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THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE COUNSELLING MOVEMENT,  
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF THE  
NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP (SINCE 1966 THE  
WORLD EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP).

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I.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the educational aspects of counselling in a major branch of progressive education, in which they appeared predominantly, but not entirely, as central and inseparable functions of teaching between 1921 and 1970. The development of these mainly non-specialist aspects of counselling is set into the context of the gradual growth of counselling as a specialist activity in education more generally throughout the present century. Relationships between the specialist and non-specialist approaches to counselling over the five decades mentioned above are examined in detail.

To aid the identification of counselling within educational thought and practice, a wide range of modern literature on specialist counselling is first surveyed, and a number of priorities common within it are defined. Differences of opinion within the field of specialist counselling are also examined, both through the literature and with reference to recent empirical research in Britain on the role concepts of counsellors. These lead to suggestions that an 'open-system' orientation describes major differences of viewpoint among specialist counsellors, and that the evolution of the specialist counselling movement can be interpreted in major respects by a gradual change in its relationship to the problem-centred aspects of counselling.

Using these priorities and perspectives, the earliest expressions of thought in the New Education Fellowship are intensively examined, to clarify the presence, extent, and

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importance of counselling priorities within them. The stability of these priorities, and their interaction with other areas of thought and achievement in education, including that of the separate development of counselling as a specialist movement, is then examined throughout the history of the Fellowship from 1921 to 1970.

Main findings are that many priorities common to modern counselling, appeared as central and important aspects of educational thought at the inception of the New Education Fellowship in 1921, where they were seen as intimately associated with teaching roles; that these priorities were stable in the history of the Fellowship, tending to re-emerge apparently spontaneously at different times; and that this pattern of stability contrasts with a changing pattern of priorities within the specialist counselling movements elsewhere in education.

These and other findings, and their implications, are discussed in a closing chapter.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE APPROACH TO THE STUDY

#### INTRODUCTION

The term 'guidance' - and the closely related term 'counselling', have become associated during recent years in Britain with a specialist provision. The specialists are variously named. Sometimes they are called counsellors, at others careers teachers, sometimes house heads, form teachers or otherwise. What they share in common is a full or part time function of helping young people - usually those with problems - who generally come to see them of their own free will. The problems vary, and so do the approaches which the specialists use. Some of the work done by them overlaps directly with functions long seen as traditionally those of a teacher, which in Britain includes the concept of pastoral care and some aspects of parental responsibility. The overlap of function becomes more interesting when we look at the aims and values of these new services, and especially when we examine the way they have changed over several decades. Such changes show more clearly the gradual emergence of a developmental, essentially educational process out of an original crudely problem centred process.

Much has been written, especially in North America, about the history of the specialist guidance and counselling movements. Their general educational bearing has also been recognised and discussed widely, as we shall see. Implications are that counselling is not confined to specialist provision, but is contained within the work of many teachers, as an integral part of it. Thus in principle it should be possible to make an historical study of such aspects of the counselling movement in education; or, for a methodical study, within one area of it where a priori reasons exist for thinking that counselling

aspects might be emphasised, and where adequate records are available. But any such idea at once meets the difficulty of defining terms. How are the concepts of guidance and counselling to be described? Are there priorities common to the field as a whole? If so, what is their general relationship to concepts of teaching? To these preliminary issues we now turn

Current definitions of terms.

Counselling in its specialist form in education was largely imported to Britain wholesale, both in theory and practice, from North America in the mid 1960's, where it had undergone a rich and varied development from about 1908, as described elsewhere (Vaughan, 1970). The emergence of these somewhat new views and associated practices within Britain, in a society that already used the terms 'counselling' and 'guidance' in other contexts, has created some confusion about the meaning of the terms, and especially about the difference between them.

The terms 'guidance', 'counselling', and 'pastoral care', are variously defined. One of the earliest major discussions appeared in the 1955 Yearbook of Education, where Hall and Lauwerys related counselling as an aspect of guidance to warmth of personality, depth of humanity, and breadth of personal experience, as informing a skill "infinitely more difficult to acquire than formal techniques". (p. 28). In the same work Morris described guidance in terms which, as we shall see in chapter 6, related it closely to principles of personal development in an educational process, using a subtle interpretation of a concept of mediation. Yet such careful interpretations did not avert the confusion that was to come.

In 1967 we find Raynor and Acherley suggesting that guidance implied a directive process, whereas counselling was essentially concerned with enabling the individual to become autonomous, and was usually, but not always, directive. But in the same publication Fuller and Juniper defined guidance as a set of services, operating within and from the school, and containing (a) a diagnostic service, (b) an orientation service for pupils, (c) an information service, and (d) a counselling service to help pupils understand themselves. Thus Raynor and Acherley said, "Counselling is to us a more developed and exclusive term than guidance". On the other hand Fuller and Juniper maintained that the most meaningful word, and the one which lends itself to an umbrella role ... is guidance ... Guidance within a school could involve ... a counselling service". The uncertainties about the meaning of both terms have not been clarified by other writers. Thus when the Albemarle Report on the Youth Employment Service (NYEC. 1968 p. 17) referred in passing to the value of setting up short courses in counselling to serving officers, it provoked a vigorous response from Daws (Law, (1977) p. 17) who charged the working party with the misuse of the term 'counselling' as though it were no more than a synonym for giving help and advice. He wrote, "the working party does not seem to have given thought to the need for more sophisticated techniques of counselling, such as non-directive, client-centred counselling". Daws later suggested that counselling was essentially an umbrella term covering five different functions (1969) :-

- (a) Teaching of a personal and social kind for sound mental health and to promote the all round maturity of young people.
- (b) Guidance to be given when educational and vocational choices have to be made.
- (c) Help with individual temporary problems.
- (d) Identification and long term support for disturbed children needing specialist treatment.
- (e) Meeting the long term needs of the handicapped immigrant and others at work.

The extent of disagreement over what meaning to attach to specific terms is further highlighted by the different interpretations given to such neighbouring concepts as pastoral care. Daws headed the paper referred to above as "Pastoral Care - the Counsellor's Job?". But in the same ~~publication~~ <sup>(1968)</sup> period Shields/wrote :

"I hope it (counselling) will not be denigrated and trivialised by the emotive term pastoral care .. which one associates with sentimental yet chilly and untutored ecclesiastical charity."

Probably the safest course to take amid these contradictions is, initially, to combine the two terms "counselling" and "guidance" and to examine what general activities are subsumed in that overall field. In Appendix I are drawn up a number of definitions taken from British and American sources. They range from Tyler's extremely simple description of counselling as a process designed to answer the question "what shall I do" to

Boy and Pine's detailed analysis of it under eight points.

However, from the arguments and definitions, it is possible to make an initial distinction of three themes :

1. That counselling is a person-to-person form of communication marked by the development of a subtle emotional understanding, often described technically as 'rapport' or 'empathy' ;
2. That it is centred on one or more problems of the client, and
3. That it is free from authoritarian judgements and coercive pressures by the counsellor.

We shall now examine the general application of this classification to the field of counselling in Britain and North America. It is derived from a study of modern counselling opinion, and thus is not completely relevant to examining counselling as an historical movement. But the problem centred aspects of counselling have undergone considerable change during this century, and a study of these changes both in Britain and North America, will be used to illustrate the rise of the specialist counselling movement generally, and the gradual emergence of the priorities we have outlined. That will be a study for the first part of this chapter. We shall then go on to look at the general relationship between teaching, guidance, and counselling. From these surveys, we shall try to reach the specific questions and perspectives which it will be the main work of the thesis to examine.

- (1) (That counselling is a person-to-person form of communication, emphasising rapport.)

This is not explicitly stated but is implicit in such definitions as that of the National Association of Mental Health (1970). K. Williams (1973) Wallis (1973) and Thompson (1970).

The term "rapport" or "empathy" which is widely used in guidance and counselling literature when talking about this function is not easy to define. Williams (op cit) describes it as "the creation of a relationship of such trust and confidence that the defensive walls we erect around ourselves are dismantled stone by stone." Rapport, then, refers to that part of the guidance process in which a person is helped, not by the intellectual powers or greater knowledge of the counsellor, but by the development of a relationship based on feeling, on non-cognitive, even intuitive communication. The validity of this is often emphasised, as in Wallis's description (1973) and Williams (The elusiveness of rapport from description has opened counselling as a whole to the kind of charge levelled against the related field of psychotherapy by Eysenck, as being an "unidentifiable technique applied to unspecified problems with unpredictable outcomes".) The principal function of rapport seems to be to help individuals towards an integration of themselves into harmonious systems, and to counterbalance the intellectual processes of problem definition and attack, also important aspects of counselling and guidance. The psychology of rapport, especially as applied by Carl Rogers and his followers, has had much influence on widening the problem centred approach to guidance in America. This is discussed in the next section. Here, however, it is important to notice that the concept of "rapport" implies the acceptance, of, and importance of, the individual. This central importance of the individual is apparent in every one of the descriptions of it in Appendix I, and is general throughout the whole literature. Williamson (1965) traces several origins of the emphasis on the individual in North America. He emphasises the importance of



individual freedom as a concept in American culture :

"our forefathers did not bring with them from Europe the established traditions of that more or less structured society. As a result there were few legal restrictions on freedom of choice until licensing was established as a power of the States, to enable protection from fraud and incompetence" (p.41).

He emphasises that the concept of a person's right to enter an occupation of his choice was established in 19th century court cases before the training and employment prospects were assured (p. 42). Another factor promoting later acceptance of the individual centred nature of counselling was the freeing of school and college curricula, which Williamson outlines. While recognising that older curricula were often rigid, even in North America, and that attempts by Ticknor to obtain reforms in 1825 in Harvard, for example, met with little success, he emphasises the effects of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 which provided, at Federal and State expense, new kinds of colleges establishing new courses in addition to the continuing classical studies. (p. 39). A third factor was the rise of child centred ideas in primary education, advocated by Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel, which were taken up in the 19th century by American educators such as G. Stanley Hall and William T. Harris. Hall's influence on the guidance movement is also taken by Williamson as having been through his advocacy of Freud's work, which introduced psychoanalytical ideas into American Education and paved the way towards the development of child guidance clinics - unfortunately, it was not integrated

with vocational guidance until 1950 when the Vocational Guidance Association voted to include mental health as an objective in guidance and counselling (p. 54 et seq.). Williamson concludes :

"The foundation of modern concepts of counselling rests upon the assumption of the unique individuality of each child, and also upon the identification of that uniqueness through objective measurement as contrasted with the techniques of subjective estimation and appraisal."

This concluding statement suggests how the individual centred movement in American culture and education contributed also towards a directive approach in counselling, (with which reliance on tests is associated). This is discussed in the next section. We might note also here that many of the ideas that Williamson takes as influencing the rise of individually centred counselling are also those associated with the emergence of progressive education, with many names common to both fields (Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Freud, Stanley Hall).

(2) (The problem centred functions of counselling)

This is underlined in several descriptions explicitly in Appendix I: the N.A.M.H. Report, Patrick Hughes, H. J. Taylor, A.J.M. Thompson, Brammer and Shostrom-Halmos; in referring to "talking cures" implies a problem centred approach, and Tyler's simple description does so also. Some writers, however, including some of these just quoted, qualify their descriptions so as to avoid any narrow interpretation of the term "counselling" as a whole : an example is Lovel's description, where the concept of a problem centred approach to counselling seems to have been

deliberately and carefully eliminated. In some cases the wider aims of counselling are explicitly stated, as in Holden's words :

"Counselling is basically a psychological process as a result of which a person's personality and behaviour may be modified and improved, in the everyday and common sense meaning of these words."

The explanation for these differences are largely in the historical processes by which specialist guidance and counselling have evolved in North America, which as we have suggested, shows a slow move away from a narrow, problem centred approach towards a wider more integrative one. The dawn of specialist guidance is usually taken as the foundation by Frank Parsons of a Bureau for vocational counselling in Boston in 1908. The emphasis was on the problem centred aspects of how to choose the right career, and the techniques were correspondingly specific, and problem centred, i.e. :

- (1) Self knowledge, especially of one's own range of abilities and resources.
- (2) Knowledge of the requirements and conditions of a wide range of jobs.
- (3) A clear understanding of the relationship between the first two.

The work of the Bureau prospered, and during the next ten years it established vocational guidance in several Boston schools; ran training courses for teachers, organised national conferences, and published vocational counselling through correspondence, lectures, and books. A swift escalation of interest in such work followed and Miller (1961) describes the

apparent independent appearance of counselling about this time in some New York schools; in Connecticut and Detroit, and elsewhere throughout the United States from New Orleans to Seattle and Chicago. A further boost to the problem centred approaches may have been given by the rapid rise of psychological tests, which had been used with great effect for selection and classification purposes in the 1st World War, and which thereafter entered civil life, leading to a temporary "boom" period of test dominated counselling. From about 1930 however these devices became more integrated with other appraisal techniques as a reaction against their use developed. Meanwhile counsellors in both mental health clinics and schools began to find that specific problems, such as choosing a vocation or dealing with anxiety could not be considered apart from each other, and both services gradually came to be offered by one person. In 1950, official recognition of mental health as an aim of vocational guidance was accorded by the National Vocational Guidance Association itself as already mentioned. Significantly also, in 1955 the Occupational Information and Guidance Service was replaced by the Guidance and Personnel Services Section in the Division of State and Local Schools, a change at Federal level which freed the unit from its previous narrow association with vocational guidance and allowed it to interpret guidance in the wide sense of personal, educational and vocational counselling which had developed in the more progressive schools; even though in many schools guidance was for long still seen as an intellectual procedure of giving information and advice (Boy and Pine 1968).

The gradual widening of the counselling and guidance roles described briefly here has been interpreted in terms of sets of stages by some American guidance historians. Beck, for example, (1963) proposed a general and increasingly abstract set of stages, starting with an 'amorphous' stage characterised by an intuitive and superstitious account of human distress and dysfunction; its end marked by a more objective and test centred "problem" approaching which he called a 'prescriptive' stage. He separated this from two later stages (called 'non-directive' and 'phenomenological' respectively) which were largely influenced by the work of Carl Rogers, whose approach, described here later, is in many respects much less problem centred and more definitely educationally pointed, than that of the test dominated 'prescriptive' stages. Other interpretations exist. Pepinski et al (1956) identified the origins in a narrow problem centred approach based on the work of Parsons and the test movement of the 20's and 30's, followed by a more definite reconciliation of unity among those who worked with educational and vocational planning, and a recognition of the importance of unconscious motivation. The gradual development of what we could well call an educational role, rather than a problem centred role purely, is also outlined by Super (1955) whose recognition is the more remarkable as it comes from a leading authority in the specifically vocational aspects of guidance. He says :

"(from) The movement which started as vocational guidance in the United States, first with an emphasis on vocational orientation activities and then with a parallel and

"eventually merging emphasis on testing, has emerged the "new" field of counselling psychology. While it includes vocational guidance, it goes beyond it to deal with the person as a person, attempting to help him with all types of life adjustments." (My italics).

McDaniel and Shafte1 (1956) proposed also a series of phases which implicitly emphasise the movement from a narrow problem centred approach to a broader one:

"Counselling has developed through a series of phases which involved, first, vocational guidance, then the application of objective data to the education of the individual, then a consideration of feelings and relationships in addition to objective data." (p. 127).

From another viewpoint R. Berdie (1972) suggested that counselling in the USA had passed through a problem centred stage, a preventative stage and had entered a developmental stage. The second and third of these stages were separated by the second being concerned with ways of preventing problems from reaching critical levels, and the third by a more positive approach which helps individuals to develop their own goals. This last clearly encompasses educational functions.

The foregoing discussions show us something of the breadth of purpose that counselling has developed in North America out of a narrow problem centred origin. This is perhaps best summarised by briefly surveying the stated aims of counselling by a few leading authorities. While this slightly recapitulates the definitions of guidance and counselling with which we started,

it carries the ideas further, and forms important basic material for our later evaluation of the counselling and guidance functions of progressive education :

Gilbert Wrenn (1962) defines 5 major aims of American counselling at that time : (pp. 109-110)

- (a) To aid the school in its prime purpose - the development of intellect.
- (b) To help all students towards greater maturity in decision making rather than at the solution of actual problems for a few students.
- (c) To encourage students to look to the future rather than to the past, and to aid students to accept a risk taking strategy, as the 'safe' decision of the present may mean disaster for the future (on account of the rapid changes in modern social and economic institutions).
- (d) To integrate guidance of the student with a knowledge and understanding of the social background.
- (e) To keep counselling open for staff, parents, and others as well as for students.

While any definition of 'education' is debatable, clearly the whole pattern of these goals, including the emphasis on maturity (b), activity, even of a risk taking sort (c) and awareness of wider social responsibilities (d), are consistent with certain approaches to education. We shall examine how far they were present even as early as 1920 in progressive education in a later chapter.

Ruth Strang and Glyn Morris (1964) describe three main goals as

being (1) Sensitivity to the pupil in the classroom, including a knowledge of how to reinforce positive attitudes and constructive behaviour and help both groups and individuals to correct faults (p. 1); (2) to help the individual and not just the one with problems, to use his inner resources, set goals, make plans, and work out his own problems of development (p. 3); and "to discover, release, and develop his own potentialities".

These goals are self evidently educational. Strang makes no clear cut distinction between education and guidance, as even the title of her work infers (Guidance in the Classroom) but in her last proposition (about potentialities) she commits a common error in North American writing on counselling, that of failing to consider what the unqualified development of potentialities might mean. Her implicit assumption that human nature is basically "good" has been attacked by Williamson (p. 185) As we shall see later, this contention, which emerges as an important issue in recent counselling works, was important at a much earlier stage in progressive education.

L. E. Tyler (1961), although starting as we have seen with the proposition that counselling is about the question "what shall I do", goes on to define the following goals :

- (i) the development of the clients' life pattern in a complex world (pp. 3-4)
- (ii) a process of helping individuals to make "good" choices (which she defines as those which improve their relationships with the world and so with their fellow men) and
- (iii) the psychological purpose of facilitating development,



to promote self awareness as an aid to development seen as patterned change. Once again there is a recognition of broad goals ("life pattern") and social responsibility which far outrun any narrow problem solving approach, and involve essentially educational goals.

Finally we have Williamson's view that "a theory of counselling is essentially a theory of education, and education in the counsellor's conception is derived from a theory of the nature of personality organisation and development". (p. 161).

This is an explicit statement. His definition of education reminds us also that a major - possibly the major - discipline informing the development of counselling in North America has been psychology.

(3) (Freedom from authoritarian and coercive pressures)

This is another theme explicitly mentioned in the Appendix by Boy and Pine, Patrick Hughes, H.J. Taylor, the N.A.C.E. Report (1973) and Wallis.

Boy and Pine speak of a "unique relationship that brings about permissiveness which encourages complete freedom of thought and expression of feelings on the part of the client", and of "an open ended relationship in which the responsibility for the outcome rests primarily with the client, not with the counsellor". Taylor speaks of "A relationship which is accepting and tolerant yet relatively free from moralising, directing, advising, or judging". The NACE report refers to a counselling role as involving a "non authoritarian stance" and, (very interestingly from the viewpoint of progressive education) distinguishes it in that respect from a teaching

role. It is important to notice here that whereas most specialists would probably agree on the first of our two principal summary points (person to person centred approach), this last point is disputed. Very few if any counsellors or guidance specialists would agree that their work is authoritarian or coercive, but some would accept that it is, and should be, directive.

