted and planning for the Conference formally starts.

Further Australian reports indicated the significant progress that Cunningham was making on organising the Australian conference. On January 4, at a meeting of the council of the Federated State School Teachers' Association in Hobart, a report from Cunningham on the conference was discussed that advised that excellent progress had been made on planning for the conference. The report added that early in the year the executive committee would work to set up organising committees in each capital and that these committees would include representatives of Teachers' Unions, Universities, Education Departments, and other educational organisations.⁵⁶

In a letter dated 13 January 1936 to the NEF, Lismer was already planning to attend the Australian conference in 1937 as well as undertaking an official visit to New Zealand both with assistance from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. In his letter to Rawson he noted that, 'South Africa wants me for a year and I was to go next

month – but it has been put off until June of this year. I spend about a year in South Africa doing things for the S.A. Educ. dept. in reformation and Teacher Training in Art etc. Then I go to Australia for the conference in July 1937 and after, or just before, I go to New Zealand'.⁵⁷ This helps confirm that it was not yet widely known that a New Zealand session of the conference was a possibility. In actuality, Lismer arrived early in New Zealand on the *Monterey* on 28 June 1937 and started work (including visiting art galleries and training colleges) as well as joining the other speakers for the New Zealand conference later in July.⁵⁸

Later in January, Somerset writes to Beeby outlining his and Gwen's upcoming trip to Europe and then America on a Carnegie travelling grant. He added that, 'I intend to go to the New Edu. Fellowship one [conference] at Cheltenham in August ... Have you any suggestions to make?'.⁵⁹ Fortunately, the NEF had recently invited NZCER 'to appoint an official representative to be present at the Seventh World Conference of the Fellowship in England in August of this year'.⁶⁰ The Executive Committee of NZCER decided to ask Somerset to be their representative and on January 27, Beeby wrote to Somerset with this request and noted that 'since the Council is a Service Member of the Fellowship, we can, if I remember aright, send a representative free, so that will at least save you the fees ... I have written to Miss Clare Soper, the secretary, suggesting that, if her programme is not fixed, she might ask you to deliver a paper on some aspect of either rural education or adult education'.⁶¹ Somerset thanked Beeby and responded that 'he had always wanted to go to one'.⁶² While there, Somerset was able to sound out confirmed (and potential) speakers for the New Zealand conference as well.

January 1936 was proving a busy month for Beeby and NZCER. At the late January Executive Committee meeting it was noted: that Mr F R J Davies had started work at NZCER on January 20 (Davies was to become Beeby's key assistant during the 1937 conference); that Dr Keppel's confidential report on his trip to New Zealand, Australia and South Africa had been received; that he had entertained Dr H L Fowler (from the University of Western Australia) while on his week long trip to New Zealand under a Carnegie Travel Grant; and, that Beeby had completed an article about New Zealand education for Kandel's *Educational Yearbook*.⁶³

In a similar vein to Lismer's letter to the NEF above, Beeby received a letter in late January from Kandel concerning his Carnegie-funded research trip to Australasia in 1937. He also had not heard of the possibility of a New Zealand session yet:

I am happy at the prospect of visiting New Zealand and Australia ... Because of the International Conference which is being planned in Australia in July and August 1937, and because I cannot leave here until the end of May, I will probably not be able to spend more than six weeks in New Zealand unless my plans change and I should go to Australia first.⁶⁴

In New South Wales a controversy was brewing over plans to send representatives to the Seventh World Conference of the NEF to be held in Cheltenham in July 1936, and the State of South Australia and New Zealand were also drawn into it. On 10 March 1936 it was reported that the New South Wales Cabinet considered a proposal that an officer of the State Education Department should attend the NEF Conference in Cheltenham, London. The Cabinet instead decided that the Minister for Education (Mr Drummond) should attend as the State's delegate. The resultant opposition to this decision led to a number of consequent newspaper reports.⁶⁵ A fellow MP (Mr Weaver, former Minister for Health) was reported as arguing that the Minister's trip was 'merely a joy-ride' and that the trip should instead be undertaken by the Permanent Head of the Education Department.⁶⁶ On May 20, Weaver raised the issue in the State Assembly which led to a heated debate into the evening that was reported in detail. Weaver argued that the trip was 'an unwarranted expenditure of public money and unjustifiable'. Garnering the support of a large number of Ministerial members, Weaver continued that,

As far as I can discover the main object of his trip, the magnet which is drawing him to England is 'Education, and a free society – the discussion of the foundation of freedom of a free country'. Now, I ask you, is it necessary for a Minister, to travel 13,000 miles to discuss the question of freedom in a free country? ... Trips such as that under discussion were of no value to the State, because a Minister rarely remained in office long enough to apply his newly acquired knowledge.⁶⁷

The Acting Premier responded that,

The Government had received an invitation to send a representative to the fellowship, which was a recognised force in education matters, embracing forty-seven countries. There would be 2000 members of the conference ... The Government thought it should send a Minister to give its official recognition to a world-wide movement for education research. The conference would discuss policies ... In 1937 the New Education Fellowship contemplated holding an International conference in Sydney, which would attract people from all over the world.⁶⁸

The Acting Premier added that the New Zealand Government had decided that the Seventh World Conference in London was so important that they are intending to send a full Minister.⁶⁹ Garnering much less debate, the State of South Australia sent their Director of Education (Mr W J Adey) to the conference.⁷⁰ After the conference, a report noted that other New South Wales attendees, besides Mr Drummond, included two teachers and Mr C B Newling (Principal of Armidale Teachers' Training College). The report concluded that attendance the Cheltenham had two key benefits: 'As educationists they were able to follow the progress made in other countries during the past few years; as convenors of their own regional conference ... they gained experience in organisation, and made personal contact with several of the leaders of the Fellowship whom they have invited to Australia'.⁷¹

Towards the end of March 1936, there were a number of reports adding new details about the Australian conference and the list of speakers was starting to firm up.⁷² It was confirmed that the conference would be held in August (and not July and August as previously reported). Speakers were also being invited from the East, Denmark, and the League of Nations. The eight speakers who were now reported as being *confirmed* for the conference (including only seven of the fourteen who were to attend the New Zealand conference) were:

- 1) Boyd, Dr William (Lecturer in Education, Glasgow University);
- 2) Ensor, Mrs B (President, New Education Fellowship);
- 3) Isaacs, Dr Susan ('an authority on the psychology of young children');
- 4) Kandel, Dr I L (Columbia University);
- 5) Malherbe, Dr E G (Director of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research);
- 6) Meadon, Mr P E (Director of Education for Lancashire);
- 7) Norwood, Dr Cyril (President of St John's College, Oxford); and,
- 8) Salter Davies, E (Director of Education for Kent).

And, 'if their duties permit', the following have advised that they may be able to attend:

- 1) Clarke, Professor Fred (Institute of Education, University of London);
- 2) Nunn, Sir Percy (Director of the University of London Institute of Education);
and,
- 3) Smuts, General (the South African Minister of Justice).

These reports added that the executive committee for the conference met during the week of March 16 in Sydney and agreed that they had received sufficient support to continue with plans to hold sessions in all the State capitals, except for Brisbane where the authorities have yet to finally confirm their support. It was noted that the speakers would be giving their services for free, but the costs of bringing the speakers to Australia would be approximately 8,000 pounds. It was expected that half this amount would be raised by conference attendance fees, and the remainder was anticipated to be funded from the Federal Government and State Governments combined.⁷³ The executive committee had already approached the Commonwealth and State Governments for assistance and Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania had agreed to date. In addition, the Commonwealth Government would provide official hospitality while the delegates were in Canberra and also provide free transport in Australia on the railways. Attendance fees had been set for teachers and the public. The Universities in each State had offered their support and most of the

sessions were planned to be held in University lecture rooms. Local committees of educational representatives were being set up in each capital and should be in place within the next few weeks.⁷⁴

ACER had now been seriously planning the Australian conference since January 1935 and by March 1936 were well underway with funding arrangements, local State support, and prospective speakers. New Zealand had yet to even commit to a conference session in New Zealand or what it might look like. As Beeby advised Clarke in late March 1936:

I see from a circular of Cunningham's that you are probably coming out to the New Education Fellowship conference in 1937. Excellent news.

We cannot arrange anything in New Zealand until we know whether sufficient overseas educationists will be spending the week or two in New Zealand which would justify our holding a session of the conference here. I hope you will use what influence you can to get them here.

H. C. D. Somerset ... whom I think you met in Christchurch, is leaving for England in three weeks, with a Carnegie Visitor's Grant. I shall get him to go in to see you.⁷⁵

April 1936 was a pivotal month as far as the probability of a New Zealand session of the conference was concerned. At the Second Annual Meeting of NZCER on April 3, Beeby tabled NZCER's *First Annual Report 1934-35*,⁷⁶ and in his Report of the Director for 1 December 1934 to 31 December 1935, he stated:

New Education Fellowship Conference

An international conference on education under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship is to be held in Australia during July and August, 1937. Arrangements are in the hands of the Australian Council for Educational Research, and are well ahead. A number of outstanding educationists from abroad have been invited to attend, and it is hoped to hold a session in each of the main centres.

An attempt is being made to arrange for some of these visitors to spend at least a week in New Zealand in order that a New Zealand session of the conference might be held. As soon as it is definitely known that visits to New Zealand are possible, educational bodies throughout the country will be invited to co-operate in arranging what should be an important event in the educational history of the country.⁷⁷

Also at the Annual Meeting on April 3, a letter from Cunningham about the arrangements for, and speakers likely to attend the Australian conference was discussed and possible scenarios for speaker transport and sessions considered:

Professor Hunter put forward a plan for arranging with the Union Steam Ship Company for a boat from Melbourne to the Bluff to travel up the coast of New Zealand carrying delegates from Australia.