Once again, we find the clearest expression of these differences of viewpoint in North America, where, because of their longer evolution, they have become more crystallised. It is common in the United States to divide guidance into three schools, client centred, eclectic, and directive. The client centred school has perhaps been most influential, through the wide fame accorded to the work of Carl Rogers and his followers, more particularly through his two major publications (Counselling and Psychotherapy, (1942) and Client Centred Counselling (1951) supplemented by later papers. He emphasises the need for a non-authoritarian approach, the need for empathy, the limited value of intellectual analysis and formal scientific procedures, the value of intuition and even of semi-mystical states and the very great importance of the individual :

"I launch myself into the therapeutic relationship having a hypothesis, or a faith, that my liking, my confidence, my understanding of the other person's inner world, will lead to a significant process of becoming. I enter the relationship not as a scientist, not as a physician who can accurately diagnose and cure, but as a person entering into a personal relationship."

In emphasising the importance of not setting up predetermined conditions or specific goals, he emphasises the importance of non-cognitive, even mystical factors :

"when there is this complete unity, singleness, fullness of experiencing in the relationship, then it acquires the 'out of this world' quality which many therapists have remarked upon, a sort of trance like feeling in the relationship from which both client and I emerge at the end of the hour, as if from a deep well or tunnel". (ibid).

The emphasis on the individual, rather than the institution, is revealed in several statements :

"Consciousness" (following successful counselling) "instead of being the watchman over a dangerous and unpredictable set of impulses, of which few can be permitted to see the light of day, becomes the comfortable inhabitant of a richly varied society of impulses and feelings and thoughts, which prove to be very satisfactorily self-governing" (my italics) (ibid.) and :

"it is not too strong a statement to say that the growth of knowledge in the social sciences contains within itself a powerful tendency towards social control, towards control of the many by the few. An equally strong tendency is towards the weakening or destruction of the existential person." (ibid.)

Elsewhere he argues against conventional structures :

"it is not stated that special professional knowledge - psychological, psychiatric, medical, or religious, - is required of the therapist. (The conditions) are qualities of experience, not intellectual information - they must .. be acquired through experiential training, which may be, but

usually is not, a part of professional training" (1957).

One of the implicit aspects of Roger's philosophy is that although he eschews a narrow, problem centred approach, he appears to suggest, in his use of such terms as "client" and "therapist" a pre-judgement of illness. He redresses this elsewhere, however, (1958), pointing out that the concept of a helping relationship which is central to counselling covers a wide range of relationships intended to facilitate growth, including those between a parent and child and a teacher and pupil, (although he cautions "some teachers might not have the promotion of growth as their intent".)

Rogers represents the extreme position of permissiveness in counselling. In his suspicion of conventional structures, his trust in intuitive unconscious functions, his extreme emphasis on the need for an individual to discover himself, his implicit and at times explicit emphasis on the principle of activity on the part of the client, and in his recognition of these as essentially educational processes, he has much in common with a stream of thought in progressive education represented in this century, for example, by A. S. Neill. We shall return to this later in the work.

However, the school of directive counsellors has also attracted an important following. According to Boy and Pine (1963) the main assumptions underlying directive counselling are that it is intellectual; that even when people are maladjusted they still often retain the power to recover through learning processes; and that the counsellor has a duty to use his superior knowledge

and experience in helping his client. Great stress is laid on careful diagnosis and prognosis of a client's problems, and in developing a working relationship of confidence between client and counsellor (the "rapport" we referred to earlier) before counselling begins. According to Shertzer and Stone (1971) the principal proponents of this viewpoint in the United States have been E. G. Williamson, Donald Patterson, Walter Bingham, and John Darkey.

The directive component of their viewpoints is normally carefully qualified, as the following quotation from Williamson illustrates : Williamson (1958).

"Counselling cannot be independent of values, whether or not we would like to make it free. Rather is counselling, especially in an educational institution, value orientated and not open ended both regarding the goals sought through aspirations and strivings of both counsellor and student within their counsellor relationship ... I have further argued for making explicit our own value orientations as individual counsellors, not in order that we may adopt a counsellor's orthodox creed, but rather that we may responsibly give societal and moral direction to our individual work in terms of the explicitly desired goals chosen by our student clients. I have suggested that we accept the "teaching" of values as a function of counsellors, but that we remain aware of the risk of imposing a set of values upon a student and of thus depriving him of the right to and responsibility for self determination."

Williamson avoids the direct imposition of values upon clients, rather encouraging them to develop their own, but in the presence

(and to some extent deliberately) in the influence of the counsellor's values (" ... not that we may adopt a counsellor's orthodox creed but ... we may responsibly give societal and moral direction"). It is, however, clear that such processes involve an element of direction. Carl Rogers at an early stage (1947) made the point that a person is always controlled by the one upon whom he is dependent, and later Rosenthal (1955) produced findings that those clients who improve in therapy tend to revise certain of their values so that they more closely resemble those of the therapist. Such findings are consistent with the patterning of attitude changes as described by the school of cognitive dissonance theorists, in psychology, notably Leon Festinger (1957; 1964).

#### THE EVOLUTION OF CONCEPTS IN BRITAIN

So far we have examined the development of some aspects of counselling mainly from the American viewpoint. The American development is important, at least as far as the mid-1960's, because about that time it determined the initial form of the first British University provision for training counsellors, at Reading, Keele and Exeter Universities, where postgraduate Diploma courses in counselling began. But it is necessary to set that movement more clearly into its British context. To do this we shall examine our same three aspects of guidance and counselling as they seem to emerge on this side of the Atlantic :

1. (That counselling is a person to person communication, emphasising rapport).

There is no serious disagreement on this point among British authors. We have already surveyed the support for it earlier. Additional support comes from a survey between 1974 and 1975 of

the opinions of 41 members of the Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling (S.C.A.C.), each member representing a different organisation engaged in guidance and counselling functions in Britain (Vaughan, 1976). Of these replies, only 3 seemed to have questioned the need for rapport : one of them stated that she saw over 2000 clients a year, so that the case loading alone would have greatly reduced the possibilities for the development of a trusting relationship; the other two replies showed evidence of being hastily written, giving a possibly fake impression of rigidity and casual thought.

## 2. (The problem centred functions of counselling)

There is some evidence in Britain of a gradual but incomplete movement away from a narrow problem centred approach to guidance (seen originally as vocational placement) in the field of specialist provision. At the beginning of this century there were only a few voluntary bodies in this area. Heginbotham (1951) the historian of the Y.E.S., draws attention, for example, to the work of Apprenticeship and skilled Employment Committees about 1900 in London, in conjunction with charity organisations, to help boys and girls into progressive occupations, and of pressure from 1902 onwards by voluntary bodies, for an official organisation to help in advising children about employment. Pressures in Scotland seem to have been particularly keen and the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 gave to Scottish School Boards what came to be called 'choice of employment powers'.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1906 and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907 were important as they encouraged the London County Council to establish, in July 1907, a system of Children's Care Committees, one of which was to be attached to each of the Council's Elementary Schools, modelled on the earlier work of 'social side committees', which since 1896 (p. 2) had concerned itself with the welfare of boys and girls in the same area. It is interesting to note the duties of these Committees. Their first was to select the necessitous children for whom free meals were to be provided. The second was to see that the physical and moral welfare of every child in the schools was properly safeguarded. This last associates the School Care Committees very closely with concepts of guidance and indicates that this work was seen as important among the poorest sections of the population, where the problems were most pressing. Guidance is seen here in terms of guarding basic requirements of hygiene, clothing and moral instruction, rather than serving wider educational ends. The importance of the London Movement was that it was taken up rapidly by other Education Authorities including Worcester County Council (ibid. p. 167) Somerset (ibid. p. 193) Cambridge (ibid. p. 195) West Sussex (p. 195) the West Riding of Yorkshire (p. 195) Derbyshire (p. 195) Reigate (p. 195) and Finchley (p. 195).

A related movement led towards the passing of the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909. In tracing the antecedents of this Act, Heginbotham (p. 9) draws attention to movements which clearly indicate a concentration on the relief of pressing social and



economic problems among the poorest classes. Thus the central Employment Exchange formed in London in April 1905 was mainly concerned with the relief of distress caused by unemployment in the City. Its principle was extended to the whole country by the unemployed workmen Act of August 1905, which provided for Distress Committees in the main provincial boroughs and urban districts. The effect of this Act was critically considered by the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1909, whose Majority Report provided the basis for the Labour Exchanges Act of the same year. Its recommendations included the need to establish an organisation, in connection with Labour Exchanges, for giving boys, parents, teachers and school managers information about jobs for children leaving school, in order to discourage boys from entering uneducative occupations, offering no prospect of permanent employment. Once again it is clear that the Commission were thinking about the problem of the least advantaged sections of the population and their approach was specifically problem centred. The subsequent Labour Exchanges Act itself, while mainly concerned with providing for Adult Employment, was interpreted as needing to pay attention also to younger applicants, and Heginbotham notes the development of juvenile departments ( p. 14-15) in some areas of the country from the very beginning, a need given formal recognition the following year by the Education (Choice of Employment) Act of 1910, from which the Youth Employment Service (Y.E.S.) and the present Careers Service ultimately stem.

It is not necessary for our purposes to follow the history of the Y.E.S. in detail. While its ultimate origins in the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909 and the Education (Choice of Employment)

Act of 1910 were primarily problem centred there was some recognition even then of the educational implications of this form of guidance. Thus Heginbotham notes (p. 23) that in a document (drawn up in 1910) between the Presidents of the Boards of Trade and Education, emphasis was given to the need to consider the employment of juveniles from the point of view of their educational interests rather than from that of their immediate earning capacities. However, the problem centred nature of the provision remained paramount, passing into the traditional functions of the Y.E.S. when this appeared following the Employment and Training Act of 1948. This can be seen from a study of the Report on the Future Development of the Youth Employment Service (the Albemarle Report) published as late as 1965, which reaffirmed the traditional functions of the Service: to give up to date information about jobs and careers, give vocational guidance to boys and girls in their later years at school and up to the age of 18 years, and to help them and employers to find suitable workers - a fundamentally problem centred approach. Nevertheless, there are signs in the Report of changes in approach. It is recommended that the Youth Employment Officer should follow a pupil's progress right through school and the transition from school to work, suggesting that educational and vocational guidance were being increasingly identified. Recommendations for closer liaison with parents, schools and the world of work imply similar ideas. The reasons for failure of a swifter evolution of concepts about guidance and its educational implications to emerge in the service are implicit in the criticisms of it made about that time by Alec Rodger, a major figure in British vocational

guidance (1963). He pointed out that the Y.E.S. was chronically understaffed, and that inadequate provision was due to lack of funds, arising in turn from public apathy which meant that politicians dared not risk the displeasure of their constituents by advocating public expenditure where there was no great demand. Certainly the overloading of work was a major problem. According to the Albemarle Report the National Average in 1965 was 533 per officer; and there were many occasions when guidance was reduced to a brief talk to leavers and short interviews of about 15 minutes each to the individual boys and girls. Research by Carter (1959) on guidance, on a sample of 100 boys and 100 girls drawn at random from the Sheffield area, showed that jobs were often chosen with little thought and schools had not integrated the work of the Y.E.S. officers satisfactorily. K. R. Allen (1962) surveyed 2024 young men in Liverpool and found that between 38% and 45% relied on their families for help, and only between 10% and 12% obtained help from the schools (and thus from the Y.E.S.). A similar picture of inadequate influence emerges from the researches of S. Chown (1958) on studies of urban school children, and those of Jahoda and Chalmers in Lanarkshire (1963).

A somewhat parallel movement, developing rather more slowly, occurred in schools and was associated with the work of careers teachers. As in the case of the Y.E.S., this movement was for long narrowly centred on the issues of advising school leavers about jobs. Information on the extent of provision of careers teachers is sparse for the pre-1939 period, and indeed subsequently, since large scale surveys are necessary to determine

the position at any given time in a decentralised educational system. An early study of the provision was made by H. R. King (1955) who suggested that the origin of the office lay in the traditional role of the headmaster, or in a boarding school, of the housemaster, as leaders of a community committed to the welfare of its members. The implication King makes here is that careers guidance traditionally was part of a larger pattern of guidance contained as a subfunction of education, rather than as a problem centred approach purely. Hence one might have hoped that careers guidance would develop as part of a broader concept of guidance. Unfortunately, this did not happen. The Headmaster's Employment Committee set up in 1918 was concerned with the narrower problems of advising school leavers about employment and placement, and no wider interpretation was given, as far as the available evidence shows, in the succeeding two decades. Carter's study (op.cit.) in the Sheffield area in 1959 showed that young people had received little effective careers guidance throughout their school years. In 1964 the Careers Research Advisory Centre in Cambridge carried out studies on the provision of vocational guidance in 224 British schools, and found that just under half of these had no careers teacher at all. In the same year the National Union of Teachers did a survey based on over 100 questionnaires returned from a sample of careers teachers in English schools, which showed that careers facilities were often lacking for such staff; about half of them said that they did all their work in their spare time; and - of more significance from our interest in the educational aspects of guidance - where careers work was allocated a place on the timetable it usually amounted to no more than four periods a week. The lack of adequate provision

of careers guidance in the period before 1965 is also indicated in the studies of K. R. Allen (op. cit. 1961) W. Parker (1961) and S. Chown (op. cit. 1958).

Reasons for the failure of the careers teacher role to develop from the narrow associations of its origins, or to achieve greater effect, are still speculative. The importance of a psychological and social barrier between working class parents and school teachers has been stressed as reducing the effectiveness of careers guidance in schools. R. Hoggart had graphically described the more global aspects of class barriers in his famous Uses of Literacy published in the 1950's. Specific evidence of its existence comes from research studies, such as that of Clements in Manchester (1958) and a study by Veness in Southern England (1962). Their findings are supported by Hollingshead's work in America (1958) and Chown's study in the Liverpool area (op. cit. 1958). An important cause may lie in the socially stratified nature of British society (itself responsible mainly for the social barrier referred to above) possibly influencing school heads, especially of grammar schools, to see educational success in terms of the proportion of pupils passing out of the school into higher education; conversely viewing the early leaver as an educational failure, and guidance as a supportative service for failure - a distinctly narrow and problem centred approach. Certainly the importance of institutionalised forces acting in education is emphasised in one of the most interesting surveys of reasons for the differential evolution of guidance and counselling concepts in Great Britain and North America: a paper by Shertzer and Jackson (1969). They emphasise the

directive guidance function of the educational system itself in Britain, stressing the impact of examinations for selection into different sorts of school such as grammar and secondary modern, and for "streaming" of classes within such systems. British schools also had a more limited curriculum choice than in North American schools. They also emphasise the early age of specialisation in British schools, about age 14, the high percentage leaving at the statutory age, and the smaller sums of money, in absolute terms, paid into educational development by the State. They re-emphasise the point we have just made about the inadequate development of existing specialist services, and draw attention to the value of the amateur in British society, as tending against the development of specialist services. This last point does, however, need qualification. Edmund King has argued (1969) that it is not the value of the amateur as such, but the existence in the British cultural tradition of the concept of "muddling through" as an educational philosophy, that leads towards an emphasis on the solving of immediate problems, rather than on long term goals. This in turn causes any new movement to appear as a wide scatter of small scale, individual, problem centred enterprises, which, if they are satisfying a major social need, slowly draw together through the evolution of societies representing their interests, and eventually find their first voice in Parliament. From this viewpoint, it would be possible to see the state of guidance and counselling in Britain as being unequally developed in different areas - the vocational guidance aspects having long ago reached the level of

Parliamentary action but then stagnated, and the careers teacher and school counsellor aspects as being in an earlier stage of evolution. It is interesting that Brian Moore (1971) in a study of guidance in five comprehensive school systems, came to conclusions in very close agreement with King's hypothesis :

"the schools have not, in general, got beyond a fairly diffuse account of their objectives in guidance, and ... although there may well be concrete objectives discernable, they are inevitably represented in terms of the guidance procedures followed, rather than any previous task analysis, the procedures themselves having been adopted pragmatically, as the guidance programmes have evolved". (my italics).

Shertzer and Jackson also claim that the evolution of concepts and specialist provision within the schools was hindered by the early development of specialised out of school activities. The statement does not, however, convey the causes of that situation. In the early decades of this century the child study movement fostered by Francis Galton and epitomised by his anthropometric laboratory opened in 1884 at University College, had taken, under the influence first of Professor James Sully and later of Cyril Burt, a broad individual centred and developmental approach to child guidance, aimed at a general service for all children. From such a promising start a swift evolution of concepts and provisions might have flowed. In particular Burt's two major works The Young Delinquent and The Backward Child emphasised the need for close relationships with schools, and teamwork, as well as being informed by liberal and humanitarian values. Unfortunately, as Hughes (op. cit. p. 147) points out, inadequate public support represented by

insufficient funds led to a concentration of services on the most extreme problem children, and although the School Psychological Service which emerged has been accepted as an essential part of social and educational provision, it has, since the early 1930's, developed as a specialist problem centred service. Wall (1956) has described how the first child guidance clinic, set up in 1928, was originally aimed at providing a wide service to all children, parents, teachers and schools, and not merely to concentrate upon the treatment and prevention of delinquency or upon problem children. Unfortunately, in 1932 this clinic under the psychiatrist Dr Moodie separated from the Child Guidance Council and developed on a narrower basis, and this in turn influenced the longer term development of such work. The negative consequences of inadequacy of public support remind us of Alec Rodger's description of a similar situation in respect of the Youth Employment Service. Effectively, inadequate funds lead to an over heavy caseload, and consequently to inadequate provision or to concentration on extreme problem areas. Thus even as late as 1968 the British Psychological Society was proposing ratios of one psychologist per 10,000 children in urban areas, and 1 : 6,000 in rural areas. Even so, these ratios were frequently exceeded and waiting lists were common. (Vaughan. 1970. p. 78). A more detailed description of the rise of this area of the specialist child guidance movement is in Burt (1955).



The situation in the early 60's in Britain, then, can now be summarised. Guidance, in the specialised form offered by the Youth Employment Service in association with the available part time careers teachers, although having a long history reaching back into the thirties and earlier, had remained narrowly associated with job placement and was in general of very limited effect. The situation can be compared with Beck's 'prescriptive' stage, mentioned earlier (although with less emphasis on the use of tests). It was also seen as a directive process. The definitions of 'counsel' in the Oxford English Dictionary (the 1970 reprint of the 1933 edition) all involve direction: they refer to giving a person counsel or advice; to counsel a thing, to advise its adoption or doing, to recommend. Likewise 'counsellor' is defined in terms of "one who advises: an adviser, an official counsellor, an adviser of the Sovereign, a member of the King's Council". The implications of a directive process used in problem situations are clear, and describe the traditional associations of guidance and counselling in Britain.

Such limitations of the concept passed over into the early uses of the term "counselling" when this began to be used in the 1960's to describe some aspects of guidance. Thus an early use of the term in the 'new' sense in Britain is in the Newsom Report (1963), where counselling is seen in terms of helping pupils to make curricular and vocational choices. There is some widening of the concept, here, as the relating of curricular and vocational decisions cannot be undertaken without developing a form of guidance that is progressive, in the sense of an activity begun, at least, shortly before curricular

choices have to be made, and taking account, then, of the later vocational consequences of those decisions, which in turn are reviewed when the time comes.