Professor Shelley suggested that if this plan failed the Council might invite two or three delegates to attend a session of the conference in New Zealand.

It was left to the President and the Director to look into the whole matter and let the Council know what arrangements could be made.⁷⁸

In a lengthy letter dated April 7, Cunningham wrote to Beeby with answers to his queries concerning which speakers might be interested in coming to New Zealand and provided some information on each:

I have made an analysis of replies in order to see which of the speakers are likely to pass through New Zealand. We suggested to speakers in Europe that they might cross the Atlantic then the Pacific, thus making Sydney the first port of call in Australia. Apparently most of them are willing to do this and would like to take part in a New Zealand session.

Let me first give you a few notes on some of the speakers. There is no need to tell you anything about Dr Cyril Norwood, or Dr Susan Isaacs. You probably know, too, something of Mr Salter Davies, who is one of the best-known of the Directors of Education in England. The same applies to Mr P. E. Meadon, Director of Education for Lancashire. You are also likely to know something of Dr William Boyd, head of the Department of Education at Glasgow University. Kandel, of course, you will know well. Professor Hart is connected with the University of California and according to our information is one of the outstanding younger men in America in the subject of educational administration. Professor E. S. Brunner, of Teachers' College, Columbia, is very highly recommended by Kandel as one of the most competent men in the field of rural sociology and agricultural problems. Mr Lismer is the educational supervisor of the Art Gallery at Toronto and has a number of interesting things to say concerning Art and Education. He was so successful at the Conference in South Africa that the educational authorities there are arranging for him to spend a year in the country. Dr Malherbe, the head of the Bureau of Education at Pretoria, has very much the same interests as ourselves. He tells me that he is anxious to take a run to New Zealand in any case to meet you and to look over your organisation. Mr A. Vedel is the principal of one of the chief folk high schools in Denmark.

Isaacs, Meadon, Norwood, Vedel, Salter Davies and Boyd all propose travelling across the Pacific and say they would like to take part in the New Zealand session. We expect to commence our first Australian session about the 4th or 5th August, although it is possible that we may yet drop a proposed short session in Brisbane before the Sydney session takes place.

This, along with the earliest date for leaving the home country, will give some indication as to whether the speakers can spend any time in New Zealand.

Dr Isaacs can leave England during the last week of June. Meadon has four months available, the dates of leaving and returning being immaterial. So far as Norwood is concerned time is relatively unimportant. Vedel is available from the end of June to the end of October; Salter Davies from June to the end of August; Boyd from the beginning of June to the middle of October. Kandel will definitely be in New Zealand but perhaps not with the other speakers. He is spending a year under a grant from the Corporation in the two countries. Hart is probably coming on exchange with Professor Browne of Melbourne University. He will possibly pass through New Zealand before the other speakers. Brunner has sabbatical leave and could probably arrange to attend a New Zealand session. Lismar is coming to Australia from South Africa and would therefore pass through New Zealand on his return journey to Canada.

In addition to the fore-going we are hopeful of receiving representatives of the Board of Education and of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation under the League of Nations. We have also sent invitations to Dr Shairer of London University, Rektor Zilliacus, one of the leaders in Scandinavian education, and Dr Jessup, head of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

These details will give you some idea as to how matters stand. I shall be glad to know as soon as possible whether you are anxious for us to try and arrange for them to take part in a New Zealand session on the basis suggested in an earlier letter.⁷⁹

This letter to Beeby provided sufficient information on the speakers, their reputation, their travelling arrangements, and their intentions to travel to New Zealand, for NZCER to make an informed decision about the viability of holding a New Zealand session. At this point, nine of the fourteen speakers who eventually came to New Zealand have been considered. Vedel was on the list of possible speakers but did not make it beyond Australia.

Finally, at the Executive Committee meeting held on April 23, NZCER made the formal decision to proceed with a New Zealand session of the conference:

The following overseas educationists have announced their willingness to stop in New Zealand on their way to the New Education Fellowship conference in Australia, in 1937: Dr Cyril Norwood, Miss Susan Isaacs, Mr Salter Davies, Mr P. E. Meadon, Dr William Boyd, Professor Kandel, Professor Hart, Professor Brunner, Dr Malherbe, and Mr A. Vedel.

In accordance with the previous resolution of the Council, it was decided that the President should interview the Minister of Education to see what assistance would be given by the Government and that the Director, during his trip to the centres, should explain the matter to the Institutes and endeavour to secure their cooperation.

In the meantime, it was decided to communicate with Dr Cunningham stating that the New Zealand Council for Educational Research would be willing to enter into the scheme for holding a session of the conference in New Zealand.⁸⁰

By early May, tentative arrangements for each of the Australian States were publicised and being debated (including proposed session dates now in August and September). It was hoped for Australia (and this would prove to be the case for New Zealand), that,

Though one important result of the conference would be the stimulus which it would provide to the profession itself, an even more important result would be the general stirring of interest in education affairs in the community as whole. There was ample ground for thinking that one of the chief weaknesses in the educational situation in Australia was the lack of vigorous and well-informed public opinion on education. The conference, it was considered by the council [ACER], might go some distance in helping to rectify this state of affairs. For that reason an appeal would be made to the parents and ordinary citizens for cooperation as well as to the teacher.⁸¹

On May 5, ACER published an updated list of speaker acceptances and possible intentions to attend. Twelve speakers were now reported as *confirmed* to accept:

- 1) Boyd, Dr William (Lecturer in Education, Glasgow University);
- 2) Brunner, Professor E ('An expert on rural education');
- 3) Clarke, Professor Fred (Advisor to Overseas Students, Institute of Education, University of London);
- 4) Ensor, Mrs B (President, New Education Fellowship);
- 5) Hart, Professor F W (Professor of Education, University of California);
- 6) Isaacs, Dr Susan ('an authority on the psychology of young children');
- 7) Kandel, Dr I L (Columbia University);
- 8) Lismer, Mr A (Education Supervisor, Art Gallery, Toronto; 'His visit will be made possible by the Carnegie Corporation of New York');
- 9) Malherbe, Dr E G (Director of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research);
- 10) Meadon, Mr P E (Director of Education for Lancashire);
- 11) Norwood, Dr Cyril (President of St John's College, Oxford); and,
- 12) Salter Davies, E (Director of Education for Kent).⁸²

Invitations had also been sent to the following:

- 1) Board of Education, England representative;
- 2) Jessup, Dr Walter (Head of Carnegie Foundation);
- 3) League of Nations Secretariat representative;
- 4) Schairer, Dr R (University of London);
- 5) Vedel, Mr ('Head of one of the chief Folk high schools in Denmark); and,
- 6) Zilliacus, Rektor ('One of the leading men in Scandinavian education').⁸³

In comparison to the list published at the end of March 1936, Cunningham had now confirmations from a further four speakers (Brunner, Clarke, Hart and Lismer). This most recent list included ten of the fourteen speakers who eventually came to New Zealand (Boyd, Brunner, Hart, Isaacs, Kandel, Lismer, Malherbe, Meadon, Norwood, and Salter Davies) while there only remained four New Zealand delegates yet to accept (Zilliacus and Hankin who was to be the Board of Education representative) or yet to be invited (Dengler and Rugg). Clarke was on the confirmed list but did not eventually attend the conference at all. In May also, Henri Bonnet (Director, International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, League of Nations) advised Cunningham that he was not able to attend.⁸⁴

During May 1936, NZCER started the wheels rolling on organising the New Zealand session. Beeby had raised the matter at the primary, secondary and technical teachers' conferences and he spent a week in Auckland and had discussed the conference with the Auckland Institute: 'the idea had been enthusiastically received'.⁸⁵ The May Executive Committee minutes also added that a meeting of representatives was going to be called along with the need for a preliminary meeting with the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser.

The President (Hunter) reported that, in spite of considerable effort, he had been unable to secure an interview with the Minister on this topic:

The Director reported that, having also failed to see the Minister, he had communicated with the conferences of primary, secondary and technical teachers held in Wellington during May, asking them, (1) if their members desired a session of the New Education Fellowship conference to be held in New Zealand, and, (2) to appoint a committee with authority to act that can cooperate with the Council in inviting overseas speakers to New Zealand. All three conferences had expressed themselves strongly in favour of the whole scheme and had offered their fullest cooperation.

It was decided to call representatives of all interested bodies capable of giving financial guarantees to a meeting to be held, if possible, on the evening of Tuesday, June 2: the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, two representatives; the New Zealand Educational Institute, two representatives; Secondary Schools Association, one representative; Technical School Teachers Association, one representative; Education Department, two representatives; University, one representative; Wellington Education Board, one representative. It was decided that Professor Hunter or Professor Gould and the Director should be the representative for the Council.⁸⁶

June 1936 was a critical point for the organisation of the New Zealand session of the NEF Conference 1937. From 1934 to April 1936, Cunningham had gained considerable financial, educational and political support for the conference in Australia, and he had put in place many of the key organisational structures as well as inviting many prospective speakers. On the other hand, NZCER was understandably more cautious about its involvement in the conference and a New Zealand session was only considered possible early in 1936. In April 1936, ACER supplied NZCER with a list of speakers who might be able to attend a New Zealand session and at that point NZCER made the commitment to hold a session in some form in New Zealand. In May 1936, NZCER canvassed initial support for such a session and organised in early June 1936 a meeting of key players necessary to make a New Zealand session possible. Considering that the New Zealand session (in whatever form it might take)

was eventually only approximately a year away, the organisation of the conference had an extremely tight timeline, despite ACER's considerable pre-planning.

On the evening of Tuesday, 2 June 1936 the first official meeting of what was to become the National Organising Committee was held at 8.00 pm at the offices of NZCER, Southern Cross Building, Wellington.⁸⁷ Representatives from a number of organisations were present:⁸⁸

- University of New Zealand – Professor T A Hunter;
- New Zealand Council for Educational Research – Professor W H Gould and Dr C E Beeby;
- Education Boards' Association – Mr Dewhurst;
- Technical School Teachers' Association – Miss B Jackson;
- Secondary School Teachers' Association – Mr P Martin-Smith; and,
- New Zealand Educational Institute – Miss M E Magill and Mr G R Ashbridge.

Professor Hunter was elected to the Chair. He outlined the aims of the meeting and noted that Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education, 'warmly approved of the project and promised support'. Beeby continued with a discussion of speaker availability by month: July – Cunningham, Isaacs, Lismer, Malherbe, Norwood and Vedel; September – Boyd, Brunner, Hart, Meedon [sic, Meadon], Norwood and Salter Davies; and, doubtful – Clarke and Kandel.

Beeby outlined the South African Conference fees and then read the recommendation from Cunningham that the fee for attendance at the New Zealand session should be proportionally equivalent to the Australian sessions, which was to be around one guinea for a week's session. From that amount, costs such as accommodation and printing should be deducted from the total fees collected, and that 'the balance be paid into a general pool for meeting the costs of bringing speakers from overseas'. Any credit left over would be proportionally divided between the two countries. The Committee resolved: 'That a fee at the rate of one pound per week be charged'.⁸⁹

Hunter then moved on to the question of the level of financial and other support each representative organisation could provide and this was to be reported at the next meeting. The Committee then resolved: 'That the present committee constitute itself into a Dominion organisation to undertake the preliminary arrangements of a New Zealand Session of the Australian Conference of the New Education Fellowship'.⁹⁰

It was also decided that the Registered Private Schools be invited to send a representative to the next meeting. Immediate publicity was delegated to Beeby and Ashbridge.

By the time of the conference in July 1937, the finalised official listing of national organisations, their representatives and their responsibilities on the National Organising Committee were:⁹¹

- Minister of Education – The Hon Peter Fraser;
- Director of Education – Mr N T Lambourne;
- Chief Inspector of Primary Schools – Dr J W McIlraith;
- Education Boards' Association – initially Mr Dewhurst and Mr G L Stewart, then Mr W V Dyer;
- New Zealand Council for Educational Research – Professor W H Gould;
- New Zealand Educational Institute – Miss M E Magill;
- Registered Private Schools Association – Rev Father J W Dowling;
- Secondary School Teachers' Association – initially Mr P Martin-Smith then W A Armour;
- Technical Education Association – Mr R G Ridling;
- Technical School Teachers' Association – Miss Beryl Jackson (Beryl resigned from the National Committee in December 1937 and was replaced by P L James); and,
- University of New Zealand – Professor T A Hunter.

This first official meeting of the National Organising Committee on the evening of 2 June delegated 'immediate publicity' to Beeby and Ashbridge and they quickly sprang into action. The 4 June issue of *The Dominion* contained a lengthy article on

the proposed conference, the National Organising Committee meeting, the organisations involved, details of the Australian Conference, and a general proposal for the New Zealand Conference. At this point the article noted that the New Zealand session might be held either before or after the August 1937 Australian conference. Besides the probable New Zealand speakers listed at the first meeting, the article noted that other possible visitors might include: Dengler, Hamley, Hu Shih, Jessup, Newman (Ministry of Health, London), Schairer, Zilliacus, and representatives from the Board of Education, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and Japan. The article added that it was proposed to have a session in each of the four main centres, and to investigate the closing of schools to enable the attendance of teachers. The format would probably be seminars and discussions during the day and large public lectures at night. The article reported that at the meeting: the members were unanimously in favour of holding the conference; that recent conferences of primary, secondary and technical teachers held in May were favourable of the conference; and, it concluded that: 'Coming as it does at a time when educational reorganisation is being discussed on every side the visit of such outstanding educationists might well mark a turning-point in New Zealand education'.⁹²

Concluding Comments

The origins of the New Zealand session of the NEF Conference 1937 began with Dr Ken Cunningham in early 1934. From 1934 to April 1936, Cunningham had gained significant support for the conference, including having much of the funding arrangements in place, a core of the speakers confirmed (including ten of the speakers who were willing to come to New Zealand), and had a national committee and local State committees in place working on the finer details of the conference organisation. In contrast, NZCER had been considerably more cautious about its involvement in the conference at all, and the probability of a NZ session was only entertained in the first part of 1936. This was due, in part to its limited funding, its relatively small size, an already ambitious research programme, and the fact that the organisation had only really started to come up to speed throughout 1935.

In April 1936, ACER was in a position to supply NZCER with a list of probable speakers who could attend a New Zealand session and with this information, NZCER made the decision to proceed with some form of NZ session. Throughout May 1936 NZCER started gaining initial support for a New Zealand session and it organised for early June 1936 a pivotal meeting of representatives from interested bodies who were capable of giving financial guarantees to the project.

At the meeting of representatives early in June 1936, the National Organising Committee was constituted. From that meeting, the organisation of the New Zealand conference began in earnest.

Notes

¹ This photograph of Kenneth Stewart Cunningham was taken in 1937. Ken was the first Executive Officer of ACER and served from 1930 to 1954. The reproduction of this photograph is authorised for research and personal study purposes (<http://research.acer.edu.au/people>).

² The Organizing Secretary of the 1934 South African NEF Conference was Dr Ernst Gideon Malherbe who was Director of the National Bureau of Education in Pretoria and after the conference, a member of the Executive Board of the NEF. Malherbe subsequently attended and lectured at both the Australian and New Zealand NEF Conferences in 1937.

³ William's source for this was: ACER *Annual Report*, 1933-34, p. 9, private notes CPC and Blake (ed.), 1973, Vol. 1, p. 1233.

⁴ William's source for this was: Malherbe's correspondence: ACER archives, Series 28, Vol. 72.

⁵ Malherbe, E. G. (Ed.) (1937). *Educational adaptations in a changing society: Report of the South African Education Conference held in Capetown and Johannesburg in July 1934, under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship*. Capetown: Juta.

⁶ Ibid.; p. 466.

⁷ See Williams (1994) for a detailed account of his studies at Teachers' College, his impressions of the academics there, and the later study trip.

⁸ William's source for this was: ACER *Annual Report*, 1933-34, pp. 9-10.

⁹ Excerpt from the Combined Minutes of Second and Third Executive Committee Meeting of the NEF that was held in the train between Cape Town and Johannesburg in July, 1934; WEF|A1|134. In *The West Australian*, 12 September 1935, p. 14, there was a slightly different interpretation for how the Conference was formally initiated where it was reported that Cunningham was 'invited by the international committee of the Fellowship to explore the possibility of arranging for a conference in Australia in 1937'.

¹⁰ Minutes of the 15 June 1934 meeting of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

¹¹ Report on Visit to Australia, C. E. Beeby, Canterbury College, September 28th, 1934, tabled at the 5 October 1934 meeting of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ In a letter from Cunningham to Beeby dated 14 February 1936, Cunningham writes: 'I agree with you that it seems rather absurd that we have never met. I would like nothing better than the chance of spending a few weeks in New Zealand to see something of your work and of yourself'; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

¹⁴ *The West Australian*, 12 September 1934, p. 16.

¹⁵ *The West Australian*, 16 October 1934, p. 16.

¹⁶ William's source for this was: Cunningham to Ensor, ACER archives, Series 28, Vol. 72, 22 November 1934.

¹⁷ Beeby had only just taken up his position as Executive Officer of NZCER on 1 November 1934 and his and the Council's first priority was to get the office and his

research programme underway. He was appointed for a three-year period at a salary of 1,000 pounds per year. For more information on his appointment see the minutes of the 23 March, 10 May and 15 June 1934 meeting of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

¹⁸ See the Minutes of the 23 November 1934 and 18 December 1934 meetings of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 3.

¹⁹ According to Williams (1994), p. 239 – check his source: *ACER Annual Report*, 1934-35, p. 9 and 1935-36, p. 11. Connell (1980, pp. 103-104) also noted that ‘In December of the previous year, the recently established NZCER heard of Cunningham’s intentions and offered to join in. The offer was accepted ...’. Connell cites no source for this.

²⁰ T A Hunter was also the Chairman of the National Committee that organised the New Zealand conference and he outlines a number of the administrative and financial details of the conference in his Introduction to the NZ conference proceedings (Campbell, 1938, pp.xi-xiv).

²¹ Williams (1994), p. 230.

²² See Williams (1994), pp. 238-239.

²³ The *Journal of Adult Education* in 1934 reported that Keppel sailed from Los Angeles on 9 January 1935, and after a stop in Honolulu, intended to spend February in New Zealand, March and April in Australia, and May in South Africa; *Journal of Adult Education*, 7, 104.

²⁴ Minutes of the 1 February 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER.

²⁵ Report to Carnegie Corporation on NZCER Activities, 4 February 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

²⁶ Minutes of the 27 February 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.