There is little doubt about the gap separating the traditional conceptions of guidance and counselling which we have just surveyed, and the much wider concepts contained in recent British literature, such as that of the NACE Report, Taylor ( 1971 ), Hughes ( 1971 ) and Morea ( 1972 ) where although the idea of a problem centred service exists, the range of problems has been widened along the lines of the American perspectives. The break between the traditional and the new definitions represents the invasion of North American influences during the 1960's. Leading American figures in counselling such as Gilbert Wrenn were invited to assist the founding of the first University courses in counselling at Keele, Reading and Exeter Universities between 1965 and 1966. Thus out of 85 works forming general reading in guidance at Keele University in 1965, sixty three were American publications (Vaughan. 1970 p. 89). The influence affected not only the new concept of counselling (which with its double "l" instead of the American form 'counseling' remained at least initially unaltered in concept after crossing the Atlantic) but also the older field of vocational guidance. One of the first British books on this subject published after 1965, formed a symposium on vocational guidance in which most articles were American (Hopson B. and Hayes, J. (1971)). Specialist guidance involving the new concept of counselling, suddenly widened its scope so far that teachers themselves began to feel that major

aspects of their roles were in danger of being invaded. The fear is mentioned by several writers about that time, e.g. Daws ( 1967 ) and a Schools Council Report in 1966 both refer to it, as does the NAMH Report in 1970 (op. cit. p. 30). The growth of the new field of specialist counselling was, however, rapid. From the initial courses at the three Universities in the 1960's a survey carried out by Lancashire and Martin in 1975 listed 11 Universities in England, Wales and Scotland offering full time 1 year courses in counselling or the three related fields of Pastoral Studies, Educational Guidance and Vocational Guidance. Three others (the extra mural Department of the University of London and the New University of Ulster and University of Edinburgh) offered part time courses. In addition, one year full time courses carrying similar titles were offered in 14 Polytechnics and Colleges of Education over the same area. Nine of those were for the Youth Employment Service Training Board and contained a similar syllabus generally: yet while the principal task of these Training Board courses is to help its officers to improve their provision of vocational guidance, the width of the syllabus indicates the widening importance attached to the educational implications and content of the work, especially since the publication of the Albemarle Report, described above. Lancashire and Martin list a further 14 courses in counselling including one term and "sandwich" courses available in similar institutions, and a wide range of short courses and part time courses varying from a few days to two academic years offered

in many different institutions. Because of the rapid escalation of the term "counselling" during recent years, it is impossible and profitless to try and list the full number of the smallest courses, especially as the meanings attached to the word itself are likely to become diverse in many such cases and to vary with the context of the work.

In summary, the problem centred aspects of guidance and counselling have remained important in Britain; and, for a longer term than in North America, have appeared, in education, to centre upon the problems of vocational placement for young school leavers. This situation began to change in the middle of the 1960's, since when there has been an increasing emphasis on specialisation, evident in the increasing number of training courses; but also a growing awareness of the broad, educational and developmental aspects of any problem centred approach, an awareness largely influenced by the evolution of the problem centred concept in North America and its impact on the very beginnings of specialist courses specifically in counselling in British Universities in the mid-60's.

### 3. (Freedom from authoritarian and coercive pressures)

We have already observed that this aspect is stressed in several of the British definitions in Appendix (1). Our survey of the problem centred movement in the last section suggested a gradual trend, at the conceptual level, away from directive prescriptive guidance, especially under North American influence. No writer in the educational area of counselling and guidance in Britain expresses favour of coercion. But

although there is also no clear evidence that schools of counselling are developing in Britain as in North America, some evidence is beginning to emerge that individuals vary in the extent to which they see their work as directive or permissive. W. Law (1977) in an empirical study of the role conceptions of counsellors in British secondary schools surveyed two samples of 50 trainee counsellors in British Universities (p. 4. cap. 5) and 398 teachers in secondary schools variously engaged in counselling and interviewing work, using a questionnaire developed to assess role conceptions as well as role expectations, and aimed at a consideration of the differences between those responding primarily to externally generated role conceptions and those responding to internally generated role conceptions. The results indicated that a continuum exists between the "system orientated" counsellor, tending to be loyal to the school, restricting his counselling concern to matters connected with the school life of the child, supporting the school system, seeing his clientele as the 'normal' child, and being responsive to the expectations of the school; and at the other extreme, the "open orientated" counsellor who acknowledges no particular loyalty to the school, sees himself as being concerned with the emotional and personal needs of the child as well as with their educational needs, willing to act as an agent of change in the school and putting the needs of children before the demands of the system; using moreover a child-centred frame of reference for the understanding of problems, allowing his client a fair degree of autonomy, and prepared to oppose the demands of teachers

and the school system. We seem here to be looking at two very different patterns of directiveness; the one supporting the institutional values against the child, and the other, more child centred and prepared to support the child against the institution.

From another viewpoint, the distinction is similar to that of Riesman's (1961) definition of the 'inner' and 'other' directed personality. It suggests also that there are real personality differences between counsellors, which influence their role expectations. Riesman's definition echoes the much earlier distinction by Carl Jung between the opposing life strategies of individuation and identification. Rather similar distinctions have been described by Shostrom (1968) who emphasised the concept of the "self actualising man" guided by internally developed principles and motivations and the non-self actualising man influenced by external forces and expectations. Maslow (1970) has similarly described differences between 'expressive' behaviour, originating from within the human being, such as dancing and singing, and "coping" behaviour, which is environmentally and culturally determined and while designed to bring about some change in the environment, is characteristically imposed from outside the individual. The client centred views of Carl Rogers and the more directly pointed views of E. G. Williamson referred to earlier exemplify similar differences in American counselling.

The General Relationship between Guidance,  
Counselling and Teaching

The conceptual and historical survey we have made indicates that guidance is seen as having grown both in Britain and North America, from a narrow movement associated with vocational placement or at best with a problem centred vocational guidance, into a movement more often described as counselling, and associated with a much wider band of problems in which the interests of the individual in the context of his personal and educational development have become central. In Britain this movement has been less continuous and owes much to an importation of North American thought and practice in the mid-1960's. In both countries, the older, more directive views of guidance still linger, patterning the American 'schools' of counselling; and suggesting that, in Britain, two concepts, the traditional and the American, have not yet fully fused, so that some confusion exists about the distinction between 'guidance' and 'counselling'. In both countries the movement is heavily influenced by economic forces and by ideas and practices drawn especially from the field of psychology, but its changing values suggest the influence of both liberal currents of thought in the societies generally and of traditional values. There is some evidence that allegiance to either of these two may be related to differences in the personalities of counsellors.

We have seen that the question of how far guidance and counselling are problem centred or developmental/educational

is central. It bears closely on the relationship between these movements and education, and this we must now consider. There is no doubt that the guidance/counselling movement has grown closer to an educational approach, yet the proliferation of specialist training courses in Britain suggests that it is seen as something separate and unique. Furthermore this specialist movement is not peculiar to Britain, but is paralleled on the mainland of Europe, for example in Sweden and Belgium, and across the iron curtain in Bulgaria and Romania and elsewhere, and detailed descriptions of such patterns have recently been made (Vaughan, 1975). The main issue can be stated in this way: is the guidance/counselling movement part of the evolution of education, or is it a separate evolving profession with applications to education? Since the answer to this lies in the future, we can examine the more limited question of whether it is seen as an integral part of education at the present time, or as something else.

Several current writers in Britain see it as separate: Milner (1974) and A. Jones (1970) for example both describe their counselling as being different from what they did as teachers. Holden (1971) also sees differences. Hughes (op. cit. 1971), makes a more sophisticated argument, which is that while the best traditions in progressive education, particularly when associated with the most forward thinking in educational psychology, have been directed towards aims similar to those accepted today in the specialist area, there has been a lack of cohesion and coordination, and that modern demands require



a separate specialist provision (pp. 209-210). Others see the emergence of a specialist provision as an evasion of a more basic need for reform in education itself; for example, I. E. Caspari (1968) and R. King (1968). A more positive expression of this idea was given by B. R. Wilson (1962) who emphasised the changing relationship of teaching to social organisation. He pointed out that in more traditional societies in the past the teacher was seen as the guardian of knowledge where knowledge was interpreted as esoteric, sacred and aristocratic, revealed by God rather than achieved by reason; whereas in modern societies it is a characteristic of a dynamic trend in which diffusion of knowledge rather than guardianship, is a principal goal. By extending Wilson's argument it would be possible to see specialist counselling as a transitional stage in an ongoing revolution of the teacher's role. The emergence of a specialist broadly problem centred role would also be consistent with an evolution of teaching in the terms in which G. H. Bantock (1969) has described the trend in modern societies towards an era where life and living are reduced to a succession of problems; a process which he sees as being caused by the application of rational thought since the 17th century for power rather than contemplation, and a concentration of a technological search on single "best" solutions. As we have seen, this trend, if it accounts for some aspects of the specialist role in counselling, is balanced by the broader more liberal ideas implicit in the Rogerian approach.

Other writers have argued in favour of a specific evolutionary relationship of counselling from teaching. R. Baker (1971) argues that school counselling lacks a mature system of methods, theories, principles and skills; that casework deals with major crises whereas counsellors deal with the more mundane problems of pupils' lives, and that also school counsellors are likely to see more "normal" children. K. Williams (1973) points out that children can easily distinguish between the necessary authority of the teacher in a classroom and the much more relaxed "client centred" approach possible by the same person when alone. The National Working Party of the Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling (Vaughan, 1976) examined the counselling component in the (British) fields of teaching, psychotherapy, social work, general medical practice, legal practice and the priesthood; and while recognising common elements in the different occupational contexts, did not imply that these were sufficient grounds for the separation of a specific professional role. In North America Barr (1958) at an earlier period pointed out that specialisation in counselling was only found at secondary and tertiary levels of education and did not occur in the elementary school level (which is also true in primary education in Britain) and that, there, the processes of guidance and teaching were synonymous.

Thus there exists a diversity of viewpoint over the question of how far counselling is, or should be, different from teaching. Reasons for this diversity include the lack of any clear role prescription for specialist counselling, and the very complex

functions of the teachers' role in Britain. Because the two words 'teacher' and 'counsellor' exist, one is encouraged to think of separate roles. This may well be a mistake, or at least an oversimplification. Examination of the teachers' role even in general terms, which we shall now attempt, may well show considerable areas of overlap.

Teaching is not a profession in the sense that law and medicine are, for example. It lacks a clearly defined core of specialist knowledge and skills; from a sociological viewpoint, it lacks any powerful and influential professional body which sets standards of entry and limits upon practice by non-members. Olive Banks (1971) indeed has argued that the emphasis British teachers place on academic aspects of their role is in default of other clearly defined specialist tasks. A study by Musgrove and Taylor (1969) bears this out. They found a tendency among a sample of teachers to judge transmission of knowledge and skills first: against discipline, changing personality, and organisational tasks. On the other hand, the absence of a central body of specialised skills raises the comparative importance of other aspects of teaching. What these are, have been suggested by such writers as Hoyle (1969) and Musgrave (1972). Hoyle defines three main roles as instruction, socialisation (the transmission of values and norms) and evaluation. Musgrave defines three kinds of teacher, the academic, the child centred, and the missionary. The distinction is important since it defines the difference between the task and the approach, and suggests the need to take both into account in describing the work of a teacher.

[Law (op cit) defines and discusses a Related usage of these terms; pp. 221-238, instanced here; and expands some of the viewpoints summarised above under the present heading [ibid, pp. 205 et seq]. /42..

Thus, for example, a clearly defined, centrally organised prescription of what a teacher shall do and how he shall do it, may give a superficial impression of rigidity which is modified on a closer inspection of the task and the approach. An example comes from Sweden. Education there is centrally planned in detail and is compulsory from ages 7 to 16. There is no choice of subject area before the beginning of senior level at ages 13-14; even by ages 15-16, "required" subjects still take up 83-84% of the total time per week (Swedish Institute, 1972). On the other hand LGR 69 (the comprehensive school curriculum guide, on which all teaching at the basic school now develops) emphasises that teachers must make a very clear distinction between when they are stating objective facts, probable facts and personal opinions. It further points out that objectivity in the presentation of questions about general life philosophy, politics, social values and ethics helps the school to promote the values of each pupil: a move towards a child centred, rather than a missionary approach, in Musgrave's term. LGR 69 also emphasises the need for project work, and the limited value of the boundaries between subject areas, which while necessary to confer order and precision upon work, actually reduce the chances of letting the pupils acquire sufficiently all-round ideas, concepts, and experience. Thus the task is prescribed closely but the approach is prescribed openly, to maintain the emphasis in Swedish reforms on 'the child in the centre'.

We now come to the central issue of trying to establish a

general relationship between teaching, guidance and counselling. First let us look at some apparent main differences. Teaching is largely concerned with the curricular transmission of knowledge and skills, which is not present in counselling. Counselling is concerned largely with the solution of personal problems, whether defined as educational or vocational, or in some other way. But this distinction becomes vaguer on close examination. The curricular role of the teacher clearly involves the transmission, indirectly, of values: this is present even in the definition of the subject areas themselves. Likewise, counselling itself involves the transmission of the counsellor's values even in client centred counselling, and indeed, as we have seen, the transmission of values in counselling is one of the grounds on which it is difficult to separate it from guidance. Furthermore, as we have also seen, the historical movement in counselling has been in a broadening of the problem centred approach towards a developmental, essentially educational approach. The validity of any real difference between the roles on this basis would seem to depend on how far the approach to the curricular task by the teacher is directive or pupil centred. A thoroughgoing pupil centred approach by a teacher working with a small group or an individual pupil would be very difficult to see as significantly different from a client centred approach by a counsellor dedicated to a developmental approach. Another difference between counselling and teaching stems from the use by the counsellor of specific techniques centred on psychological tests. This is likewise a superficial distinction. The theoretical knowledge and practical expertise

needed to use a range of tests is not sufficient to justify a real professional distinction: thus the main full time counselling courses in Britain, as listed for example by Lancashire and Martin, are one year, and the intake is mainly from qualified and experienced teachers. Furthermore, the client centred school of counselling discards the use of tests altogether and tests are nowhere even mentioned in the definitions of counselling in Appendix 1.

Yet another difference between the two roles is in terms of case loading and class size. There are theoretical grounds and some historical evidence for thinking that this can impose real restrictions and differences on the roles. Any teacher with a class of thirty or more children, (or even fewer in many cases) has at least two different tasks: to teach, and to maintain lines of communication with the group on which the teaching depends. This usually imposes some form of directive, disciplinary role, and thus involves the teacher in the transmission of values which he may dislike. Likewise, the effectiveness of a counselling/guidance role is largely a function of the case loading: this point has been made with reference to the work of the Youth Employment Service. It seems reasonable to think also that heavy case loading imposes a narrow problem centred approach, as appears to have happened in the evolution of the School Psychological Service out of the former, much more broadly conceived objectives of the Child Study Movement. The influence of the case load or class size effect is, however, imposed: it is an artefact of certain structures of a counselling or teaching movement, rather than

a central part of the concept, and it can vary with time and economics.

From these viewpoints, to maintain a real distinction between teachers and counsellors would require (a) A restriction of the teacher's role to one of instruction in specific knowledge and skills, (b) A corresponding restriction of the counsellor's role to one dealing with specific problems, (c) A heavy teaching load for teachers imposing a partly artificial disciplinary role, and a heavy case load for counsellors, narrowing the problem centred to a crisis centred role; and (d) Restricting access to theoretical and practical knowledge about psychological tests in such ways as to make them unavailable to teachers but available for counsellors. It can be argued that none of these conditions, with the possible exception of (c) above, are present in modern Britain.

There are, however, aspects that unite both counselling and teaching: transmission of values and the concern for the individual child, and these could be described as the guidance functions of both. They are implicitly or explicitly present in all approaches to guidance and counselling that we have surveyed; and they encompass Hoyle's socialisation role, and Musgrave's "child centred" and "missionary" kinds of teacher. Our survey suggests that major differences are likely to occur among teachers and counsellors in the approach to the transmission of values, especially in terms of loyalty to the institution or the child.

Finally, returning these discussions to the context in which we initially developed them in this chapter, we see that the threefold classification described earlier, is indeed relevant to wide discussions of the evolution of aims in counselling, and in particular to its movement from a problem centred start with minor relevance to educational thought, into a complex body of thought about general and specific aspects of human development.

#### The Main Perspectives of the Research

The surveys made so far give grounds for suggesting that although there are important differences in the ways people think about guidance and counselling, three main commonalities can be described, which are in various ways relevant also in teaching. They centre, collectively, upon concern with the individual, and with his development. Consequently, as an aspect of teaching, counselling might be expected to find its greatest emphasis in pupil centred systems of education. A major vehicle for bringing together and promoting such movements in education has been the New Education Fellowship (NEF), since 1966 The World Education Fellowship (WEF), which explicitly committed itself to pupil centred interests at its first conference at Calais in 1921. Its records, in published form and recently indexed archives, are particularly full and continuous, and thus offer a means of studying specific aspects of NEF thought for several successive decades. Thus two propositions can be explored :

1. That the priorities which we have found as common to modern specialist guidance and counselling, can be found at a much earlier period in the thought of members of the NEF; and that



the discussions at its first conference in 1921 can be meaningfully described in terms of priorities derived from modern counselling.

2. That, to the extent that the first proposition may withstand critical examination, a basis may exist for studying the counselling movement in education with particular reference to the role of the NEF and WEF over the succeeding five decades.

#### The value of the study

We have seen that specialist counselling is, at least in British education, still an innovation, and it is difficult to know how it stands in relation to educational thought, or how it will develop its practices in relation to those of education. As we have also seen, these uncertainties are present in the minds of counsellors themselves. An intensive study of how counselling priorities were expressed, re-expressed, and related to changing circumstances and pressures over a turbulent period of history, in the perspectives of an educational movement, may therefore throw light on a number of questions: are the priorities stable, or do they change under specific organisational, economic, social or political pressures? With what other areas of thought and activity in education do they tend to associate, or to oppose? In particular, what has been the historical relationship between the undifferentiated counselling movement in education, where the priorities of counselling are interpreted as an aspect of teaching; and the specialist counselling movement in education? No systematic enquiry along these lines has so far been attempted in Britain.

Finally, a study of this kind approaches the history of the NEF itself from perspectives developed in an adjacent and partly overlapping field, but which have not previously been used in exploring its history. Thus it may indirectly, throw further light on such questions as the movement of aims within the Fellowship, an area of considerable debate and uncertainty throughout its history. This will, however, only be made an objective insofar as the aims of the NEF have subsumed the priorities we have explored in the specialist counselling field.

APPENDIX 1

DEFINITIONS OF SCHOOL COUNSELLING<sup>1</sup>\*

(FULL REFERENCES ARE GIVEN IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY)

'... a process designed to help a person answer the question

"What shall I do?" ' Tyler, L. 1961 p.1.

'... an enabling process, designed to help an individual come to terms with his life as it is and ultimately to grow to greater maturity through learning to take responsibility and to make decisions for himself.'