²⁷ In a draft letter from Hunter [?] to Percy Nunn (then Director of the Institute of Education) presumably written in February 1935 (that started with ‘Dear Percy’), Hunter [?] noted that Keppel had just left for Australia. He added that ‘his visit came at a very opportune moment as it gave a stimulation to the work that we are organising. The four local institutes are being organised and some of the historical research into the New Zealand system is already in hand ... We are looking forward also to the visit by Professor Clarke in July and shall do all we can to facilitate his inquiries. I very sincerely hope that you have felt the benefits of wintering in the South and that you have been well enough to resume your duties.’; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18b.

²⁸ Williams (1994) cites an ACER Archives letter from Keppel to Cunningham dated 27 December 1935.

²⁹ Williams (1994) cites an ACER Archives letter from Coffman to Cunningham dated 14 May 1936.

³⁰ According to Connell (1980) p. 106.

³¹ Williams (1994) cites ACER Archives letters dated 3 September 1936 from Cunningham to Keppel and 18 November 1936 from Keppel to Cunningham.

³² Connell (1980, p. 105) also cites the letter from Keppel to Cunningham dated 18 November 1936 but sources this from the Carnegie Archives.

³³ See the 1934 issue of *The New Era*, 16(4), p. 111.

³⁴ Williams (1994), p. 231.

³⁵ A South African term for a meeting or gathering.

³⁶ Letter Fred Clarke to Beeby dated 27 August 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.

-
- ³⁷ *The Argus*, 10 September 1935, p. 11; *The West Australian*, 12 September 1935, p. 14; *The Mercury*, 16 September 1935, p. 8.
- ³⁸ *The West Australian*, 12 September 1935, p. 14.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *The Mercury*, 16 September 1935, p. 8.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² *The Advertiser*, 18 September 1935, p. 24.
- ⁴³ No source or event is listed in the article so perhaps this information has come from an ACER publicity release.
- ⁴⁴ *The Advertiser*, 25 September 1935, p. 14.
- ⁴⁵ Malherbe's correct title was, Director of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research.
- ⁴⁶ *The Advertiser*, 25 September 1935, p. 14.
- ⁴⁷ Minutes of the 26 September 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER.
- ⁴⁸ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 1935, p. 5.
- ⁴⁹ Letter from H. R. Hamley to Beeby dated 18 October 1935; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁵⁰ Minutes of the 23 October 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁵¹ Letter from Kandel to Beeby dated 15 November 1935; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26. Beeby had been corresponding with Kandel sparsely since 10 December 1934.
- ⁵² Minutes of the 20 November 1935 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER.
- ⁵³ Minutes of the 21 November 1935 Meeting of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁵⁴ Dr H L Fowler was Lecturer-in-Charge, Department of Psychology, University of Western Australia, the ACER representative of the West Australian Institute of Educational Research, member of the ACER board, and in 1934 he applied for the Executive Officer position at NZCER (AAVZ, W3418, Box 27).
- ⁵⁵ Letter Beeby to Cunningham dated 23 December 1935; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁵⁶ *The Mercury*, 6 January 1936, p. 3.
- ⁵⁷ Letter from Lismar to Rawson dated 13 January 1936. Detailed in Minutes of NEF Committee Meeting, January 1936; WEF|A|1134.
- ⁵⁸ Letter from Beeby to The Director, Public Art Gallery, Auckland dated February 3, 1937; source: Auckland Public Art Gallery.
- ⁵⁹ Letter Somerset to Beeby dated 21 January 1936; W3418 Box 17. Somerset is referring to the NEF World Conference that was going to be held in Cheltenham in 1936.
- ⁶⁰ Minutes of the 24 January 1936 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁶¹ Letter Beeby to Somerset dated 27 January 1936; W3418 Box 17.
- ⁶² Letter Somerset to Beeby dated 31 January 1936; W3418 Box 17.
- ⁶³ Minutes of the 24 January 1936 Meeting of the Executive Committee of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁶⁴ Letter from Kandel to Beeby dated 25 January 1936; AAVZ, W3418 Box 26.
- ⁶⁵ For example, *The Canberra Times*, 10 March 1936, p. 2.
- ⁶⁶ *The Canberra Times*, 19 May 1936, p. 1.
- ⁶⁷ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1936, p. 9.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

-
- ⁷⁰ *The Mail*, 29 August 1936, p. 9.
- ⁷¹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 November 1936, p. 2.
- ⁷² *The Mercury*, 28 March 1936, p. 13; *The West Australian*, 30 March 1936, p. 13; *The West Australian*, 31 March 1936, p. 14.
- ⁷³ Williams' (1994) Chapter 11 on the conference goes into detail on the tough negotiations around Commonwealth and State funding for conference costs.
- ⁷⁴ *The Mercury*, 28 March 1936, p. 13; *The West Australian*, 30 March 1936, p. 13; *The West Australian*, 31 March 1936, p. 14.
- ⁷⁵ Letter Beeby to Clarke dated 24 March 1936; AAVZ, W3418, Box 23.
- ⁷⁶ NZCER. (1936). *First Annual Report 1934-35*. Wellington: NZCER.
- ⁷⁷ Report of the Director for 1 December 1934 to 31 December 1935, in NZCER. (1936). *First Annual Report 1934-35*. Wellington: NZCER; p. 33.
- ⁷⁸ Minutes of the 3 April 1936 Annual Meeting of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁷⁹ Letter Cunningham to Beeby dated 7 April 1936; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁸⁰ Minutes of the 23 April 1936 Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁸¹ *The West Australian*, 5 May 1936, p. 3.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ Letter Bonnet to Cunningham dated 15 May 1936, cited in Williams (1994)
- ⁸⁵ Minutes of the 26 May 1936 Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a. Beeby also added that he had spent eight days with the Senior Inspector of Native Schools in the Urewera 'with a view to getting a general idea of Native School problems'.
- ⁸⁶ Minutes of the 26 May 1936 Executive Committee of the Council of NZCER; AAVZ, W4881, Box 18a.
- ⁸⁷ All the National Organising Committee meetings were held at NZCER.
- ⁸⁸ Minutes of the 2 June 1936 meeting of the National Organising Committee; AAVZ, W3418, Box 30.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ Membership of the national and local committees is detailed in Appendix 2 of Campbell (1938).
- ⁹² *The Dominion*, 4 June 1936, p. 8.

Appendix 27

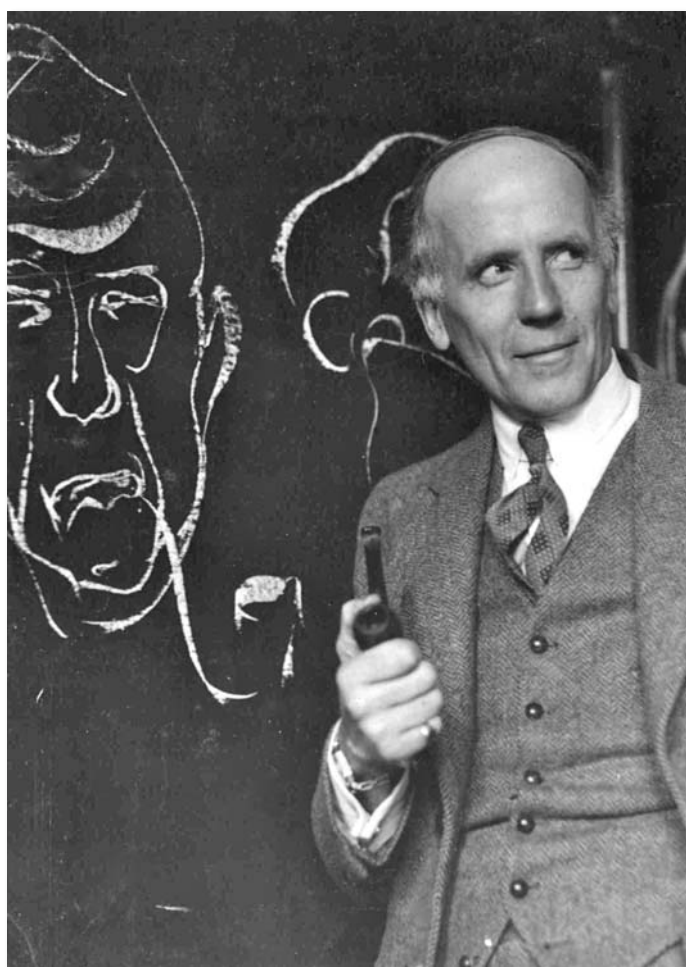
Arthur Lismer's Caricatures and Sketches While in New Zealand

Arthur Lismer was one of the most popular and hard working overseas delegates to the NEF Conference 1937. He was a theosophist, ardent progressive educator and acclaimed artist and was also the Director of the Children's Art Centre at the Art Gallery of Toronto where he used innovative progressive approaches for the teaching of art. What is less known was that he had a very humorous side and in New Zealand this was expressed in the form of a number of impromptu caricatures of the other overseas delegates and local personalities. This Appendix is placed last as it is not specifically related to progressive education but does provide some further insights into this particular speaker and the character of some of the other speakers. In addition, most of this material has not been seen in public before, or not for many years and has been unearthed during the research for this thesis.