Jones, A., 1970. p. 10.

'... results from a relationship between two people, one needing an opportunity of talking over his problems, the other having the sensitivity and maturity thoroughly to appreciate the uncertainties and conflicts involved, and having the necessary knowledge and skills to enable a solution or at least some accommodation to the difficulty to be reached.'

NAMH, 1970. para. 2.11

1. A face to face, person in person relationship in which a person(s) (the client) seeks the help of or seeks to affectively communicate with another person (the counsellor).

2. A relationship characterised by mutual respect, effective communication, genuine and complete acceptance of the client by the counsellor, and concentration on the needs, problems and feelings of the client.

3. A unique relationship that brings about premissiveness which encourages complete freedom of thought and expression of feelings on the part of the client.

4. An open ended relationship in which the responsibility for the outcome rests primarily with the client, not with the counsellor.

5. A relationship which facilitates growth and change in the client, enabling the client to become more freely and fully functioning.

6. A relationship in which the client's desire for confidentiality is respected.

7. A professional service that calls for skills and attitudes on the part of the counsellor not usually possessed by a layman.

8. A professional service based upon a substantive rationale that reflects philosophical and psychological principles emanating from theoretical and empirical

\* See Vaughan [op.cit. 1976] pp. 93-5

considerations of man, human behaviour, and society.'

Boy, A. V. and Pine, G. J., 1968. p. 139.

'... an interview situation characterised by an absence of moralising, by sympathy without sentimentality, concern without interference and with no strings attached, one person sets out to enable another to examine his own vocational or other needs and problems and in the process reduce confusion in thinking and feeling, reach his own diagnosis and perhaps formulate workable plans for the immediate or even more distant future.'

Hughes, P., 1971. p.33.

'Counselling is a process of sharing not only behaviour' (i.e. what is observed) 'but experience' (what is hidden), 'the creation of a relationship of such trust and confidence that the defensive walls we create around ourselves are dismantled stone by stone.'

Williams, K. 1973. p. 36.

'... a dialogue in which one person helps another who has some difficulty that is important to him.'

'Personal counselling is characterised by

1. Lack of pressure from the counsellor.
2. Acceptance of a valid difficulty.
3. Clarification of meaning for the client.
4. A recognition of the validity of feeling.
5. A tolerance of conflict.
6. Personal acceptance.

Wallis, J. H. 1973 pp. 100-105

'Basically and essentially all the practitioners of counselling have a common origin and a common aim: their common ancestor is the giver of spiritual solace and their common aim is health, sanity and a state of unspecified virtue, even a state of grace, or merely a return to the virtues of community, adjustment ... Above all, all counselling procedures share a method: they are all Talking cures, semantic exercises, they all attempt treatment through clarification of subjective experience and meanings.'

Halmos, P., 1965. pp. 2-3.

'Therapeutic psychology applied through counselling and psychotherapy is primarily a process of building understanding, integrating disparate elements of the personality, and enabling the client to utilise his good judgement, social skills, problem solving capacities and planning abilities.'

Brammer, L. M. and Shostrom, E. L., 1968. p. 89.

'Counselling is a very highly skilled job. It means helping people to understand their own motives and reasons for action so that they can come to their own conclusions about what they will do and how they can do it; it means helping them to understand their feelings, emotions and behaviour; it means enabling them to define their needs and discover what resources are available to them to meet these; it means helping them to work out the best ways of making and maintaining satisfactory relationships with others.'

Lovel, G.

'... a process by which a counsellor helps an individual grow in his adjustment to himself and his environment, and through growth helps him to make personal decisions.'

'In counselling we are concerned with experience. Information and data have little value and relevance in themselves; it is how they are perceived and experienced by the individual himself that proves significant. The position is in a sense phenomenalist; reality consists simply in what we perceive and experience.'

Morea, C. 1972. p. 177.

'Counselling can be defined very widely as any professional activity which makes for good communications between people.'

More narrowly, 'Counselling ... is a relationship between two people where one person (the client) is aware of a problem and of the need to talk it over with another (counsellor)'

'Individual counselling in schools can be defined as a way of offering an opportunity to the young person to experience a one to one relationship which is accepting and tolerant yet relatively free from moralising, directing, advising or judging. In this way the hope is that enough understanding will be gained of themselves so that they can stand on their own feet without support.'

Taylor, H. J. 1971. pp. 103-104.

'Counselling is the way in which a counsellor and his client relate to each other in the exploration together of the client's problem and possible solutions to it. Counselling is generally differentiated from the treatment of patients; its basic orientation is not to psychopathology but to the types of problems people encounter at different stages of their normal human development.'

Thompson, A. J. M. 1970 p. 1.

'Counselling is basically a psychological process as a result of which a person's personality and behaviour may be modified and improved, in the everyday and commonsense meanings of these words.'

Holden, A. 1971 p. 21.

'Counselling is distinguished from a teaching role in terms of:

1. The accessibility of the counsellor.
2. Voluntary relationship.
3. Non-authoritarian stance.
4. Possession of counselling skills.
5. Possession of professional knowledge.
6. Focus upon personal meanings.'

NACE, 1973.

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\*CITED, LAW [Op. cit.] CH. 2 AND/OR 4.

CHAPTER IISECTION 1.COUNSELLING PERSPECTIVES IN THE ORIGINS  
OF THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

The discussion in the conclusion of Chapter I brought forward general reasons for thinking that the teacher's role could at least in part be interpreted as one of guidance and counselling, and this gives some hope for thinking that the group of priorities which we used to explore the evolution of counselling might be relevant also to an exploration of N.E.F. viewpoints. But an immediate difficulty arises. We have seen that within the field of specialist guidance and counselling there are many different schools of thought, and individual opinions. Even the most superficial examination of the secondary literature in progressive education reveals that there, also, there has been much variance in viewpoint. Merely to show that, for example, both areas supported the idea of a pupil centred approach, would be to produce a somewhat static picture. It would miss the dynamic quality of both fields. Further, it would leave unexamined the interesting question of whether there might not be some similarity between the kind of variance of opinion found in specialist counselling fields, and the kind of variance of opinion expressed at the start of the N.E.F. movement. A possible solution offers itself, however, from the major conclusion of Law's empirical research on role concepts of secondary school counsellors; which was, that counsellors varied significantly on an open/system orientation, which was briefly described in the last chapter, and will be described in more detail shortly. If we can find a relationship between the three common themes that we have so far explored, and the

open/system orientation, we shall have the means of using the open/system orientation to explore both the extent to which opinions varied at the N.E.F. conference at Calais, and, at the same time, the relevance of common priorities in counselling to priorities expressed at Calais. We shall also introduce the idea of a further perspective for exploring the variance of viewpoints, based on a reductive/non-reductive orientation, since the use of only one concept of variance is, on its own, inadequate to describe the richness of opinion, and its diversity, in such wide fields of thought.

#### An open/system orientation

The major finding of W. Law's empirical study of counsellors in British schools in the 1970's (op. cit. sup.) was that in their conceptualisation of their roles, counsellors varied on what was called an open/system orientation. This was a measurable dimension in terms of the statistical methods used in his analysis. It was examined by means of an extensive questionnaire. Examples of the questions contained, included such items as: 'I want to be seen to be loyal to the school'. System orientated counsellors tended to agree with this statement; open orientated counsellors disagreed with it. 'I want to communicate the values of the school to the child' was another, in which system orientated counsellors agreed more than open orientated ones. Agreement by system orientated counsellors was also found to such questions as 'I want to mediate the needs and problems of the teachers to the child'; 'I want to protect the school against potentially harmful children'; 'I want to work with parents to show them how they can best help their



children to meet the requirements of the school,' 'I want to bring about socially desirable changes in the children'; and 'I want to employ behaviour modification techniques'. Open orientated counsellors tended to agree with such statements as the following (with which system orientated counsellors disagreed): 'I do not want responsibility for maintaining discipline'; 'I want to bring about changes in the school on behalf of the children'; 'I want to put the needs of the individual before the needs of the group'; and 'I want to work alongside, but separately from, the other services provided by the school rather than integrally with them' (Law, op. cit. pp. 196-198). The study additionally suggested some interesting characteristics for the system orientated group (and by implication, their opposites for the open orientated group): a tendency to put the school (as a 'system') before the individual; and closely related to this, to prefer behavioral approaches to client centred ones; to respect authority; to be agreeable rather than critical in answering questionnaires; to find it easy to get on with colleagues; and to defend and legitimise their circumstances.

We have made an initial distinction of counselling in this study, into three themes:

1. As a person to person form of communication marked by rapport;
2. As centred on one or more problems of the client; and
3. As being free from authoritarian and coercive pressures.

Can these be related to the system/open orientation?

To start with we might group together points (1) and (3) above. The essence of an approach based on empathy is that it is centred on the individual and on a recognition that the individual's own cognitive and emotional perception of his situation is of first importance. This aspect is highlighted in the quotations of counselling by Williams, and especially by Carl Rogers; it is supported by the replies to the S.C.A.C. survey in Britain, the description of counselling by British authors in Appendix 1 (A. Jones, P. Hughes, K. Williams, C. Morea, H. J. Taylor). Their viewpoints subsume the idea of a process free from authoritarian judgements and coercive pressures.

It should be noted that this does not mean a process completely free from directive influences. Systems of counselling such as that of Rogers, which are highly individually orientated, are ones in which the client is still open to influence by the values of the counsellor: thus, for example, the very fact that a counsellor chooses to use a Rogerian approach, implies that he has made certain value judgements about counselling within whose ambit the client is expected to move; and so to some extent the goals of the counselling process have been foreclosed before counselling starts. Furthermore, within the counselling process itself, the counsellor, through the ways in which he selectively perceives and responds to the client's behaviour, introduces further implicit judgements which may sway the client towards acceptance of some, at least, of the counsellor's values. The presence and operation of value systems in all forms of counselling has been widely discussed, especially in American literature, for example by Arbuckle (1958),

Lowe (1959), Cribbin (1955) E. G. Williamson (1958), Shaffer and Shoben (1956) Beck (1963), Harper (1966) Patterson (1958) and Wrenn (op. cit. 1962) among many others. Closely similar situations have been described in the overlapping field of psychotherapy, e.g. by London (1964) and Rosenthal (1955). The likelihood that all forms of counselling vary, with and to some degree reflect the economic and geo-political priorities of the societies (the wider 'systems' in Law's use of the term) in which they develop, has been explored in an international study of counselling in European countries (Vaughan, op. cit. 1975. esp. 120-131). Nevertheless, we also saw in Chapter I that counsellors did individually vary in the extent of freedom which they felt willing to allow to their clients. Hence the tradition of the directive school of counselling in North America, exemplified by such phrases in the quotation by Williamson as "we may responsibly give social and moral direction to our individual work" and by Law's findings in Britain. Our initial classification of points (1) and (3) therefore seems to describe an approach which emphasises the importance of the individual throughout, but which varies in the degree of freedom which is felt appropriate to allow him in determining his own goals. This gives us a description which seems broad enough to be applied to an educational context. That the open/system orientation with its distinction between permissive and directive approaches to counselling may have such wider relevance is strongly suggested, as we have seen, by the attention given by Carl Jung to the individuation/identification conflict; by Riesman to the importance of the

'inner'/'other' directed personality, by Shostrom's distinction between the 'self actualising' and 'non-self actualising' man, and by Maslow's distinction between 'expressive' and 'coping' behaviour.

#### Problem Centred Approaches and a Reductive/non-Reductive Perspective

The second (problem centred) attribute of counselling which we explored in Chapter I, is more difficult to place directly into an educational context. The historical trend away from a problem centred towards a developmental process can be interpreted, in ~~broad~~ terms, as a change in the description of the task. It is, however, at first glance, difficult to see how much such a description could be applied to an educational movement; aimed, as progressive education has been, in principle at least, with general relevance to a wide population. The intake of pupils might possibly include numbers with serious problems, but could include others with no pressing problems. Furthermore, progressive systems of education share with other educational systems the aim of a continuous process of development or training: they are not usually seen as being intermittent, short term interventions to resolve the problems of pupils on a self-referral basis. While, therefore, a counselling system may be seen as problem centred, or developmental, educational systems are essentially developmental and the two cannot be directly compared with this problem centred yard stick.

The difficulty becomes less acute, however, and the relevance

of concentrating on problem centred issues becomes clearer, if we turn from descriptions of the task to descriptions of the approach, (in a broad usage of the terms). There is no corresponding historical trend in counselling away from a problem centred approach, to that which we saw at the level of task description: because, while the early approaches to counselling were heavily concerned with problems both in concept and function, the later developmental concepts could be applied in a problem centred way. For example, counselling could be seen as a process of aiding an individual to develop his values, his long and short term life goals, and his personal potential, over a considerable span of years, i.e. as a developmental task; and yet this task could be reduced to stages of behavioural change, with the appropriate targets defined, and the steps towards them further reduced to sets of minor behavioural changes. (as in Skinner's concept of progressive approximation) until the whole had been resolved into a long series of problems arranged in a developmental sequence. That would constitute counselling seen as a developmental task, but with a problem centred approach. It could be given greater precision by defining the essential process as reduction and the product as structure. These terms are sufficiently descriptive to be applied equally to systems of counselling and education, and they subsume the problem centred aspects of both.

Some examples of open/system orientations and  
reductive/non-reductive approaches in counselling  
and related fields.

In Law's study the concept of 'system' was restricted to that of the school, although he discussed other possible wider relationships. As it is in this area of wider, educational, applications, that we shall be treading, it will be helpful at this stage to discuss some viewpoints in psychology, particularly in those areas of psychology most closely related to counselling, from the two perspectives we have studied, so that the sense in which they are being used can be clarified.

Structured approaches are most easily found amongst psychologists of the behavioural school, who often tend to reduce all counselling situations to problems. Krumboltz and Thorensen (1969) for example, in a work designed for direct practical help to school counsellors, significantly entitle their first chapter "Problem Identification". Eysenck, throughout much of his work, emphasises the need for defining the client's situation in terms of problems appropriate to attack through techniques of conditioning. While the techniques vary, the emphasis on reduction of human situations to problems and their resolution through behavioural change, is dominant in a wide school of thought embracing counselling and related fields (Wolpe, Salter, and Reyna (1965); Eysenck (op. cit. 1965); Meyerson, L., and Michael, J., (1962); Ivey and Moreland (1971); Truax and Carkhuff (1966)).

Clearly such approaches are consistent with system orientation, in the sense that the structured approaches presuppose the choice of method, and therefore, to a large extent, of the

values by which the methods are defended. The freedom of the client to choose his own goals and to pursue them in his own chosen way is likewise restricted although it is by no means obliterated. (We shall discuss this point a little further on). It will be recalled that Law's system orientated group of school counsellors tended to prefer the behavioural approach.<sup>†</sup>

Reductive approaches can also be found in other schools of psychological thought. Freud's theory of human development, in a set of stages, for example, is very generally thought of today as being too mechanical, but attempts to reduce the inner mind to a measurable system have been made by others, in a stream of succession which Barclay (1968) sees as including the Gestalt approach, and its modern derivatives.

Psychologists whose thinking leans more towards the open orientated approach are, in counselling applications, most notably represented by Carl Rogers and his followers. Barclay (op. cit. sup. pp. 4-5) associates existentialists with viewpoints that are similar, in that there is less attempt to structure approaches to counselling systematically. Diminished emphasis on techniques (which are an aspect of structuring) occur also among writers as D. S. Arbuckle (1965), C. H. Patterson (1959) A. Vaan Kaam (1962), P. Tillich (1964), A. E. Bergin (1963), Hobbs (1962) and many others. In place of the techniques, among psychologists of this group there is often a heightened emphasis on what may be broadly called intuition: the importance of rapport is emphasised, and of personal qualities difficult to assess, but which are non-verbal, and which enhance interpersonal relationships. Among some thinkers, there is an eclectic recognition of the importance of a certain measure of structure,

† Law defines a related structuralist orientation as an aspect of system-orientation (op. cit. esp. pp. 269-70)

while recognising that in the last resort human nature is unknowable. Perhaps the most famous defence of such a viewpoint, in twentieth century psychology, is to be found in the thought of Jung. In counselling theory, Gilbert Wrenn is an important representative of the eclectic school, although not specifically a follower of Jung.

These examples, and the evidence cited from Law's research, indicate that structure orientation and system orientation are to some extent related. But this relationship is not simple, in the sense that system = structure and vice-versa. Thus, to leap ahead into the field of progressive education, A. S. Neill represented the extreme viewpoint of non-structure: but he was open orientated only in his statements and viewpoints about children and their behaviour. His attitude towards adults who opposed his theories was system orientated to the point of dogmatism. (We shall explore this, and its bearing on Law's concept of the open/system orientation, more fully in Chapter III). Neill's attitudes were not idiosyncratic; evidence will be brought out in Chapter III to suggest that at least one other contributor to the work of N.E.F. in the late 1920's (Mariella Johnson) expressed very similar views in a similar way. Another example of the complexity of the relationship can be found in Krumboltz and Thorensen (op. cit. 1969, pp. 7-8). These authors, as already mentioned, are committed to structured, behavioural orientated approaches to counselling, yet are prepared to allow client centred counselling a place which may, on occasions, be sufficient, in their view. Other behavioural counsellors have built techniques derived from the 'opposing' viewpoints, (those with a lowered emphasis on systems and structures) into their



own approaches. Examples include Ivey and Moreland (Op.Cit 1971) and Nelson-Jones (1972) in Britain. The best known of these attempts is probably that of Truax and Carkhuff (1967) who have developed a training programme based on an attempt to give structured expression to the intuitive concept of empathy, by dividing it into "non-progressive warmth" "genuineness" and "accurate empathy".

We might summarise this discussion so far by suggesting that while system orientated approaches are often structured, they need not necessarily be so; and that while a structured approach is, by that fact, the expression of conformity to a system, differences seem to exist in what we might call the breadth, or narrowness, of the system which is used. More importantly, as we shall see in the next section of this chapter, differences existed at Calais in 1921 on the question of how far experimentation was allowable within any proposed system. Clearly, a structured system which rejects experimentation is more rigidly system orientated than one in which the structures are seen as fluid, or temporary. (We shall see that Beatrice Ensor, for example, saw removable, or temporary, classrooms as a good idea, thus supporting an experimental structured approach in that respect).

Finally, we might note that the term 'system orientation' in the foregoing discussion has been widened from Law's use of it, to include allegiance to any well defined cluster of priorities from which educational and counselling applications can proceed.

SECTION 2

## INTRODUCTION

It is not proposed to cover the whole history of progressive education. Accounts of this already exist, the most thorough being the two volumes by Stewart and McCann (1967) and by Stewart (1968), followed by Lawson and Petersen (1972).

There is also an extensive literature dealing with the work of individual progressive schools.