Arthur Lismer was an important Canadian artist and a founding member of the Group of Seven artists (1920-1933) who challenged the prevailing artistic orthodoxy at the time that artists should emulate European styles and subjects.¹ Instead, the Group of Seven artists sought to develop a unique Canadian style of painting that was based on Canadian landscapes and subject matter.²

Besides being an extremely talented artist, Lismer was drawn to art education. In 1929, Lismer was appointed Supervisor of Education at the Art Gallery of Toronto. In April of that year, a second exhibition from Austria was mounted at the Gallery (the first being Cizek's in 1927), this time of children's work from the state school system. Accompanying this exhibition was Dr Paul Dengler (who joined Lismer for the New Zealand NEF Conference in 1937) and Dengler lectured there on the contribution of Cizek's art approaches as well as Reichard Rothe's work in the Austrian school system (Rothe was the Director of Art Education in the Austrian school system). In 1930, with funding secured from the Carnegie Corporation, Lismer started the public Saturday morning classes for children living in the Toronto area and these became so popular that in 1933, he opened the Children's Art Centre at the Gallery and became its Director.

Lismer's ground-breaking work at the Children's Art Centre provided him with opportunities to lecture and write extensively about his views on art and the work being carried out there, and he went on to give lectures at the New Education Fellowship conferences in France (1932) and South Africa (1934). The Gallery also went on to distribute and publish many brochures and booklets by Lismer, including in 1936, for example, *Education Through Art for Children and Adults*. With the support of the Carnegie Corporation, Lismer's pioneering work at the Children's Art Centre cemented his reputation as an art educator and allowed him to travel extensively.



Photograph A27-1 Arthur Lismer by Blackboard³

Lismer was also a prolific caricaturist and sketcher and there are four sets of artistic work that I have located that were drawn during his visit to New Zealand. Many of these sketches were quickly drawn in impromptu situations such as on the back of meal menus or paper that was to hand.

1) NZCER Lismer Collection⁴

This collection that I recently rediscovered in the partially catalogued NZCER archives (held at the New Zealand National Archives) contained two small groups of drawings. The *first* group was a small selection of six humorous caricatures that focussed solely on the South Island Group delegates. The series was titled 'Platform Styles' or 'Platform Manners' (depending on the speaker) and these were unsigned drawings that reflected Lismer's mischievous view of the particular international speaker's lecturing style (as well as content) during the NEF conference.



Figure A27-1 Cyril Norwood – 'Informal'

THE CONFIDENTIAL

NO 2

Rugg



Figure A27-2 Harold Rugg – ‘The Confidential’

THE FORWARD
TACKLE.

PLATE 121
MANNING. NO 3



Figure A27-3 E G Malherbe – ‘The Forward Tackle’

GRAND OPERA STYLE
SIGNOR KANDEL,



Figure A27-4 'Signor' Kandel – 'Grand Opera Style'



Figure A27-5 'The Leisurely' Percy Meadon – 'Education for Leisure'

THE RECTOR
'I was a pale
young curate
then'

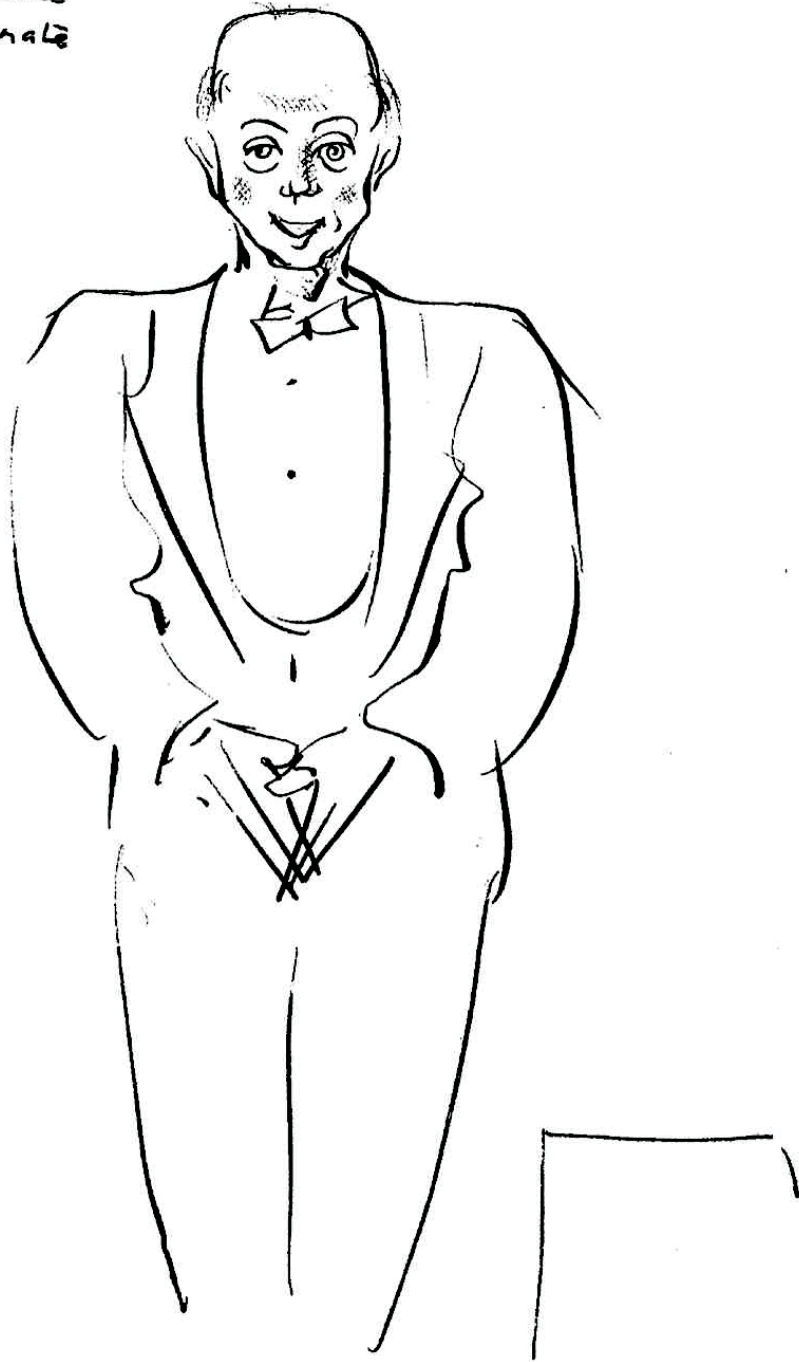


Figure A27-6 'The Rector' – Rektor Zilliacus – 'I was a pale young curate then'

It is difficult to ascertain, since 1937, how frequently these caricatures were noticed or displayed. At least, the Kandel and Zilliacus drawings were published during the conference in the *Otago Daily Times*.⁵ These drawings may perhaps have been displayed as a set by Beeby (or a subsequent Director) on the Council premises after the conference. Neville Lodge (1918-1989), former cartoonist for *The Evening Post*, was commissioned by NZCER to draw some cartoons for the Council's Golden Jubilee in 1984 and the style he used was quite reminiscent of this series. After this recent rediscovery, they were a feature of the Council's 75th anniversary celebrations in Wellington in 2009.

The *second* group of drawings was a small group of two sketches both signed AL (for Arthur Lismer). The first was in a similar style to the caricatures and was a collage of all the seven South Island delegates (including Lismer) and it was titled, NEF NZ, GROUP B.

The second drawing in this group is a more detailed signed drawing of Harold Rugg (on the Right) and Percy Meadon (on the Left) captured in deep conversation. It is much closer in style to those in the NZEI Lismer Collection than the humorous caricatures. The title is, England v. America.



Figure A27-7 ENGLAND V AMERICA by Arthur Lismer 1937⁶

2) NZEI Lismer Collection⁷

In a yet-to-be-fully-catalogued restricted-access box in the NZEI archives at the Alexander Turnbull Library lay a white envelope with the label, Sketches of the NEF Conference, Wellington 1937 (1936 is crossed out). Inside the envelope was a letter from Beeby to Ashbridge dated 22 January, 1960. Accompanying the letter was a number of sketches that were drawn by Arthur Lismer while briefly passing through Wellington during the conference (it is unclear whether these would have been drawn on their way to the South Island or on their way back to Auckland). What is interesting is that unlike the bulk of the NZCER collection that contained more quickly composed on-the-spot humorous caricatures, these are more carefully drawn studies in charcoal that probably reflected that he had more leisure time to work on them. The subjects comprised members of the South Island Group along with other unidentified people, presumably Wellington conference organisers, NZEI and NZCER colleagues and friends of Beeby's.

The typed letter from Beeby (on Department of Education letterhead) to Ashbridge (Mr G R Ashbridge, MBE, Secretary, New Zealand Educational Institute, PO Box 466, Wellington) provides a short explanation:

January 22, 1960

Dear George,

Since you have most of the holy relics of the N.E.F. Conference, I am sending you some sketches that I have unearthed at home. They were done by Arthur Lismer on the blotting pad on my desk. He didn't manage to make much of you and me, but then we are elusive characters.

Blessings

Beeb

It is fascinating to note that Arthur Lismer drew this series on the blotting pad from Beeby's desk. This is clearly evident in two of the sketches below where Beeby's original blottings are incorporated into the drawings. Unfortunately, as these drawings were done on blotting paper they have noticeable signs of aging and deterioration.

The NZEI collection of 16 sketches consists of:

- five drawings that include four of the South Island conference delegates (excluding Lismer himself, Malherbe and Norwood);
- a drawing each of the two national conference organisers – Beeby and Ashbridge;
- five drawings of unidentified people (presumably Wellington conference organisers, NZEI and NZCER colleagues and friends of Beeby's);
- one drawing of the 'NEF Elephant' led by an unidentified person (possibly Pryor from NZEI); and,
- three small preparatory sketches (two being of Isaac Kandel).

Included below are the drawings of the South Island delegates, Beeby and Ashbridge, and the 'NEF Elephant'.



Figure A27-8 Isaac Kandel by Arthur Lismer 1937⁸



Figure A27-9 Percy Meadon by Arthur Lismer 1937⁹



Figure A27-10 Laurin Zilliacus by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁰

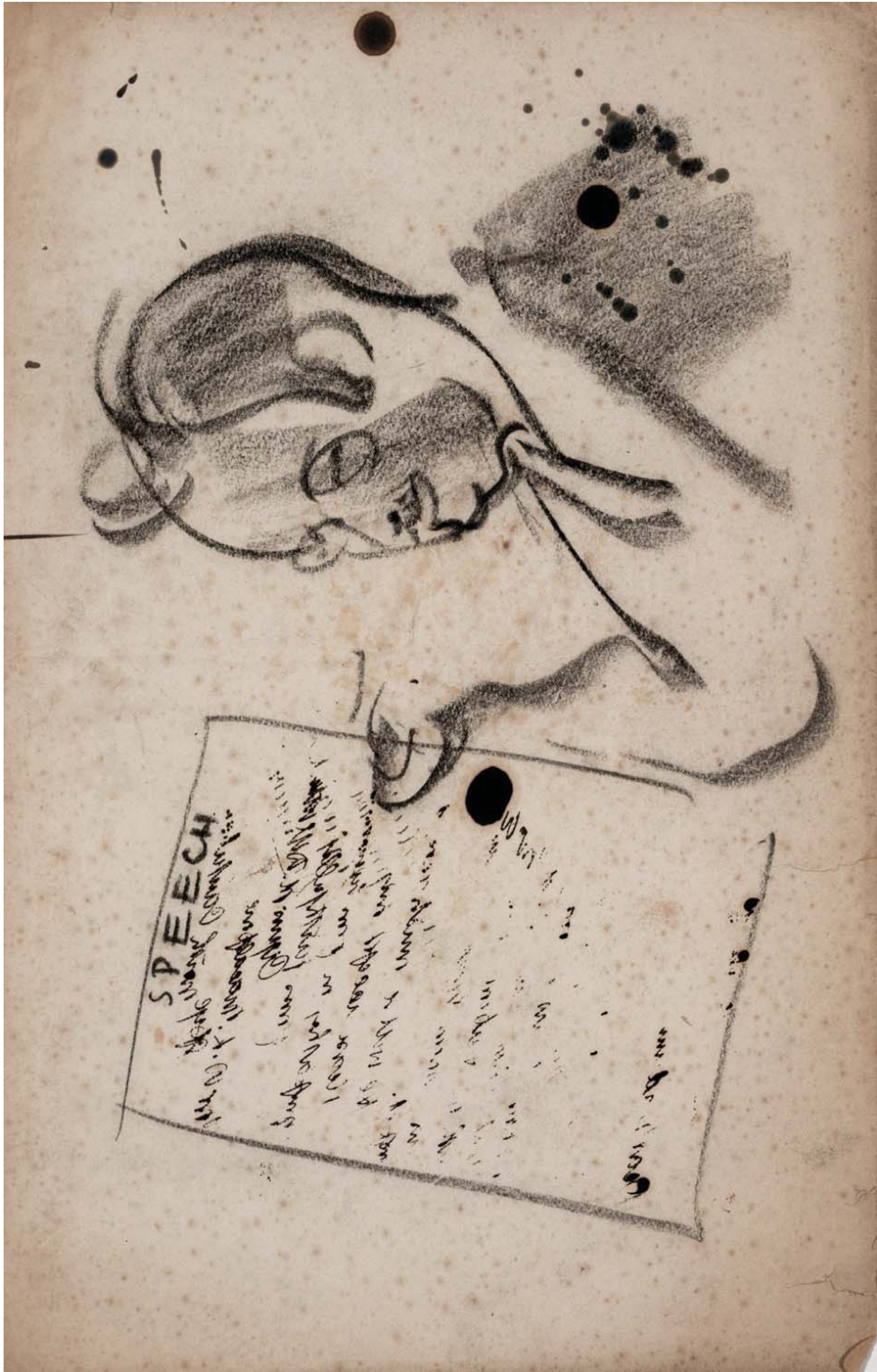


Figure A27-11 Harold Rugg 'SPEECH' by Arthur Lismer 1937¹¹



Figure A27-12 C E Beeby (L) and Isaac Kandel (R) by Arthur Lismer 1937¹²



Figure A27-13 C E Beeby of NZCER (NEF Conference National Organiser)
by Arthur Lismer 1937¹³



Figure A27-14 George Ashbridge of NZEI (NEF Conference National Organiser)
by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁴

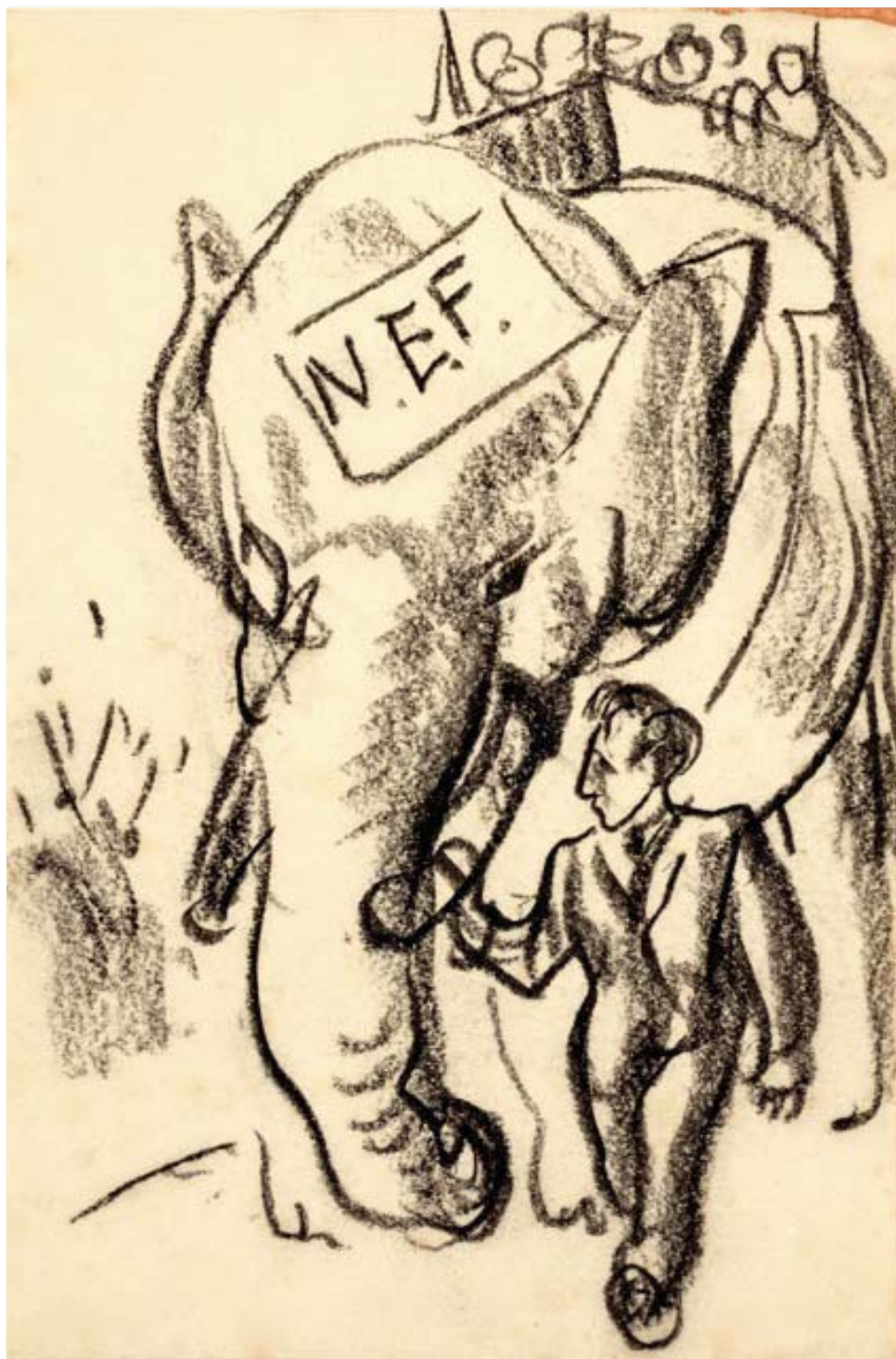


Figure A27-15 The NEF Elephant by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁵
[Led by an unidentified person, possibly Pryor from NZEI]

3) Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismer Collection

The Campbell Collection at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa contains the archives of the NEF delegate, Ernst Malherbe. Amongst his papers were a number of sketches by Arthur Lismer relating to his Australasian tour. These can be grouped into three sets:

- The South Island Group with a Scottish theme;
- Two sketches with a Māori theme; and,
- Rugby and travelling with the Springbok team.

Presumably while in the South Island, Lismer again drew caricatures of the South Island group of delegates but this time drawing on a Scottish theme; there was one further more formal portrait that was filed with this group. Unfortunately, the copies of the Scottish caricatures reproduced below are from low quality old photocopies of the sketches. The location of the originals is not known.