The area with which we shall deal is that of the New Education Fellowship, later the World Education Fellowship, which through its conferences and projects and especially through its British publication, the New Era, has provided a continuous and detailed record from 1921 onwards. Again, descriptions of this movement have been made in various books; Rawson, (1964); Boyd and Rawson (1965); Stewart (op. cit. (1968) esp. pp. 217-240; Blishen (1969) and to some extent Lawson and Petersen (op. cit. (1972), the most complete accounts being Boyd and Rawson (1965) and Stewart (1968). The aim here will not be to supplement these works, but as already indicated, to examine movements in the Fellowship from the viewpoint of the perspectives discussed earlier. No systematic and detailed approach along these lines has been made in the literature. Thus in Rawson (op. cit. 1964) the emphasis is on providing a factual account of the movement's history, highlighting major changes in overall aims, for example from emphasis on the individual in the early period of the 1920's to a deepening involvement with political issues in the 1930's and a world orientation, consistent with a change of its name, in the years following the second world war. In the longer

work that followed, based partly on Boyd's manuscripts, made before his death in 1962, Rawson provides a very detailed factual summary of the movement's history, and sets it into the general context of educational developments in the late 19th and 20th centuries; and in a concluding chapter (pp. 190-194) broadly relates the main aims to philosophical positions and trends in science, humanism, and to some extent religion. Stewart carries the process further by illustrating the wider meaning of progressive education through its development in individual schools and communities; in a concluding chapter he surveys the practices described and sets them into the social contexts of education in Britain, emphasises broadly some of the influences of depth psychology, shows their relationships to historical trends in education reform and relates them to some philosophical values. Lawson and Petersen distinguish main features of progressive education as including a movement developed from mysticism, another from "back to nature" origins; others from philosophical origins such as that of Dewey; from psychological roots such as those of the Freudians, from humanist movements concerned in various ways with the development of individual freedom; and from innovators interested in applying to education experimental approaches evolved in neighbouring areas, such as Montessori's methods. Blishen's short account is a succinct summary noting the main obvious differences between practices in progressive schools and others; he emphasises the breakaway from concentration on classics prevalent in the older public schools, in Britain; the broadening of the curriculum, the high status of music, arts and crafts, of manual labour for the benefit of the community; comfortable dress and diet

and the opposition to pre-military training and the cult of athleticism. None of the accounts described makes any attempt to relate movements in progressive education to developments in counselling, very probably because in Britain, that field did not begin to attract much attention as part of education before the mid-1960's as we have seen (with the notable exception of the symposium edited by Hall and Lanwerys in 1955 (op. cit)).

#### Origins of the New Education Fellowship

Descriptions of the emergence of the New Education Fellowship in the literature closely agree with each other, varying mainly in detail. (Rawson, op. cit. 1964 preface; Blishen, op. cit. ; Lawson, op. cit. p. 23; Stewart, op. cit. 1968, pp. 50-56; Boyd and Rawson, esp. pp. 57-69). The importance of long term historical trends converging towards new expressions in education is particularly thorough in Stewart and McCann (1967), and well summarised in Lawson and Petersen (op. cit.). We shall not try, at this point, to review those movements, because of their great historical depth and the diversity of their cultural origins, even single aspects providing material for substantial works, such as McCallister's (1931) separate treatment of the growth of freedom in education, for example. In dealing with the antecedents to the formation of the New Education Fellowship in 1921, Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. caps. 1-3) particularly stress the importance of movements in the quarter century before the first world war. They emphasise the waning of the educational revival inspired by Rousseau and Pestalozzi, the

spread of literacy throughout populations generally in Western Europe, offset in industrialised areas by the disruption of small communities through the rise of the factory system, the increasing mechanisation of life and work that reduced the need and opportunity for the exercise of personal skills and activities, and the spread of stereotypy and passive absorption of knowledge in schools that "had the stamp of the factory on the children" (p. 1). Probably of at least equal importance in Britain anyway, was the operation of the Revised Code for nearly 40 years after 1862, although in many respects this can be seen as a structure through which the effects of a rigid, mechanical approach to life and its problems operated (Barnard (1961) p. 112-114).

The social opposition to these trends developed almost as a classic illustration of the emergence of a social force in Talcott Parson's terms, and developed in Britain in close agreement with Edmund King's (op. cit. 1969) concept of educational change in a decentralised system. Thus Boyd and Rawson first point to the emergence of a group of schools which they classify as the Country Boarding Schools, notably Abbotsholme founded in 1889, and Bedales (1893), which influenced the rise of similar ones in Germany, German Switzerland and France (L'École des Roches). A second group in North America emerged on the principles of F. Parker and John Dewey, and a third group in Europe based on the work of professionals outside education such as Decroly in Belgium, Montessori in Italy and Clarapède in Switzerland. To these

could be added others such as Tagore's Sanctuary School in India, and the educational communities at Letchworth informed and supported from Theosophical sources. Boyd and Rawson note that by 1914 there were eighteen country boarding schools in England, fifteen in Germany, nine in Switzerland, and the rest in France and neighbouring countries (p.15). While individually there were many differences among them both in principles and method, they differed from the schools of their day in laying more stress on pupil involvement and activity and they claimed to promote personal freedom to a much greater degree than elsewhere. These points are accepted by all the group of historians mentioned in this section.

The schools briefly surveyed here can be seen as the physical expressions of many different educational theories, some shared by groups, such as the Theosophists, others individually inspired, such as by Tagore in India or Devine in England (Stewart, 1968, pp. 17 et seq.). The emergence of an organisation representing the commonality of interest among them might be seen as a further step in Parson's concept of institutionalisation. Stewart ((1968) pp. 51-59) gives a detailed description of the immediate antecedents to the formation of the New Education Fellowship, stressing, as generally accepted, the central place of Theosophy and Beatrice Ensor. Theosophy itself is a mystical pan-religious and philosophical movement, attempting to unite what are seen as the most important aspects of Eastern religious mysticism with similar movements in the Western European cultural tradition represented by Plotinus,

the Gnostics, and individual mystics such as Meister Eckhart, St. John of the Cross, Bohme, and Carl Jung. While stressing the positive contributions to the N.E.F. of spirituality, emphasis on individually, freedom and creativity, which partly (especially spirituality) flowed from the Theosophical origins of the Fellowship, neither Stewart, nor Lawson and Petersen, nor other writers noted here, have made much mention of the powerful element of rebellion present in the movement. Thus the Gnostic tradition has in Western European history, been associated with heretical groups supporting both social and religious aspects of rebellion, and persecuted by the established Christian Church at various times. (Trevor Roper, 1969, esp. pp. 112-122; F. Heer, 1974, esp. pp. 193-320). It deeply saturated the Manichee origins of Bogomolism which passed into mediaeval Europe, especially into Italy and southwest France, as the Cathar or Albigensian heresy, in which form it was bloodily exterminated by the Albigensian crusade in the 13th century, the accompanying persecution giving rise to the office of the Inquisition (Trevor Roper 1964 p. 155-160). The life concepts supported by Theosophy are themselves at least partly heretical by Christian standards, especially by those of the less eclectic Christianity of the late Victorian period, involving not only the depreciation of the significance of Jesus Christ (Stewart 1968 p. 157) but also ideas of the evolution of the soul through a system of planes, closely similar to the cabalistic concept of the sephiroth, and the ideas of frankly occult organisation such as that of the

Golden Dawn, which also flourished in Britain, especially in London, during the first decade of the century, attracting numbers of intelligent and well educated individuals, including W. B. Yeats and Dr W. Westcott. The trend of rebellion present in Theosophy is of course continued, and is an essential and obvious component, in the New Education advocated by the Fellowship.

It may be that the element of rebellion was played down by writers because it is only recently that its positive aspects have been given prominence in studies of the psychology of creativity, where it has been linked both to creative aggression and to sexual creativity through sublimation. (Hudson, 1966; pp. 167-174; McClelland 1962). Law (op. cit. 1977) found in later stages of his research evidence to suggest that counsellors themselves varied on a dimension which he called interventionism:  
 in part  
 a tendency to intervene and provoke change in institutions.  
 Both <sup>such</sup> interventionism and the constructive forms of rebellion described above share in their refusal to accept the dictates of conventional systems.

Research in America on creativity, cited by Hudson (op. cit. p. 133) shows that children designated as 'creative' in the samples studied were generally unhappy and disliked by teachers at school (indeed Hudson goes on to suggest that a mildly unsatisfactory school background may be necessary as a springboard for creative aggression, and thus he criticises the progressive education aims of creating utopian school and community conditions (Hudson op. cit. pp. 133-134).



The relationship of rebellion to creativity is discussed more fully in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

The emergence of the N.E.F. out of the Theosophical Society can be briefly stated: Beatrice Ensor, herself a member of the Society, played a main role in founding, in 1915, a body called the Theosophical Fraternity in Education, which after an initial period of association with the New Ideals in Education Organisation, of which Mrs. Ensor was also a member, arranged a separate conference at Letchworth in 1920, where ideas for a New Education Fellowship were reviewed. The Fellowship itself was founded in 1921, on the occasion of its first conference at Calais. This provides the starting point for our detailed examination of the movement in progressive education of the main orientations already discussed in counselling.

#### The 1921 Calais Conference

A complete report of the conference exists in a collection of 22 papers (N.E.F. 1921). It was entitled The Creative Self Expression of the Child. In the organisation of the conference, Stewart described (op. cit. 1968 p. 218) the central role of Beatrice Ensor, who had already founded in 1920 a magazine entitled Education for the NEW ERA; an International Quarterly Journal, for the Promotion of Reconstruction in Education, emphasising the concern for wide social issues in education and in particular the need to avoid a repetition of the horrors of mechanised world war which hung like a dark shadow over the consciences of Europe. By 1921 the title was changed from Education for the NEW ERA to The New Era in Home and School. Its emphasis was on experimental methods in education rather than on any narrow concern with Theosophy, and in the name of

this magazine with its wide conception of education as reaching out beyond the school, invitations to the conference were sent out. Over 100 members attended from 14 different countries. In an analysis of the papers, Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. pp.70-72) draw attention to three principal positions in which creativity and freedom were seen as interlinked: the view of Nussbaum that children cannot create, but essentially imitate, or conform; of C. A. Claremont (representing Dr. Montessori) that it is not what children learn, but the act of learning voluntarily that gives them freedom, and the extreme views of A. S. Neill on the need to release all children from outside authority in order to enable the expression and development of their creativity. This interpretation of thematic content is also accepted almost verbatim by Stewart (op. cit. p. 218-219) who also goes on to point out how vague were the resulting principles or articles of the N.E.F. forming "neither a creed in philosophy or methodology" (p. 221), although he concludes that they are "sufficiently permissive to avoid offending too much those who have an orthodoxy of their own". Let us try to see, in more detail, how the views expressed in the papers varied in terms of our orientations developed from counselling, over this important sample of opinions at the birth of the Fellowship.

Analysis of the Conference Report in Terms  
of an Open/System Orientation

The dimension most useful for immediate clarification is that of the open/system orientation, which as we have seen, is also the one most directly concerned with the relationship between

the individual and authority, and hence with principles of freedom. On this dimension the papers fall into an order ranging from extremely permissive open oriented views to others explicitly or implicitly advocating strict conformity to a pre-determined system (although all claim to be supporting principles of freedom). Three main groupings occur :

- (1) A single very pupil centred viewpoint expressed by A. S. Neill's talk entitled "The Abolition of Authority" (pp. 63-70), in which he attacks any imposition of external authority upon the child, arguing that "every child is moral until the moralists get hold of him". He defends his position by general references to the depth psychologies of Freud and to some extent of Jung. Boldly asserting the basic selfishness of all human activity he draws a distinction between childish selfishness and adult selfishness which becomes altruism, and finally accepts a group generated authority which, however, the child is to be allowed to attack. He sees the attack on group authority essentially as a catalyst by which the individual can progress without entangling himself in an oedipus situation which he feels is the normal consequence of rebellion against a parent. While therefore the authority of the self governing peer group is accepted, it is seen as of secondary importance to that of the individual, and thus Neill's attitude to self government differs fundamentally from that of others discussed below. Neill's position was similar to that of Homer Lane by whom he was much influenced (Stewart op. cit. p. 286). It also stands strikingly apart from the others in almost any terms, and

in ours is both extremely open oriented and non-reductive in its approach to the pupil.

Another paper which seems to stand rather apart and is marked by a deeply humane and compassionate approach to education is that of L. Haden-Guest, (pp. 1-6). Basically, he attacks the element of competition in society both before the world war (in terms of economic competition) and during it (military competition), arguing that such competition starts with the lack of opportunity for education and remedial ill health to create a world pattern destructive of creativity. He advocates a quietistic philosophy for education which he relates to beauty (and by implication, to creativity):

"supremely beautiful things have always something of gentleness about them" (p.1.)

He supports principles of activity for school work (acting, dancing, drama, 'wandervogel' movements, craft work, international exchanges) and while accepting the need for cognitive development, believes that the training of the emotions is more important. The paper is markedly idealist and humanist in tone, and in its balanced emphasis on emotional development in a context of gentleness and pupil activity, presented without any suggestion of other strong a priori considerations, seems by implication to be a pupil centred, open oriented document, though less so than that of A. S. Neill.

Next come two papers which are important and significant, because they represent a pivotal position on the open/system

orientation, and because their authors (Ensor and Decroly) were of course outstandingly influential figures in the early history of the N.E.F. (Ovide Decroly had been one of Belgium's main proponents of experimental education and is indeed equated by Boyd and Rawson with Montessori as one of "two doctors of genius" (p. 21). His influence was still very powerful in Belgian education in 1936 and coloured later educational reforms there, particularly in primary education (Boyd and Rawson, op. cit. pp. 181-182).

In both papers the authors insist that the pupil conforms to certain principles or limitations which are seen as being of greater importance than the pupil's personal desires (although, as in almost all such propositions, they are defended either implicitly or explicitly as being in the individual's best interests). Beatrice Ensor emphasises the principle of a carefully defined freedom :

"The whole theme of this Congress has been the plea for more freedom for the child, but this liberty must not degenerate into licence, which it is apt to do unless you realise that it is liberty for the self and not liberty for the vehicle through which that self manifests, which is needed. Every teacher should understand the difference" (p. 185).

The terms used here are derived from Jungian psychology, and, interestingly, apparently from a partial misinterpretation of it. The persona, for example, is not granted an individual will separate from that of the self, as Mrs Ensor implies, in Jungian psychology, but is in fact a protective function of

the self (see for example, the discussion by Yolande Jacobi, (1964) on the traditional Jungian position). Mrs Ensor seems here to be projecting into Jung's theory her own concepts derived from the allied but not identical thought in Theosophy, of the relationship between a transitory and an eternal self. Her emphasis on the acceptance of spirituality and the development of the spirit also emerges in the principles drawn up at the conference and presented to it by Mrs Ensor, principle one being to train the child to desire supremacy of spirit over matter. (1921 N.E.F. Report, facing statement). However, in turning to the organisation of schools, she shows that the system of thought within which she requires conformity, has wide degrees of freedom. She actively opposes some of the main requirements of the school system of the time, advocating coeducation, self government, eclectic teaching of religion, dropping of primary/secondary distinctions, and freedom from petty regulations both of teacher and child (pp. 189-190). She shows an incipient suspicion of intelligence testing, (which was described rather uncritically by a speaker at the conference, see below) emphasising the need for caution in using such tests and the need to combine them with other forms of assessment, a far sighted statement. (We shall look at the significance of this comment later in its relation to counselling theory). Finally she advocates classrooms with removable temporary structures, a statement which epitomises an attitude of experimentalism and therefore by definition, of considerable freedom from conformity to fixed systems.

Ovide Decroly's paper (Une expérience de programme primaire avec activité personnelle de l'enfant" pp. 71-79) shares with Mrs Ensor's the insistence of accepting certain a priori assumptions, but the suggestion of a system dominated approach is redeemed by the emphasis on the need to experiment with the system continually. He appears essentially materialistic, analysing for example the needs of children under the heads of nourishment, defence, work/leisure, and group development, and its setting as family, school, social, animals, plants, earth, air, sun, moon and stars. Similar attempts to reduce the cosmos to a simpler, essentially materialist basis, were common in continental humanist thought at about the same time, for example in the humanist geography of Jean Brunhes and in the depth psychology of Freud. But he makes a clearly stated disclaimer to what at first sight seems a subjective, imposed interpretation of reality :

"en général, en éducation comme en médecin, il faut se méfier de celui qui est trop absolu. Nous devons expérimenter. Le mystère humain et enfantin est si complexe qu'il n'est pas possible à un homme de le comprendre à fond et une fois et d'appliquer le système qui convient" (p. 72).

Decroly's own paper was followed by that of Mlle. A. Hamaide, showing its application. This proposes a highly structured system. An emphasis on grading of pupils and detailed classificational tasks, indicates a highly problem centred approach, but as Decroly himself had already expressed the basic experimental philosophy underlying the applications, one might tentatively

conclude that the detailed system proposed by Hamaide was open to re-structuring. Read out of context, however, the paper could not be interpreted in this way.

The papers by Decroly and Ensor seem to stand as suggested earlier, at a point of balance on the open/system orientation. A priori considerations are introduced into both. In Mrs Ensor's they are few, but absolutes. In Decroly's they are more detailed, but less sacrosanct. In both the need to experiment is the crucial qualification which redeems them from classification as system dominated approaches. In Mrs Ensor's the experimentation is possible within the wide confines of her system. In Decroly's the system itself is seen as changeable although more structured.

These papers are followed by a very much larger group whose authors advocate change from existing school conditions and so seem to advocate freedom : but where the new proposals, though varying on a reductive continuum (the extent to which they analyse ideas into detailed structures) would seem to engage pupils in conformity to new conventions, and where the need for experimentation is not stressed or apparently recognised.

Two of the most important of these are by A. Ferrière, both in terms of their intellectual rigour and the influence of their thought. Ferrière became one of the most active men in the history of the international education movement. At his death in 1960 he had written 40 books and his correspondence often averaged 4,000 letters a year (New Era, 1960). The son of one of the founders of the International Red Cross, and born in



1879 (Stewart 1968, p. 73) he took a doctorate in sociology and having become interested in new ideas in education through hearing of the work of Reddie at Abbotsholme, he began teaching under Hermann Lietz at Ilseburg in 1900. Already, however, he had shown the start of his considerable organisational abilities by founding in 1899 an International Bureau of New Schools (Boyd and Rawson, p. 15). By 1912 this had become an ambitious project and although hampered by lack of funds Ferrière managed to develop an extensive array of contacts with different schools. He developed a system of 30 points of reference for defining a school as progressive or not (which Stewart (op. cit. 1968 p. 75) interestingly described as a "progressiveness quotient") which comprises most of the second of the two papers he gave at the Calais conference (entitled "Les Nouvelles Ecoles à la Campagne" pp. 106-116). After the 1921 conference he became in 1922 Editor of the French language publication for the N.E.F. (Pour l'Ere Nouvelle), attended N.E.F. Conferences, travelled widely in Austria, Romania and Turkey, advocating educational reforms along his interpretation of progressive lines (Boyd and Rawson, pp. 78, 83, 90) and later did similar work in South America for seven months, where Rawson notes he gave nearly 100 lectures (p. 90). In his professional career he became a professor at the influential Institut J. J. Rousseau founded in 1912. His Bureau of schools continued to exist until 1926 when it was absorbed into the Bureau Internationale d'Education. (Boyd and Rawson p. 16). Thus his paper deserves careful study as illustrating a viewpoint much respected at the conference and afterwards.