Figure A27-16 DOMINIE¹⁶ McNORWOOD [Cyril Norwood] by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁷



Figure A27-17 MACALERB, THE SPRINGBOK PUTTER [Ernst Malherbe]
by Arthur Lismer 1937¹⁸



Figure A27-18 SIR PERRRYC MAC LANCS MEADON¹⁹ [Percy Meadon] by Arthur Lismer 1937²⁰



Figure A27-19 THE MACRUGG [Harold Rugg] by Arthur Lismer 1937²¹

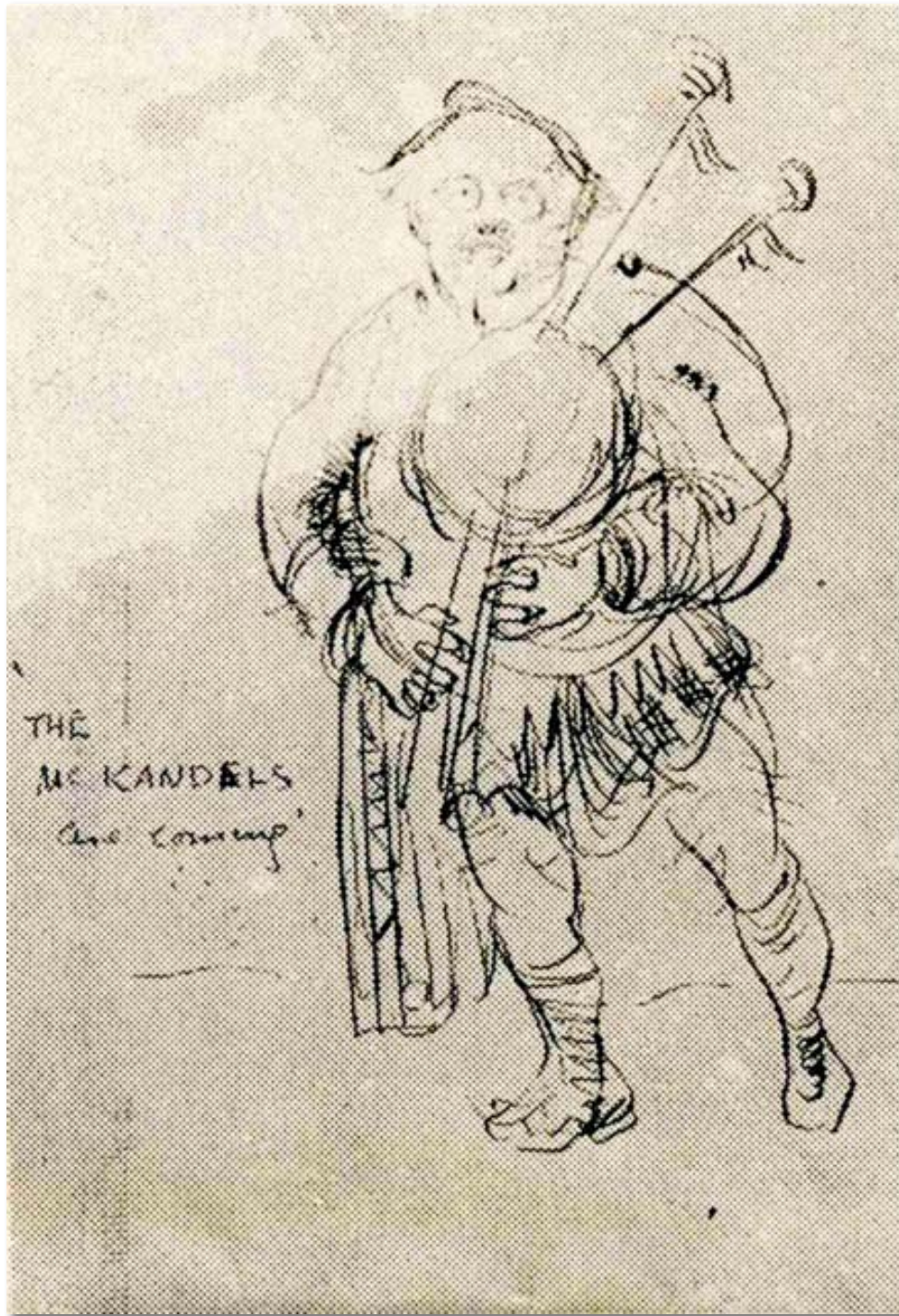


Figure A27-20 THE MCKANDELS Are Coming [Isaac Kandel] by Arthur Lismer 1937²²

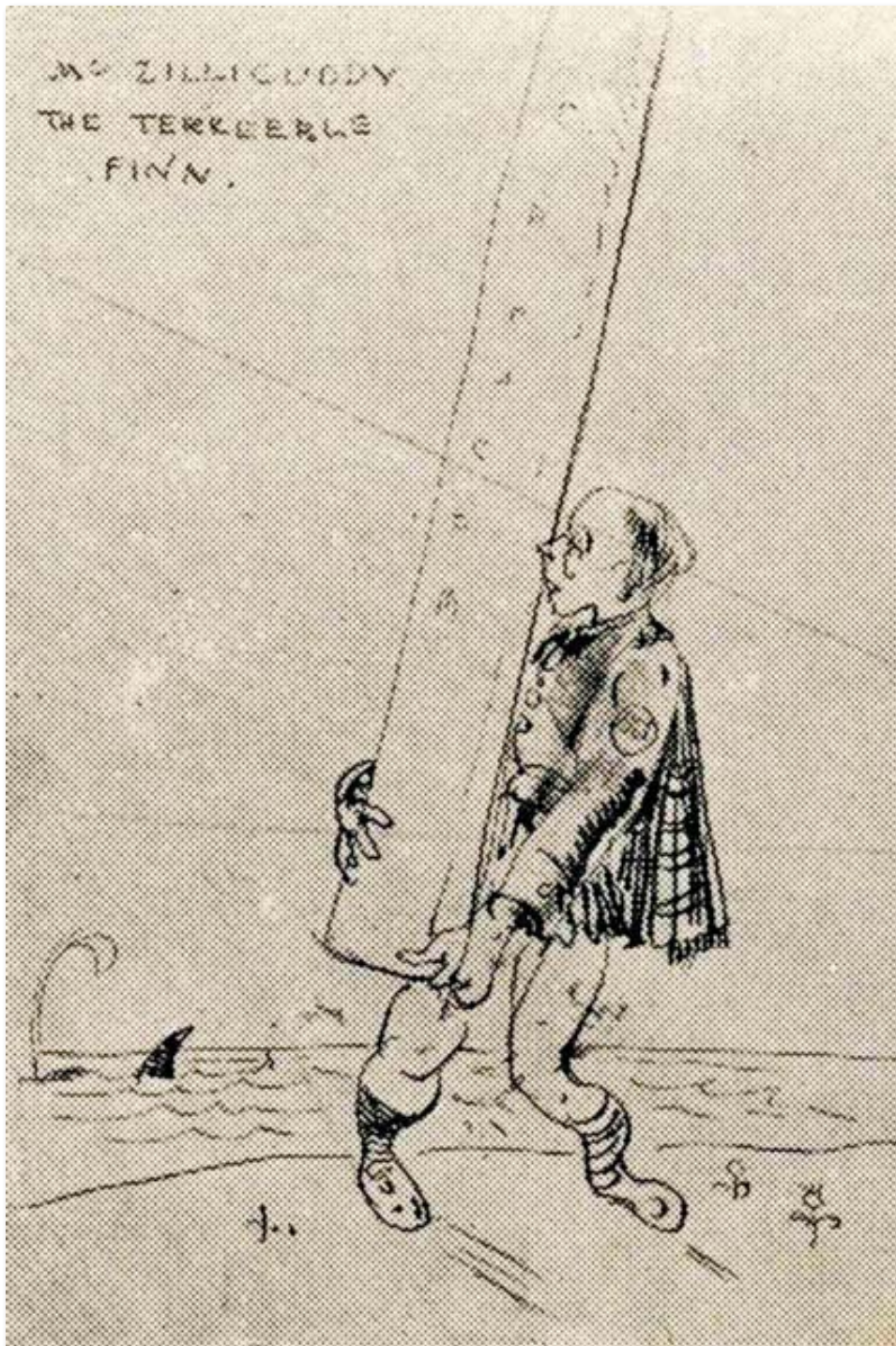


Figure A27-21 McZILLICUDDY, THE TERREEBLE FINN [Laurin Zilliacus]
by Arthur Lismer 1937²³



Figure A27-22 MACALISMER. A chiel²⁴ among ye takkin notes. [Arthur Lismer]
by Arthur Lismer 1937²⁵

The final sketch found with this Scottish-influenced set is a more serious study of an older man. It has been suggested²⁶ that this drawing may be of Richard Lawson (Professor of Education, Otago University 1924-1946) who had an instrumental role in the setting up of NZCER and who was on the organising committee for the Dunedin leg of the NEF conference. Lawson went on to serve 'as president of the Otago branch of the New Education Fellowship from 1937 to 1944'.²⁷ [See the section on Professor Lawson in Chapter Four which includes a copy of this drawing.]

The second group of sketches in the Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismer Collection comprised two sketches with a Māori theme. The first (and perhaps the second) is of Ernst Malherbe and both are influenced by the delegates' visit to the Māori village at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua where they saw Māori people in traditional clothing and elaborate Māori carvings.²⁸ The Māori carving sketch was drawn on the back of an undated dinner menu from Hotel St George, Wellington.

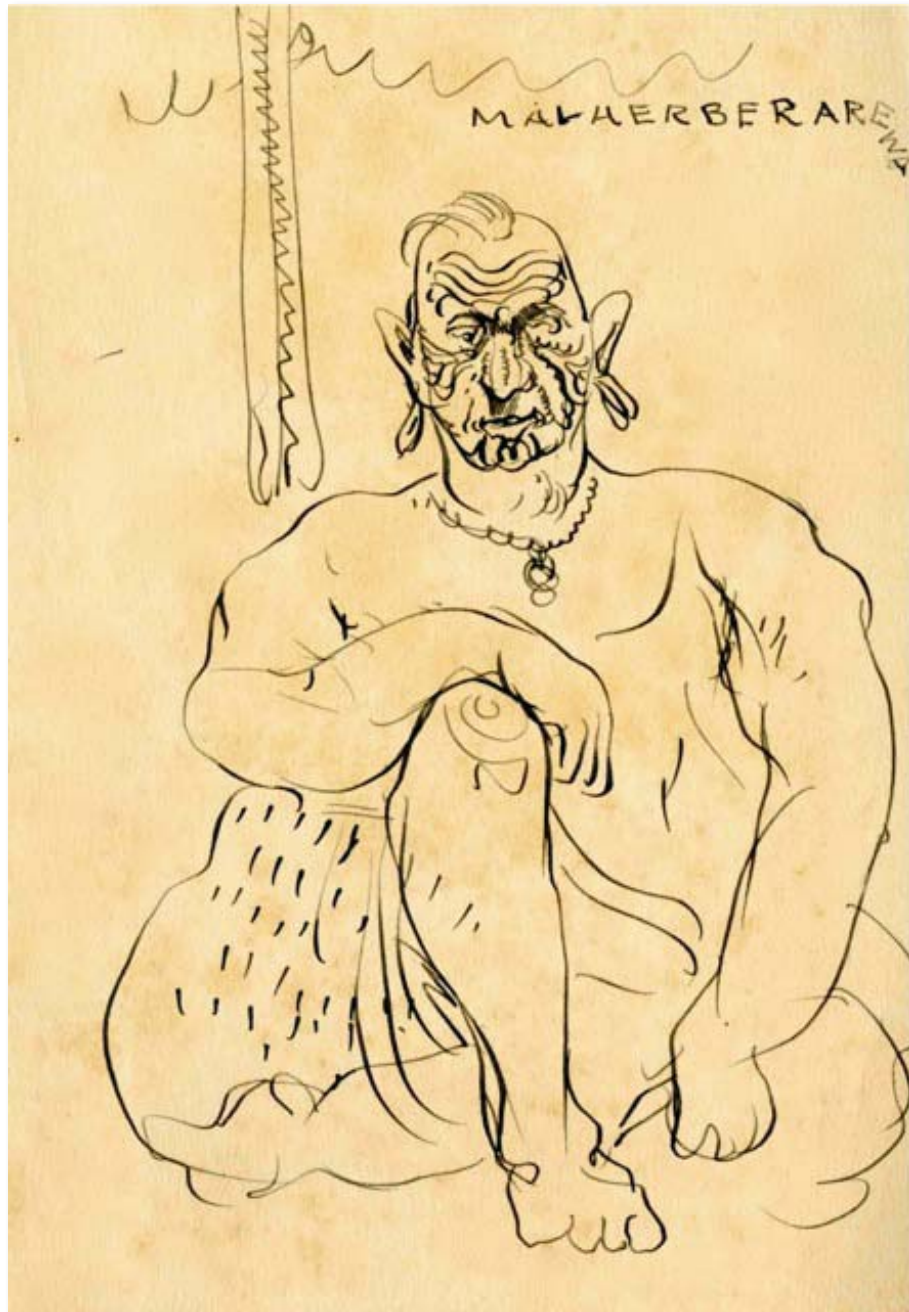


Figure A27-23 MALHERBERAREWA [Ernst Malherbe] by Arthur Lisper 1937²⁹



Figure A27-24 Māori carving by Arthur Lismer 1937³⁰

The third group of sketches in the Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismer Collection relate to rugby and travelling with the Springboks – the well-known South African rugby team. Arthur Lismer and Ernst and Janie Malherbe first travelled from South Africa to Australia in the last two weeks of May 1937 on the Blue Funnel Line cruise liner, the TSS *Ulysses*. On this same outward-bound voyage, the TSS *Ulysses* also carried the 1937 Springbok team that initially toured Australia and then New Zealand. This team was captained by Philip Nel and

is now known as the 'Invincibles' as they became the first Springbok team to win a series in New Zealand.

Lismer drew a number of humorous sketches of the Springbok team on that trip that focussed on food, recreation and training. From this selection I have chosen one sketch of the 'liner', two of the Springbok team, and one of Ernst Malherbe listening to one of the Springbok matches on the radio.



Figure A27-25 ULYSSES³¹ by Arthur Lismer 1937³²



Figure A27-26 A Springbok SCRUM any day at 1 pm by Arthur Lismer 1937³³



Figure A27-27 Springboks – Outward Bound 1937 (By Day & By Night) by Arthur Lismer 1937³⁴



Figure A27-28 THE DELINQUENT BOY SEES LIFE³⁵ by Arthur Lismer 1937³⁶

4) Beeby Family Lismer Collection³⁷

A single sketch of Beeby was donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library by the Beeby family. It is similar in style and character to the sketch in Figure A27-13. An edited version of the drawing was used by Beeby in his 1992 autobiography (and by Noeline Acorn in her biography of Dr C E Beeby published in 1999). Lismer drew the sketch on the back of a dinner menu from the United Service Hotel, Christchurch. The menu states that it was a Friday menu so presumably this was the menu for Friday July 16th, the second-to-last day of the Christchurch conference.

A further sketch of Kandel was published in *National Education* (2 August 1937, p. 257) and that was also reproduced in Noeline Acorn's biography of Dr Beeby.

In sum, these four sets of artistic work by Arthur Lismer were drawn fairly quickly in impromptu situations during his visit to New Zealand. It would not be surprising if there were other drawings in New Zealand or overseas (either in public or private possession) that had not yet been recently noticed, well-publicised or correctly identified.

Notes

IMPORTANT NOTE

At the time of submitting this thesis I have unfortunately not been able to locate the copyright holder for the sketches by Arthur Lismer used in this doctorate. If you are the copyright holder (or authorised agent) I would be grateful if you could please contact me at PaulAdamsinNZ@gmail.com.

¹ This account of Lismer's interests is indebted to Angela Grigor who spent seventeen years of her life researching and writing a 447 page biography of Arthur Lismer and who kindly provided additional advice to this author. Grigor, A. (2002). *Arthur Lismer: Visionary art educator*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.

² After World War One, a group of seven artists exhibited together from 1920 as the Group of Seven: Franklin Carmichael, Lawren Harris, A. Y. Jackson, Frank Johnston, Arthur Lismer, J. E. H. MacDonald, and Frederick Varley (Tom Thomson would most likely have been the eighth founding member of this group but he tragically drowned in 1917). The membership changed during the official life of the Group (1920-1933) and also included A. J. Casson, Edwin Holgate, and Lemoine Fitzgerald. Sources: Grigor (2002); the Maybury Fine Arts Web Site (www.mayberryfineart.com/groupofseven).

³ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library, EG Malherbe Archives; Photo Album 24.

⁴ The NZCER Lismer Collection was found in AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, July 24, 1937, p. 22 – the caption read: LEAVES FROM AN ARTIST'S SCRAP BOOK. Two of the distinguished members of the New Education Fellowship as seen in lightening caricature by another of their number, Mr Arthur Lismer, director of the Art Gallery of Toronto.

⁶ Source: NZCER Lismer Collection; AAVZ, W3418, Box 43.

⁷ NZEI Lismer Collection, in the NZEI Photographic Collection, ATL - PAColl-2647. Upon bringing this collection to the attention of the Curator of Drawings, Paintings and Prints, the collection is now conserved in the ATL Art and Drawings section.

⁸ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-047.

⁹ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-048.

¹⁰ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-049.

¹¹ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-046.

¹² Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-050.

¹³ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-040.

¹⁴ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-045.

¹⁵ Source: NZEI Lismer Collection; ATL-PAColl-2647; B-181-035.

¹⁶ Dominie is a traditional Scottish term for a schoolmaster.

¹⁷ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismer Collection; File 279.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Percy Meadon was knighted in 1937 and was Director of Education for Lancashire.

²⁰ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismer Collection; File 279.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Chiel is a traditional Scottish term for a young man.

²⁵ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismar Collection; File 279.

²⁶ Personal communication with Professor David McKenzie (31 January, 2010) who pointed out the resemblance to Lawson's photo on page 146 of Morrell, W. P. (1969). *The University of Otago: A centennial history*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

²⁷ McKenzie, David. 'Lawson, Richard 1875-1971'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

²⁸ There is a group photo of the NEF delegates at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua in Beeby's 1992 autobiography that is reproduced with a full set of names in *Appendix 17*.

²⁹ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismar Collection; File 279.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Here Lismar makes the link between the cruise liner's name and Homer's tale of Ulysses sailing back from the Trojan War.

³² Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismar Collection; File 279.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ In this sketch of Malherbe, Lismar is also making pun about Malherbe's NEF conference topics that included a consideration of delinquency and retardation.

³⁶ Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library Lismar Collection; File 279.

³⁷ Source: ATL-MS-Group-0163, Accession 92-256, Box 1. Items in this accession were donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library by the Beeby family on 1992 and 1998, although it is unclear in which year the sketch was donated.