In his first paper entitled "L'école active" (pp. 94-105) he starts by advocating freedom as a long term aim, especially freedom from the crushing effects of the existing schools. He opposes the current authoritarianism of teachers, but does not go so far as to deny their authority. Indeed he gives the impression of advocating an authoritarian approach using personal charisma as a new form of influence to replace the old appeal to institutional force. This appears in four statements, the first of which is best expressed in the original French :

'La vraie autorité ne signifie pas l'écrasement de l'enfant par un adult, mais un rayonnement qui émane du professeur et qui impressionne l'enfant.' (p. 95)

again :

"liberty is not the power to do what one wishes; it is, as Montesquieu says, 'the power to do what one ought' " (La liberté n'est pas le pouvoir de faire ce que l'on veut; c'est, comme le dit Montesquieu, 'le pouvoir de faire ce que l'on doit' "). Again, in assessing why anarchic systems in schools may have worked occasionally, he suggests that in such cases the personality of an outstanding teacher may have been the effective control, through his occasional interventions (p. 95). Finally, in describing four laws which he sees as basic to psychology, a discipline which he believes must be studied closely for effective educational reform, the first mentioned is "creative life force" (elan vital) which

he sees as manifested in the miraculous cures of the school of Nancy. \*

In his implicit and to some extent explicit emphasis on principles of charisma and suggestion in teaching, Ferrière seems to be anticipating recent conclusions of researchers in counselling, a point we shall return to later. He goes on to propound a school system founded on principles of biogenetics, with tasks geared to appropriate age ranges, and believes his approach synthesises the methods of Decroly and Montessori. His tendency to support a system, rather than the individual pupil is again indicated in his support for an élite, among those who move fastest through his hierarchies. He goes so far as to relate this to employment, and so concludes with the first statement in the history of the Fellowship specifically about the specialist field of vocational guidance, which he defines thus :

"to know the aptitudes of young people, to know all the qualities needed in different jobs, to know to put 'the right man in the right place': there is the quintessence of vocational guidance" (connaitre l'aptitudes des jeunes gens, savoir toutes les aptitudes requises dan les differents métiers, savoir mettre ' the right man in the right place' voilà la quitessence de l'orientation professionnelle" (p. 105)

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\* (The School of Nancy was a pioneer movement in hypnotism, developed on the approaches of the French doctor A. A. Liébault, published in 1866, and the wide recognition given to them by the famous Hyppolite Berheim who perfected the techniques used and published them in 1886 as the first scientific system of suggestion. The Nancy School enjoyed wide popularity up to and during the first world war. (Le Cran and Bordeaux (1949); Scott Moss, (1965))

Reference to Chapter I will show how close this definition is to the description of vocational guidance first propounded in North America by Frank Parsons in 1910. Ferrière shows himself here to be aligned with the prescriptive, problem centred and indeed essentially mechanistic approaches to guidance which we have already examined. In considering such questions at all, of course, and in his attempts to use the most recent knowledge available to aid educational progress, he shows a much less rigid or system dominated attitude than that found in most of the schools of his time. Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence in his papers to suggest that in practice his work might well tend to replace one kind of conformity with another: nor does he show that readiness to experiment, to change his system as necessary, which Decroly does; and in terms of structure, the approach is densely problem centred in a way that Mrs Ensor's, for example, is not. His attempt to impose what Stewart called a "progressiveness quotient" of 30 points to define a New School, seems to have been resisted and fallen into disuse. Stewart describes the list as "technically very crude ... for it lays down what a New School ought to incorporate and then, leaving aside the problem of trying to give meaningful answers to some of the conditions, assumes that the 'pass mark' is 50 percent. Dr Ovide Decroly pointed out that it omitted to state that parents should cooperate in the management of the school". (pp. 75-76).

Another paper which appears to stand in a similar position to that of Ferrière's on the open system orientation is that of C. A. Claremont, on the Montessori method. The methods of

Montessori are so well known that no detailed explanation of them will be attempted here. The most interesting aspects for our purposes are the clear assumption by the method, of a system to which the individual had to conform, and one which was not open to experimentation. Objections to the restricted environment of the Montessori learning situation have been well summarised in Stewart (op. cit. 1968 pp 84-85). They include its failure to take into account the educational value of the natural home atmosphere, the failure to allow for the imaginative needs of the children, and the authoritarian concern with techniques in what appears on our structured non-structured continuum as an extreme example of reduction of an environment to a problem dominated system of structures. Its distance from Neill's position was noticed at once by him :

"One thing pleases me : among Delcrozians there does not appear to be that unfortunate Montessorian habit of waiting for guidance from the fountain head - I see Montessorianism becoming a dead, apparatus ridden system - thank heaven there is no apparatus required for Eurhythmics!"

Arguments circling around the central issues of authority and control, appeared at different times in 1921 between Neill and Claremont himself (New Era, 1921 p. 221). The possibility that new forms of system control might evolve out of ventures originally designed to enhance freedom, was noted by members of the Fellowship other than Neill :

"There is a danger of enforcing Self Government from our grown up point of view, of stereotyping a form of freedom which we

think suitable for the young, instead of patiently trying to get at their views. To me, it seems that this danger lurks in the Montessori schools. We adults say 'because the apparatus has suited some children it will therefore suit all, and you shall all like it, and what is more you shall all do with it what we will, not what you desire.' " (Alice Woods, in New Era, 1921 p. 164).

Yet the Montessori system, like that of Ferrière, was not simply a new form of dictatorship. In its emphasis on activity, in the insistence that a child should have the right to time its own work, starting and stopping when it pleased, even in its rationalist basis, it stood out in sharp contrast to ordinary teaching. These points were emphasised by its supporters in the Fellowship and in New Era a convincing contrast was made between the conventional attitude which, having made the child passive, thereafter feared its activity and gradually mortified its life; and the Montessori method, which allowed a spontaneous growth of intelligence through activity, even recognising the child's need for meditation as part of a work process (M. Drummond, New Era, 1921 pp. 189-196) a proposition which has since received wider support from the field of Freudian psychology, but is still not generally respected (see, for example, the discussions in Jacques (1970)). On the other hand, the freedom accorded to the child was contained within very narrow limits, as McCallister has noted (op. cit. 1931, p. 430) and particularly at the adolescent stage, did not offer a sufficiently wide range of activity.

Ferrière's approach and that of Montessori have been singled out for intensive study because while both represent important movements, within the Fellowship in its early stages, neither seems aware of the need to develop an experimental approach, and in this they differ from the approaches of both Ensor and Decroly, and appear to be more system orientated. In both cases the potential replacement of one system by another without much significant gain in freedom is apparent.

Similar possibilities are more clearly evident in another paper, by Craddock, on self government and the growth of character. Craddock, a teacher, had instituted a system of self government in his class at school, but the class council which he describes is very much another vehicle for the discharge of authoritarian values normally passing through the teacher. Thus he speaks of the class council as taking over his powers of discipline, of punctual and satisfactory performance of duties, of order and cleanliness in class, and of efficient conduct of sports. There are strong indications that conformity to the class becomes dominant, together with failures to realise that value bases are not altered :

"If the boy makes the right decision, well and good. If his decision is wrong frequently, he tends to be anti-social and the class committee compel him to adapt his standard to the standard of the community" (p. 125).

The increase in freedom here, against the earlier conventional system, lies in the fact that the class elected its committee, and a pupil could appeal against the decisions. As with both

Claremont and Ferrière, there is no mention of the need for an experimental approach.

Non-experimental, 'closed' (but not necessarily highly structured) systems are also proposed in papers by Walters, Choisy, Loiseau and Pagan. All of them share a rejection of various aspects of existing systems, and support one or more of the ideas, such as of pupil activity, popular at the time in progressive education. Walters makes an appeal for the use of intelligence tests\* without realising the assumptions and limitations of the tests of his time, confidently asserting for example that they measured "inborn mental capacity apart from the influence of education", (p. 177) and making a somewhat facile separation of human functioning into imposed classifications, along with what can now be seen as overstatement about the construct validity of such tests :

"No one claims at present that intelligence tests do more than measure intelligence. Practical capacity, moral qualities and emotional tendencies ... must be measured by other means".

J. Loiseau, in a paper supporting the scouting movement, opposes many of the fixed values of conventional schools, including its excessive intellectualism, rote learning, excessive sport and over early specialisation, but proposes a complementary system

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By this time these were rapidly gaining ground, as we saw in Chapter I, especially in North America. They had, however, an essentially European basis in Binet's work in Paris around 1890, and in the study of individual differences, through Darwin's influence on Galton and others (Cronbach, 1961, pp. 151 - 163).



which is also somewhat rigidly defined, and sometimes shows the intrusion of prejudices which are supported as virtues :

"We will habituate them (the scouts) to absence of alcohol, fermented drinks, over spiced foods, and they will gradually prefer very healthy sound food, above all seeking tonic and not gastronomic values". (p. 196).

Wilson, Choisy and Pagan each contributed papers dealing with the values of craft, music and drama respectively as activities. Although not individually as important as Ensor, Ferrière or Decroly, the group as a whole were significant in representing one of the main interests of the N.E.F. In all three papers there is a strong prescriptive tone which appears to place the importance of the system advocated above that of the children's personal interests; sometimes prejudices of the individual authors are strikingly displayed. Thus Wilson makes very high, almost mystical, claims for the value of craftsmanship, and shows an excessive concern for discipline and order which he equates with godliness (pp. 28-29).

Choisy describing the formation of a children's orchestra, opposes all systems of self government in such work and reduces the children to part of the machinery of a good production :

"A theatre of children, with its orchestra, soloists, leader, actors and actresses and dancers, does not form itself. I have attended presentations given by public school children where the young actors were mainly left to themselves. I brought away a miserable memory, the impression of something dirty, (sale),

flat, of monotonous and dragging recitation, aggravated by gestures of purility. These children picked their noses, their costumes seemed to have come from the kitchen, and I didn't know whether to laugh or cry about it ... I would have wished for something else; to amuse, to interest, to see the public stirred, while still leaving to the children their individual discoveries, their grace, and their inner freshness (leurs trouvailles personnelles, leur gr<sup>^</sup>ace et leur fraicheur inn<sup>^</sup>ees)".

The last phrases are in some contradiction to the tone of the passage as a whole, but they imply nonetheless that concepts such as grace and freshness are to be interpreted from the disciplined individual viewpoint of the author.

Pagan provides without question the most florid and outspoken example in the conference report of an approach, dominated by an implicit acceptance of the systematised values of her time. Starting with apparently liberal expressions of concern for children's need to develop their experience through drama, and their need to adopt their own part or parts of plays, she goes on to imply that such themes should only come from great literature, rather than from 'cinema shows'. She looks for "the comfortable assurance that(the children) are following in the footsteps of the greatest dramatists the world has ever known" (p. 170). Her underlying prejudices become very clear in the following quotation :

"If even honourable and open marriage can thus injure the race when entered on too early, secret and dishonourable unions must be ten times worse in every way ... in the white races at any rate there should be no serious love making until the wisdom

teeth are through." (p. 178).

Finally there are a few residual papers which cannot easily be grouped on an open/system orientation. Young's papers advocated Jungian approaches to depth psychology rather than Freudian and were essentially descriptive. Cloudsley-Brereton used the French approach to literature to argue against the highly structured British approach to literary analysis but his paper does not disclose his basic attitudes to education or children beyond this; R. Nussbaum (director and founder of the first école foyer in Switzerland) presented a somewhat enigmatic paper which is reported in both Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. p. 71) and in Stewart (op. cit. p. 218) as stating that children were not capable of creativity: because essentially imitative. In fact his closing remarks qualify that position, since he points out that the whole developmental process is a creative one and that we cannot see individual creativity because we cannot see the spirit within. It is not clear from what he says where he stands on the open/system dimension. Finally two papers on coeducation by J. Decroix and Mr. Baillie-Weaver, are mainly concerned with attacking the one sex school and advocating obvious advantages of coeducation which do not bear on the open/system question.

#### Conclusion on the Open/System Orientation in the Report.

Thus, in summary, of the twenty papers we have now reviewed from the first conference of the N.E.F., 14 can be meaningfully grouped on an open/system orientation. At one extreme is the single highly open ended approach of A. S. Neill, and at the

other a large group of authors, the most important being Ferrière and Claremont, who seem to be proposing the replacement of what they see as an old, authoritarian and fixed system, by what appears to them as something different and better; but which, through its lack of an experimental concern and in the case of the Montessorian and Ferrièrean approaches especially, the expression of very reductive methods in detailed structures, suggest other sets of fixed systems. Between these extremes Ensor and Decroly appear to hold the balance; for while both of them, especially perhaps Ensor, hold to certain unchangeable absolutes, and while both, but especially Decroly, propose certain structures, they are each aware of the need for experiment - in Ensor's case, as mentioned, this is neatly and vividly symbolised in her suggestion for classrooms as removable temporary structures. Haden Guest, with a broad view and a deeply compassionate approach to education seems to stand between these and A. S. Neill's position.

#### Problem Centred Aspects of the Report

The papers vary in two ways here. First, not all of them describe the whole field of education, and thus it is not clear how far the authors would see education in terms of detailed structures with a hierarchy of problems to be met. Among those that do present an overall picture - notably Neill, Haden Guest, Ensor, Decroly and Hamaide, Claremont, and Ferrière, there is a wide variation in approach. Neill, as already evident, supports the extreme position of individual development in an open, unstructured system. Haden Guest is concerned only with broad principles applicable to education in a world context, and the

paper nowhere suggests an obsessive concern to reduce these further to detailed processes. Ensor goes further in defining aims, but deliberately avoids carrying the reductive process to levels which define exact processes to be accomplished. Thus she lists such necessities for progressive schools as spiritual development, coeducation, the development of a community feeling, and a rural situation, but opposes distinctions between primary and secondary schooling, and sounds a note of caution about the use of intelligence tests which seems actually to strike against problem centred approaches:

"perhaps analytical psychology and intelligence tests together may evolve a (holistic) assessment so that we may do away with exams" (pp. 188-190). She advocates greater freedom, especially from petty rules, for both children and teachers, and an eclectic approach to religion. Decroly, Hamaide, Claremont and Ferrière however describe more detailed systems. Decroly himself goes no further than to propose an analytical framework of reality for educational purposes - e.g., a division of the child's world into the settings of family, school, social, animal, plant, earth, sun, moon, and stars, and the needs of the child as nourishment, defence, work and play, and group development. Hamaide, however, in applying Decroly's methods, proposes a system of graded exercises, based on the recapitulation theory of a child's development as repeating successive developmental phrases through which humanity is seen as having passed. On the other hand there is no express concern with the levels of competence which must be established for passing from one phrase to another. Ferrière is much more definite. He divides childhood into stages, based

chronologically, with clearly defined tasks for each stage. Thus from 8 - 12, useful practical work is to be taught; 12 - 14 is seen as a pre-apprenticeship stage, and as already mentioned, aims at the creation of an elite among those who move fastest. We have already noted his problem centred approach to vocational guidance, and his attempt to reduce the description of a 'new school' to thirty points, of which a school would have to score an arbitrary 15 to qualify. On the other hand, he accepts limitations on a problem centred approach which not only were liberal by the standards of his time, but in some cases by present day standards also. Thus he recognises the need to vary the length of time necessary to teach individual subjects, the need for a low staff pupil ratio to allow a tailoring of time for individual pupils, and that assessment should be based on comparing the pupil with his own past performance and not that of others. He sees children as naturally good, supports a free approach to religion, and advocates music "for its social value". Claremont, in representing the Montessorian system, is however presenting an approach to education which is more minutely problem centred, since the environment is restricted and movement from stage to stage is successive and controlled. There is thus in these papers evidence of some association between a tendency to develop detailed structures and a commitment to a system dominated approach, from the extremes of Neill to those of Montessori.

### The General Relationship with Counselling

At the time of the N.E.F. report, in 1921, counselling in North America was, as shown in Chapter I, at a prescriptive stage of development, with heavy reliance on, and development of, various forms of psychometric test, which had established their value as aids to selection of service personnel in the first world war. In the United Kingdom the problem centred aspects of guidance remained dominant, in terms of job placement, a state little changed until after the second world war, and reflected by the emergence in the 1930's of a problem centred child guidance movement in applied psychology, in spite on a briefly wider aspected movement in the late 1920's (see Chapter I). A broad commonality between the aims of these specialist movements and those of the New Education was that both were committed to introducing change into existing systems. More narrowly, the reduction of complex human situations into somewhat mechanical processes of slotting individuals through psychological tests or otherwise has affinities with some of the ideas about educational reform suggested in the N.E.F. Report: in particular Ferrière shows this tendency in his severely analytical approach to education; and in this case the similarity is not theoretical alone, since, as we saw above, Ferrière went out of his way to define vocational guidance itself, which he did in terms of a mechanical talent matching model.

Looked at as a whole, however, the main concerns of the speakers reach far beyond such narrowly utilitarian considerations, and embrace themes similar to those which did not become important to counselling in North America until after the

impact of Rogers in the 1940's, and as we saw in Chapter I, only began to flow into and transform the British guidance field in the mid-1960's. We now go on to examine what these were, and to relate them to the three themes which have been described as common to various modern counselling viewpoints. In this way we shall hope to arrive at a more complete statement of the main priorities common to modern counselling and early N.E.F. thought.

First amongst these is the importance given in the Report to the individual, seen not just in terms of his adjustment to an existing system. The title of the Conference 'The Creative Self Expression of the Child' emphasises it. As we have seen, speakers varied on an open/system orientation as to what importance they attached to the individual in relation to any alternative system of their own which they proposed, but there are close parallels between Neill's open non-structured approach to the individual pupil and that of Carl Rogers, who recalls Neill in his opposition to the need for formal institutionalised training (op. cit. 1957), his emphasis on experimental work (op. cit. 1957) his rebellion against highly structured systems (described in Harper (1959)), his distaste for purely cognitive approaches to the individual (see Rogers 1955), his trust in the creative power of personal unconscious motivation (op. cit. 1955) and in his basic optimism about the nature of man, which as with Neill, runs explicitly and implicitly through all his work. This emphasis on the individual is consistent with points (1) and (3) of our earlier list (person to person communication marked by rapport, and freedom from authoritarian and coercive pressures).



Second we may note the emphasis in the Report on continuous personal development both in terms of task definition and approach. It is of course true that education systems generally see their work as extended through a long span of time, but what brought the views of leading speakers at Calais closer to future developmental counselling theories was their perception of the need to relate the length and to some degree the content of educational activity to the rate of development of the individual, rather than against a crude chronological time scale. This is of course assumed in Neill's free approach, but it is also contained within the system of Ferrière, who, although he drew up a chronologically based overall strategy for the curriculum, admitted that individual topics within the broader areas might be chosen and their duration adjusted to meet the needs of individual children. Likewise the Montessori method outlined by Claremont allows the individual pupil to regulate the speed of advance to suit his needs. Such methods require a low staff pupil ratio, a point which Ferrière himself explicitly emphasises (p. 113). This in turn would tend to create a learning situation closer to that of the one-to-one counselling relationship and less like the large class teacher relationship. Thus there is a relationship between this emphasis on individual development, and a similar emphasis in specialist counselling, which, as we traced its evolution in Chapter I, has grown out of the older, crudely problem centred approach to counselling. The developmental emphasis in early N.E.F. thought, then, is related to the modern interpretation of the of the problem centred approach in counselling, point (2) in our earlier list.

Third, and arising from what we have just noted, is the emphasis on the nature of the emotional relationship between teacher and pupil. There were variations within this among speakers at Calais; Neill, Ensor, and Haden Guest tending implicitly or explicitly to stress aspects of openness and friendliness, Ferrière the power of suggestion over children; Pagan, Choisy and Claremont more paternalistic attention, but all recognising the importance of the positive aspects of a warm attitude. This is closely similar to the attention given to 'empathy' in modern counselling, (see Chapter I) where likewise nearly all counsellors stress its need, but vary as we have seen in the way they use it, the Rogerian group and the existentialists stressing the need for an open, honest expression of feelings, others such as Traux and Carkhuff trying to analyse the main components of the helping relationship so that counsellors can be trained to develop and use them deliberately. The importance of an open, permissive interpersonal relationship not merely between counsellor and client, but among all who are concerned with learning processes, has been clearly stated by Rogers himself (1967) in words so closely similar to those of A. S. Neill that they might almost have been written by Neill himself, half a century earlier :

"When I have been able to transform a group - and here I mean all members of a group, myself included - into a community of learners, then the excitement has been almost beyond belief. To free curiosity; to permit individuals to go charging off in new directions dictated by their own interests; to unleash curiosity; to open everything to questioning and exploration;

to recognise that everything is in process of change - here is an experience I can never forget ... Out of such a context arise true students, real learners, creative scientists and scholars and practitioners."

This emphasis on the emotional relationship between teacher and pupil is closely similar to the emphasis in modern counselling on empathy, which is important in point (1) of our earlier list.

Fourth is the emphasis on pupil activity. It is shown by encouragement of curiosity, individual enterprise, and experimentation, in the context of creative self expression. This is also an important point of similarity with modern counselling theory. Although it does not appear on our earlier list, it is implicit in the later development of the problem centred approach in counselling, where, for example, Gilbert Wrenn describes a major aim of American counselling as being to aid students to accept a risk taking strategy, and to develop greater maturity in decision making (see Chapter I). The wider implications of pupil activity in learning, and client activity in counselling, will be explored more fully in Chapter V, in the context of creativity. At the time of the Calais conference itself, specialist guidance, especially in North America, was much concerned with the application of tests for diagnostic and selection purposes. This prescriptive, directive orientation placed the client in a situation of passivity similar to that condemned in conventional education by the progressive school of thought. In supporting a more active involvement by pupils, at the Calais conference, the speakers were foreshadowing a

later common recognition in both directive and client centred counselling. Their views were by no means new in educational thought, however; as McCallister (op. cit. 1931) was soon to show, such principles, interpreted in varying contexts of freedom, had been present in the ideas of a long line of educators, notably Augustine, Origen, Gregory, Erasmus, da Feltre, Vives, Huarte and Rousseau.

Fifth, running through the Calais conference is a concern with the development of the individual not only for utilitarian ends, but also for spiritual ends. In the report this is contained in the first statement of principles which preceded the papers themselves, and it is re-emphasised by Haden Guest, Ensor, Wilson and Decroly. Even Claremont introduces it as a potential possibility within the Montessori system. It takes the form of a somewhat vague long term expectation stated at the start of Ferrière's paper ("une vie qui va grandir vers l'avenir") and Nussbaum, in his conclusion, hints at a natural spiritual growth which is unobservable, but related to creativity. The conditions governing the growth of spiritual development are seen as varying by speakers, according to their alignment on the open/system and structured/non-structured orientations, but a common assumption is that of the natural goodness of the child. Again McCallister analysed the presence of a somewhat similar assumption in the thought of the long line of educational philosophers mentioned above, in the context of a principle of relevancy. The principle is, he admits, "difficult to put into words" (op. cit. p. 504) but implies the presence of a constructive, evolutionary tendency in life, by which at the

human level, individuals tend to select those activities which are most helpful to their own long term evolution when their natural self assertive tendencies have been harmonised by a process of discipline. A condition of relevancy determines, he argues, the fundamental meaning of freedom in education (p.546). McCallister's concept of relevancy thus seems to imply a dualism in human nature: an evolutionary tendency which is constant and progressive, and an aggressive, searching, self assertive tendency which may disturb progression, or under suitable conditions of submission, further it.

More recently Koestler (1972) has made a somewhat similar division, suggesting a fundamental distinction in humans between a self assertive tendency, associated with selfishness, clannishness, and nationalism; and an integrative tendency, associated with altruism, cooperativeness and internationalism. He suggests that a balance of these two forces is necessary for the health of society.

The differences at Calais which have been described on both the open/system orientation and the structured/non-structured orientations can thus be interpreted as differences in perception of the conditions necessary to effect this state of balanced development. In the field of American guidance, concern with long term aims of this sort, and the related concern with the personal life philosophies of both counsellor and client, developed slowly (See Chapter I). McGowan and Schmidt (1962) noted that up to 1950 the greatest emphasis was on methods, techniques, and services and that even by 1960 a national review of the literature on the philosophy of counselling for

the preceding three years found this type of article outnumbered thirty to one by articles on techniques and methods. Wrenn however (op. cit. 1962) makes the point that American guidance and counselling developed within the context of a cultural system which enshrined a certain group of values, including the notion of a rational universe, the ability to improve one's circumstances progressively through education, legislation and the better use of leisure and, most significantly that of a Golden Age lying in the future. Such values are consistent with a basically optimistic belief in an evolutionary tendency in individuals within the system itself. In Britain, as already described in Chapter I, the cultural tendency is against definition of long term aims so that, as Moore (quoted in Chapter I) observed from empirical studies carried out in the 1960's, school counselling systems remained concerned with the resolution of short term problems and the devising of appropriate administrative structures. Specific relationships between various forms of counselling and religious positions occur of course throughout both British and American literature, notably in the writings of May (1958) Tillich (op. cit. 1964) Van Kaam (op. cit. 1962) Vaughan, R.P. (1965) and Wilson (1976).

Our earlier list of three common themes in counselling did not isolate either spiritual goals, or long term goals as common aspects. However, in the description of the gradual evolution of problem centred counselling into developmental counselling, there can be seen a progressive lifting of the horizon from concern with the immediate consequences of decisions to the long term consequences of them on the client's life; this is indeed implicit in the concept of development. The extent

to which counselling concerns itself with long term ends is therefore in part a measure of its evolution. In terms of the evolution of specialist counselling theory, 1921 was an early date, and counsellors were mainly concerned with the problem of diagnosing and aiding in the resolution of immediate pressing problems. The main differences in the perception of long term goals between the Calais speakers and the guidance specialists of their time thus seem to rest on a much greater expressed awareness, by the educators, of the deeper meaning of their work, further emphasised by their attention to that area of depth psychology (Jungian) which had most definitely tried to relate unconscious and spiritual motivation, and to which two papers were given.

#### CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter has been to take common themes and perspectives upon them, as they appear in modern specialist counselling theory, and study their relevance to an analysis of early expressions of opinion in N.E.F. thought. One conclusion is that, as expected, the open/system orientation derived from empirical research among modern counsellors in Britain has wider relevance, and can meaningfully be applied to an understanding of differences of viewpoint among certain educators as long ago as 1921. A related perspective, which we called a reductive/non-reductive orientation, was also helpful to understanding the different opinions. Second, five points of importance among the delegates at Calais were found to be related to three common themes of modern specialist counselling: (1) The importance of the individual; (2) an emphasis on continuous personal

development; (3) an emphasis on rapport; (4) an emphasis on pupil activity; (5) a concern with long term development.

There is no implication that these are the only ways in which counselling, and opinions in N.E.F. thought, can be compared; still less that these are the only yardsticks for analysing Fellowship thought itself: but they do seem to offer a meaningful basis for examining the counselling movement within the context of N.E.F. thought, where it was not specifically separated from other ideas about education, and not necessarily named as either counselling or guidance.

Two main areas of interest remain in the Report which do not immediately seem relevant to guidance and counselling themes. One is the interest in self governing communities (Ferrière, Craddock, Ensor, Neill, 4th of stated principles) and the other, the beginnings of an idea that education might become an agent to change the pattern of human conduct, and create a better world. This global concern, which was of course to develop very greatly later on, can be seen most clearly in Haden Guest's paper, but is implicit in all of those which accept the principle of evolutionary trends in the individual that can be furthered by education.

The historical association of counselling with personal problems, and with the closely allied field of psychotherapy, has tended rather more to promote an interest in interpersonal relationships and processes on a one-to-one basis than on a group basis. However, the increasing attention to the study of groups in psychology throughout this century has promoted the growth of similar studies in counselling. Wayne Wright



describing the processes of multiple counselling, in 1959, listed thirty separate American publications between 1949 and 1959 dealing with aspects of group work in counselling. Interest in this area has continued, examples being the longitudinal studies of Solomon and Berzon (1966; 1970) dealing with personality changes possible in self directed groups using program materials; Goodman's (1970) study of the therapeutic value of companionship, stressing the importance of non-professional counselling relationships, and Guerney's (1966) study of filial therapy, stressing the role of counselling within the field of family relationships.

Yet the fact remains that studies of the importance of the group, or the community, as an active agent in personal development, seem to have played a part of secondary importance among counselling studies generally. Thus in a symposium (Hoose and Pietrofesa, 1970) containing papers by 22 of the leading North American authorities, and described by Gilbert Wrenn as "coming as close to a national viewpoint as could be provided", (op. cit. foreword), and covering the development of the field in the 20th century, each contributor listed a selection of his own work. Out of the total of 805 separate titles thus listed, spanning the period from 1928 to 1969, only 33 contained specific reference to group or multiple techniques in counselling or to the use of community organisation in guidance. Of these 33, three were published between 1935 and 1938, the remainder in the three later decades. Thus the stress laid as early as 1921 in the N.E.F. upon the importance of self government as an agency of creative self expression, and hence of self development, not only predated such movements

in counselling by nearly two decades, but, as we shall see, pointed up an area that was to remain important throughout the development of the movement. The gradual emergence of "group" and "multiple" counselling was in the period from the 1940's onwards, when, as described in Chapter I, counselling techniques were gradually moving away from concentration on narrow specific problem situations towards a more continuous, developmental approach. They, themselves, can be seen as part of that movement. Many of the titles reflect the concentration on personal "growth" or "evolution" rather than with the resolution of crises: "A Comparison of multiple and individual Counselling in terms of self Knowledge" (Bailey 1955), "Counselling, an educational technique" (Berdie, 1949), "The effect of Group Counselling in junior high school boys' concepts of themselves" (Caplan, 1957), "Applications of Group Principles to Education" (Harrold, 1954), (all cited in Wayne Wright op. cit. 1959), being examples, although much of the published literature is still concerned with the exploratory stage of defining and describing techniques, and comes from the neighbouring field of psychotherapy and industrial psychology, where the task definition is in terms of problem resolution, even though the processes of group dynamics necessarily impose a developmental approach on the situation. The extent to which group counselling can replicate certain viewpoints in progressive education is apparent in the earlier quotation from Carl Rogers.

Another difference between the approach to group work in the N.E.F. Calais conference and in modern counselling is that the

N.E.F. writers described a different function for group activity from those common in group counselling work. Thus Craddock (op. cit. 1921) describes his class government in terms of a translation of the authoritarian role of the teacher to that of the class council. Group work as described by Mll. Hamaide (op. cit. 1921) is likewise narrowed to the ends of pre-determined ranges of tasks. Even Beatrice Ensor describes self government for children within the limits of a set of constraints; and as we have seen, all the Calais proponents of arts work, in music, drama, or craft, were opposed to principles of self government. The exception at Calais was of course A. S. Neill. On the other hand group movements in counselling, both with adolescents and adults, have become widely associated with non-directive group principles, with their very wide freedom for psychological exploration, and based not on the idea of improving conditions for external learning, but for the learning of inter-personal relationships and the ability to experience and express repressed emotions. Excellent descriptions of this are contained in Rogers (1961; 1970). In terms of our orientations, both the earlier (Calais) concepts of self government and the much later non-directive groups in counselling can be described as structures, in different directions; the Calais concepts tending to exclude specific emphasis on inter-personal relations in favour of task achievement and greater awareness of social responsibility; the non-directive counselling groups tending to exclude or ignore the aspect of social responsibility in favour of the exploration of personal feelings and inter-personal relations. Not enough information is present in the

Calais reports (except in the extreme viewpoint of Neill) to ascertain how far on the 'open' end of the open/system orientation were the speakers concepts of self government; non-directive counselling groups have tended to be very open orientated, the extent of structure varying from the wide limits just described to the much more definite structure described in Solomon and Berzon (op. cit. 1967; 1970).

Second, we have already noted that an important goal, largely implicit in the Calais conference, was the use of education to avoid a repetition of war. It appears explicitly in Haden Guest (op. cit. 1921) and in the seventh 'statement of principle' ("to develop ... future citizens ... able to fulfill their duties to humanity as a whole), as well as in aims of self government, as noted above. Counselling has not generally encompassed any attempt at global influence, although two of its historians in North America, Beck (op. cit. 1963) and Berdie (op. cit. 1972) have made tentative projections of their stages of evolution into a future where counsellors will begin to change from emphasis on the adjustment of the client, to that of adjustment of the environment, suggesting the emergence of a 'social action' stage. However, throughout nearly all its reaches, both in Britain and North America, guidance and counselling have remained concerned with what J. Wilson (1968) would classify as social/utilitarian issues - personal interests and welfare, rather than with ideological issues, such as the anti-war movement in N.E.F. educational ideas in 1921. Where counselling has approached such wider issues, it has, so far,

been in terms of considering, empirically, how various political forces bear on counselling aims, such as Vaughan's (op. cit. 1975) comparative study from a European background, or in terms of the responsibility of the counsellor to the community (Blackham, 1974). In North America some of these questions have been raised in the context of a philosophy of counselling, possibly the best known thinker of the relationships between counselling and major political and social trends being Gilbert Wrenn (op. cit. 1962). Thus while the long term goals of counselling have very considerably broadened throughout its history, they have not even yet reached for the political goals tentatively approached in N.E.F. thought at its inception at the 1921 conference at Calais.

CHAPTER II

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CHAPTER IIITHE FIRST DECADE, 1920 - 1929

## INTRODUCTION

The first decade of the N.E.F.'s history, that of the 1920's, seems to fall into a single pattern for several reasons. First, although the political background of Europe throughout the period was by no means stable, events did not intrude themselves into general public awareness in Britain particularly, with anything like the force of those that marked the years from October 1929 onwards. Opinions about the effects of the background climate of political and social events of that decade vary. Churchill, for example, (1950) saw almost the whole period as "peace at its zenith"; Stewart (op. cit. 1968, caps. 6,7,8,) describes it as "the post war surgence", both Churchill and Stewart clearly implying a period of general hope. Popular songs and dances of the time convey an impression of nervous buoyancy, of permissiveness and loss of traditional guidelines - the period of the Charleston and "anything goes". But Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. 1965, p. 76) paint a darker picture: the gradual arrest of social experiments like German Republicanism, the passing of liberalism into 'communism' in Russia and later into Fascism in Italy. They claim that it was this very darkening that powered the progressive educational movement and in particular the rise of the N.E.F. :

"as the light of political hope grew dim over the world, faith in education grew stronger. Men and women of idealistic mind, disappointed in their expectation of a brave new world, turned from politics to education ..." (p. 76). This is clearly a statement of opinion, but the period was certainly marked by

a continuous and uninterrupted climb in the power and influence of the N.E.F. The Calais conference of 1921 attracted some 100 members, (Stewart, op. cit. p. 218; Boyd and Rawson, op. cit. p. 70). In 1923 at Montreux 361 attended (Boyd and Rawson p. 78), 450 at Heidelberg in 1925, (New Era, 1925, p. 93), 1064 at Locarno in 1927 (New Era, 1927, p. 117), and 1746 at Elsinore in 1929 (New Era, 1929, p. 231). By 1929 also, the Fellowship was attracting leading figures in the field of British education. Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford, had been elected president of the English Section by 1928 ( Ensor, New Era, Vol. IX, 1928, p.62) and Vice Presidents included such names as Cyril Burt, Percy Nunn and R. H. Tawney (Boyd and Rawson op. cit. p. 85).

Thus by the close of the decade the Fellowship in Britain had reached a position from which it could potentially influence major educational policy, which lay beyond its reach throughout most of the earlier period of the 1920's. It is interesting that throughout this period current political events do not receive more than a passing mention in the pages of New Era, the main English language record of the Fellowship, indicating the absence of political pressure, and to some extent also of awareness of the relevance of political movements to the aim of the N.E.F. It is impossible, even by a very close perusal of every issue of The New Era in Education, later the New Era, from 1920 to 1929, to obtain even a vague impression of the drift of political and economic movements in post war Europe, such catastrophies as the financial collapse of the German middle classes in the earlier years of the decade, for example,

passing without any serious note.

A second reason for treating the decade of the 1920's separately is that although the N.E.F. developed increasingly wide international links during this period, the main British surviving record of its activities is contained in the volumes of The New Era in Education, and The New Era from 1920 onwards (apart from the separate record of the 1921 Calais conference and tape recordings of Beatrice Ensor's reminiscences). Until October, 1928, The New Era was edited by Beatrice Ensor herself, so that her viewpoints, regularly expressed in editorials (always known as "The Outlook Tower") require careful attention, especially after July 1922 when A. S. Neill wrote his last editorial as Mrs. Ensor's assistant editor. This concentration of record into a single set of publications makes it possible to study the themes of the Fellowship in Britain intensively over the period in question, and to describe trends, as they appear over a ten year period.

For the purpose of this study, we shall use these trends to illustrate the following :

- (1) That the rapid growth of the Fellowship throughout the decade laid it open to international political influences, even although these were minor in importance during that decade. *If is necessary to survey this development during the decade* under study because it was during the 1920's that the N.E.F. became established as an important and influential movement at national and international level; the consequences to the N.E.F. itself became apparent in the 1930's.
- (2) That during this buoyant period of expansion, the movement



was deeply committed to attempts to bring about changes in state education; and that this policy of interventionism is a characteristic which it apparently shares with some, but not all, modern counsellors.

- (3) That it is not sufficient to make a simple distinction into interventionism/non-interventionism, as some recent research among British counsellors suggests. That among educational innovators, some proposed very mild forms of interventionism which in effect worked to strengthen the conventional system; others proposed more radical reforms; and some proposed changes towards new and apparently authoritarian systems.
- (4) That this pattern within the interventionist approach reinforces the suggestion made in chapter I, that the innovators, like modern counsellors, varied along an 'open' - 'system' orientation axis: at the 'system' end were to be found those who maintained, explicitly or implicitly, that the pupil should conform to the requirements of some kind of imposed order; at the 'open' end were those who essentially tried to allow a very free development of pupils' individual interests.
- (5) That, therefore, system orientation is consistent with a reforming interventionist approach to education - a finding rather different from suggestions arising out of some recent British research among counsellors.
- (6) That throughout this process, the movement, much influenced by Beatrice Ensor, sought for an underlying philosophy,

but found no simple system satisfactory, moving gradually into a broad reliance on depth psychology and developmental psychology, as its basic informing discipline, and towards a rejection of all systems seen as authoritarian, or to attempt to condense its aims into a single clearly defined order.

- (7) Finally, that the generally favourable attitude shown during the decade towards the emergence of the specialist guidance and counselling movement indicates some accord between the aims of counselling, even in its early stages, and those of the innovators. This is further illustrated by the apparently contradictory evidence that the specialist movement was seen as peripheral to education. It is argued that this was because the N.E.F. saw certain principles, later defined in terms of developmental counselling, as a central aspect of the teacher's role; and recognised the embryonic form of specialist counselling in the 1920's as not yet having reached that wider interpretation.

#### The Growth of the New Education Fellowship in the 1920's.

A detailed description of the development of the structures of the N.E.F. is contained in Doyd and Rawson (op. cit. Chapter V), the accuracy of which can be checked by following the chronological sequence of announcements in the successive issues of The New Era for this period. After the establishment of the Fellowship under the direct influence of Beatrice Ensor and her

theosophical supporters, its organisation was taken up by the editors of three journals, Dr Ferrière, who produced the French edition Pour l'ère Nouvelle first published in 1922; Dr Rotten, producing the German language version Das Werdende Zeitalter in the same year. The New Era itself under its initial title The New Era in Education, edited by Beatrice Ensor and A. S Neill had first appeared in 1920. The international links deliberately encouraged by this system thereafter spread rapidly. The Groupe Français d'Education Nouvelle was formed by 1922 with Professor Paul Fauconnet, Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy at the Sorbonne as its president. The next magazine to adopt the Fellowship's principles was the Bulgarian Svobodno Vaspitanie (Free Education. Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. p. 77)) stress the importance of Eastern European interest both in this, and in the proportion of those attending the early conferences who came from that area. This itself is an interesting historical fact, in view of the long tradition of authoritarianism in East European societies, which deeply saturates family relationships, political life and of course education itself. (Grant (1969) pp. 31-45; Neuberg (1972); Vaughan op. cit. (1975), pp. 103-108)). Boyd and Rawson also point to the acceptance of the principles of N.E.F. in a Soviet Government publication of this period, and in the Italian journal La Coltura Populare. Until 1925 The New Era itself listed only the French and German publications as formal editions; in January 1926 Bulgarian and Hungarian editions appear; in April 1926 the Italian Nuova Era is listed; and from this time also Beatrice Ensor found it advisable to emphasise on the title page of each issue that these editions were not translations of each other, but that each editor was

"free to fill the special needs of his own readers". In April 1927 the Spanish Revista de Pedagogia joined the list; that October, the Swedish Pedagogiska Spörsmal. By then also, the list included as provisionally affiliates, publications in Argentina, Chile, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Jugoslavia. (The New Era, Vol. IX, (1928 p. 159-160)).

The increasing number and range of publications throughout the 1920's is one index of the Fellowship's growth; another is the numbers attending the international conferences already noted. The composition of these is shown in Appendix I. Although details of attendances at Calais in 1921 and Heidelberg in 1925 are not available, those for Montreux (1923) Locarno (1927) and Elsinore (1929) show interesting trends. The analysis, based throughout on the breakdown given for Montreux in 1923 to allow comparison over the three conferences, illustrates :

- (a) The growth of N.E.F. as an international movement but depending primarily on European and United States support. It is true that even at Montreux the range of countries outside Europe sending members is impressive, nineteen coming from as far away as Japan, and by 1927 including South and Central America, Australasia, and Africa. However these vast regions are represented only by a few individuals each, the whole extra-European attendance (excluding the United States contingent) amounting to under 4% of the total, a figure almost exactly repeated at Elsinore in 1929.

- (b) The increase in United States interest, where alone figures for the Heidelberg conference of 1925 are also available (New Era, Vol. VI 1925, p. 93). Thirteen United States members attended at Montreux (under 4% of total); 35 at Heidelberg (nearly 8%); 162 at Locarno (just over 15%) and 240 at Elsinore (nearly 14%). The influence of the increasing United States representation is discussed later in this chapter.
- (c) The small but increasing interest from Australasia. Neither Australasia nor New Zealand are represented at Montreux in 1923; 4 from these areas in 1927 at Locarno, and only 2 years later, 21 at Elsinore.
- (d) The declining numbers from Eastern Europe, and especially from the Soviet Union. As already noted, this area had provided some of the earliest support for the new movement, forming nearly 27% of the attendance at Montreux. Although the overall support remained significant throughout the decade, by 1927 it had fallen to under 14% and by 1929 to 9%. Much of this can be accounted for by falling numbers from Russia, (22 members at Montreux, 4 at Locarno, none at Elsinore) as the educational enlightenment of the early post-revolutionary period hardened into authoritarianism. Likewise the Italian representation declined from 19 members forming over 5% of the attendance at Montreux to 4 and 6 respectively at the later conferences, under 1% of the total in each case. Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. p. 82) note that in 1927 papers by Lombardo-Radice of Italy and Lorenzo Luzuriaga of Spain had to be read in their absence, as political troubles had kept most potential

delegates from these lands away. German and Austrian support continued important throughout the period, as shown in Appendix I. Nevertheless the changes in representation from Russia and Italy were the first straws in that wind which raged so terribly across Europe and the world in later decades.

- (e) Finally, Appendix I shows the central place which Britain continued to play in N.E.F. affairs throughout the decade, attendance starting at 28% in Montreux and steadying around 18% at the two later (much larger) conferences.

The membership escalation of the N.E.F. in the 1920's demanded changes in its structural relationships. National sections had developed from an early stage, often publishing their own magazines, as noted above. Subscription to one or other of the three original journals came to be considered insufficient as a credential for international membership. After the 1927 Locarno conference National Sections had to be formally linked to the N.E.F. and represented on an International Council, which in turn developed a Consultation Committee later known as an Executive Board. Provision was also made for individual representatives and for groups, which could exist independently of any national organisation, provided they were recognised by the N.E.F. (New Era, Vol. VIII 1927, p. 180). In reporting these changes Beatrice Ensor was particularly careful to stress the aim of safeguarding the movement from any political or sectarian bias (Ensor 1927). From 1928 the movements in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland also had independent

existence as the English New Education Fellowship. (Stewart op. cit. 1968, p. 222).

## Major Currents of Thought in the 1920's

### Introduction

The growth of the N.E.F. in the 1920's, as described, makes it necessary to concentrate on a limited area to avoid superficiality of treatment. As already emphasised, the British contribution to the movement remained very important throughout the whole decade, and its main record, in The New Era, provides a wealth of comment, opinion and description of methods which not only survey the movement as a whole, but allow an analysis of principal themes within it, as seen through the eyes of its editors and contributors. To this we now turn.

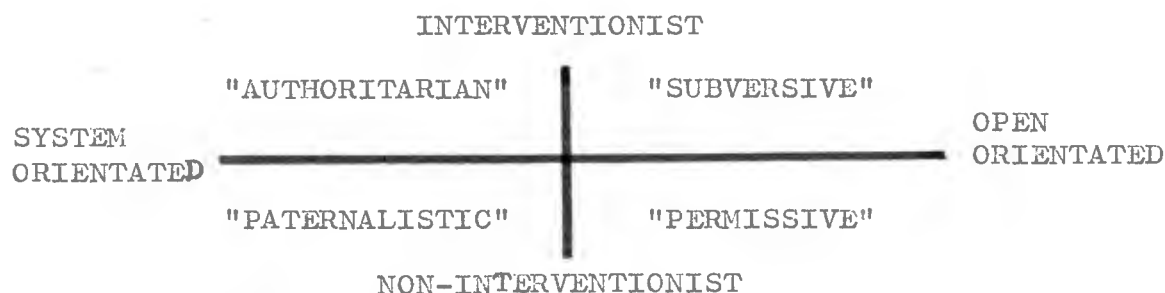
### Interventionism

Foremost in the minds of most writers in New Era during the 1920's was the desire to change traditional school systems, by processes of intervention. This tendency has also recently emerged as a dimension along which counsellors vary, as mentioned in Chapter II and a brief expansion of W. Law's description (op. cit. 1977) of it must now be made.

In his analysis of counselling roles based on a study of counsellors working in British schools, Law brought forward evidence of variance along an open/system orientation as already described in Chapters I and II. Unexpectedly, his factor analysis also disclosed evidence of a further possible dimension which seemed to cut across the open/system

orientation. A careful examination of the pattern of attitudes revealed by British secondary school counsellors on this new dimension suggested to him the name "interventionist" for it, and the relationship between attitudes expressed on it, and on the open/system orientation, led him to hypothesise a pattern of inter-relationships shown in diagram I.

Diagram I. After W. Law (op. cit. 1977)



This diagram shows that the hypothesised interaction would produce four orientations: "authoritarian", "subversive", "paternalistic", and "permissive". Law's description of these can be summarised briefly :

Authoritarian orientation: tendency to defend the demands of a system and a willingness to intervene in order to bring about compliance with these demands, in a school.

Subversive orientation: a tendency to challenge the demands of a school system and a willingness to back such a challenge with action.

Paternalistic orientation: acceptance of the demands of a school system and an unwillingness to intervene in any radical way to change it.

Permissive orientation: unwillingness to defend the demands of



a school system but also unwillingness to intervene in any way which might subvert the system.

We have already seen from our analysis of viewpoints expressed at the Calais conference of 1921 that many speakers could be spaced along an open/system orientation; it is equally clear that very many of the speakers were interventionists in their desire to alter traditional and existing school systems. Now according to Law's tentative model, interventionists tend to intervene to uphold and defend an existing system (the "Authoritarian" quadrant) or to undermine it (the "subversive" quadrant). How far can this model, based on empirical research with school counsellors, be applied to the viewpoints of the early New Education?

Clearly most of the delegates to the Calais conference advocated changes to the traditional existing school systems, and in that wish appear to be strongly interventionist. Neill, Decroly, Ferrière, Claremont, and Beatrice Ensor all advocated major changes in current school systems; speakers advocating changes in specific subject areas included Walters, Choisy, Loiseau<sup>u</sup> and Pagan. However, to describe them as subversive would not be in accordance with the evidence. Thus the original statement of N.E.F. principles was carefully couched in language and terms that seemed to offer compromise with traditional values, and in general terms made them acceptable to people of widely divergent viewpoints. A. S. Neill's paper on 'The Abolition of Authority' comes nearest to advocating the downthrow of established values, and their abandonment; but as we have

seen, it stands out as unusual and different from the other papers. A question for this section then, is to look at the way in which New Education thought in Britain during the 1920's saw its relationship with the "establishment", the conventional, institutionalised forms of educational practice; and in particular, how far this relationship was in terms of opposition to, or compromise with it. Second, Law's tentative model results from the composition of his original questionnaire, and, in this, counsellors were asked, in various specific questions, to state their views about changing or supporting <sup>apparently</sup> an existing school system: they were not asked to discuss such attitudes within ideal alternative systems. This limited the concept of interventionism which emerged from his factor analysis. We have already seen that the Calais speakers in 1921 varied in terms of a structured-non-structured perspective; Ferrière for example, advocating the replacement of the strongly structured institutionalised educational system of his time by his own, likewise strongly structured system, to which individuals would be required to conform. It was argued that other speakers varied in the extent to which they wished to systematise any new approach to education. This evidence suggests that the concept of interventionism described by Law may be incomplete, because of the limitations of his original questionnaire, and that possibilities of other patterns of interventionism need to be explored. This also will be a question for the present section, using the material from the 1920's.

The N.E.F. approached the problem of educational renewal in several ways: by papers at a conceptual level, such as Claremont's discussion of the importance of the Montessori method (1920) and Sir Michael Sadler's important contribution on examinations (1929); by establishing private schools such as the N.E.F. demonstration school at Letchworth, by reporting on many experiments in other private schools, and by trying to attract the attention of, and influence, teachers in the State education system. This last is the most direct evidence of interventionist tendencies, since it could be argued, had the N.E.F. concentrated solely on abstract arguments advocating change, and on developments in the private sector, that it was turning its back on the real problems of bringing about change in the established school system. Evidence from the 1920's indicates that the Fellowship maintained sincere, continuous and specific efforts to keep in touch with the public sector of education and to bring about change in its schools. Thus between 1920 and 1924 inclusive there are 14 individual contributions to New Era from heads or assistants in L.E.A. schools; and from 1925 - 1929 inclusive, twelve. In addition, there are many other articles and comments advocating or describing the use of new methods in existing L.E.A. schools. These are listed and summarised in Appendix II, which illustrates the range of effort, reaching across all schools from infant to teacher training college, and throughout England and Scotland. No particular trends are present in the material, although the period 1920 - 1924 includes more articles by assistant teachers (who can be assumed

to be in continuous teaching contact with children) than in the later period from 1925 - 1929, where contributors are more often heads of schools or others in positions of administrative responsibility. The content of these articles does however show the limitations within which the innovators had to work: most of them deal with experimental methods in elementary schools and Beatrice Ensor (1928), reviewing the situation over the past few years remarked in an editorial :

"The dynamic force in our education lies in the elementary State schools and in a few private schools. The new impulses in education find expression in them more readily than in any other schools. There is an increasing rigidity and imperviousness to change as we pass upwards through the secondary and public schools to the Universities. These are, in their varying degrees, strongholds of the ancient tradition of learning and are still the special preserves of those who can survive the mill of the examination system, and who can pay the high fees" (p. 56)

Her conclusion is reinforced by an earlier anonymous article in New Era (1926): a description of the difficulties of working in a conventional girls' High School after having experienced some years working in a progressive school. This is one of the few articles which in any way constitute an attack on the old system, in those listed in Appendix II. (The others are in Day (1920); Birch (1922); and Cotter (1924)). The approach of almost all the other writers is constructive in the sense that attempts are aimed at an integration of new with old methods in a process which might be called gradualism, and which lacks

the destructive overtones of the term subversion used by Law in his model of interventionism. It is apparent in fact that the approach of the authors listed in Appendix II is not entirely consistent with an open-orientated interventionist attitude: rather, they are committed to accepting varying degrees of discipline and structure; indeed it is this acceptance of some kind of imposed order which makes it possible for them to reconcile their work with the older, institutionalised educational structures within which they take place, at least in its less rigid areas, as Beatrice Ensor had noted. The evidence so far, therefore, supports the proposition that these educational innovators of the 1920's sharing many of the values and attitudes of modern counsellors, included large numbers who could reconcile system orientation with a reform based interventionism. This is consistent with the analysis made in Chapter II of approaches by many speakers at the Calais conference of 1921, and points further towards the probability of other dimensions of interventionism than those uncovered by Law's research.

Clearer evidence of the pattern of interventionism can be obtained from an examination of other material in the British records of this period. At one extreme there is some evidence of interventionism being used mainly to ease the burden of the old routine learning, without any questioning of the value of such learning per se. Thus, an early article signed "E.T." (1920) considers the question of the study of Latin; and although claiming to aim at making children feel the "beauty of the old

writers", accepts assumptions which seek to defend its presence in the timetable on doubtful psychological grounds rather than on the more evident historical grounds. Thus it is argued that 'the logical forms of Latin accidence appeal to children'. Proposals consistent with a progressive approach here, include allowing the child to develop at his own speed; that the teacher should choose material suitable to his own interest as well as the ability of the class, and the use of sketches by pupils to illustrate the main themes of Latin passages before formal translation. A similar very limited interventionist attitude is epitomised in a tiny advertisement in New Era in 1922: "Games of Multiplex: For Learning Multiplication Tables and Dates of English Kings".

Such very restricted uses of new methods are, however, rare. Somewhat more interventionist are proposals which require a wider departure from former structures but advocate new systems which only gain superficially in freeing the child from old shackles. An example is an article by LeQuesue (1923), presented as a contribution to a series in New Era at that time dealing with the question of self government in the classroom (which, because of its relationship to child centred principles of education and the principle of pupil involvement, was an early and continuing theme of interest to the N.E.F. throughout the 1920's). LeQuesue described a system of self government in the upper form of a primary school which is essentially transferred authoritarianism. The basis of his system is an outright appeal to the competitive spirit in children, enhanced by the use of social ritual. Thus his

class was reorganised as a "Republic" and divided into teams, and an elite (described as an "Order") created, membership of which required passing tests in which varying numbers of points were awarded for achievement in different areas. Thus "walking a distance of 10 miles in any one day and writing on it" scores 20 points; "attending school for two months without being absent" scores 15; "to have his desk a model of neatness for a fortnight", 20 points; "to recite 500 lines of poetry within two months", 20 points; "to cook a dinner to the parents' satisfaction", 15 points; "to wash the dishes for a fortnight", 20 points; "to do homework for a hundred consecutive evenings", 20 points. Each team was to be responsible for placing its members in order of merit: it is recorded that the winning boy in the poetry test repeated 1,295 lines of verse, and the runner up 1,253 lines. The imagination shown in the description of minutiae of social ritual here (a specially designed badge awarded to every successful candidate for membership of the "Order"), and in particular the careful balance between tasks to be achieved both at school and at home (which, LeQuesue reports, gained the support of many parents, as might well be expected from the examples quoted above), illustrate more radical departures from traditional school practice than in the example of the treatment of Latin teaching, described earlier; as does the concept of class involvement through a 'class republic'. But the tasks themselves constitute a reinforcement of many aspects of traditional formal discipline: the excessive emphasis on neatness and the reduction of poetry to a crude numerical measure of rote learning, for example; and, more deeply, the reinforcement of competitive tendencies throughout the system as a whole. LeQuesue's article is

interesting, because although it is in many respects untypical of N.E.F. approaches, it illustrates how educational innovation can be used to gain the support of children for essentially authoritarian systems, especially through appeals to competition and social ritual, as the Nazi Youth Movements were later on to use successfully. Neuberg (op. cit. pp. 200 - 201) has likewise graphically described the use of social ritual to support authoritarianism in post war communist education in Eastern Europe. Possible relationships of social ritual to goals in education and in counselling have been discussed more widely by Vaughan (op. cit. 1975, pp 106 - 108 and 121-124).

An early article by Coué (1922) describes the use of the much more radical technique of deliberate hypnotic suggestion for ends which likewise appear highly directive. Starting by recommending a gentle but firm approach by parents without having even the temptation to resist ("On les amène ainsi à obéir sans même qu'ils aient la tentation de résister") he goes on to propose that parents might implant suggestions during sleep about things which one desires to obtain from the sleeper (Toutes les nuits ... s'approcher doucement de son lit ... et lui répéter en murmurant la ou les choses qu'on désire obtenir de lui"). He continues by recommending teachers to make pupils close their eyes, and then give the pupils instructions to be polite, kind and obedient to parents and teachers, to obey orders without getting annoyed, and to pay attention at all times to the teacher. The formula was to end



with suggestions that the child is intelligent and will develop powers of memory. Coué's ideas received some attention in the N.E.F. Thus later in the same year (1922, pp. 99-100) Beatrice Ensor devoted the leading article in her editorial for The New Era to the importance of Coué's ideas, stressing his attention to the stimulation of imagination, and his principle that all suggestion is really auto suggestion because it remains inactive unless accepted by the unconscious of the pupil. She describes the acceptance of the Coué formula, by Norman McMunn (at this time Tiptree Hall was based on very liberal ideas similar to those of Homer Lane) but notes that he used it only with difficult boys. McMunn himself had earlier (1921 p. 209) written in The New Era a glowing review of a book by C. Baudoin, describing Coué's methods; directly below which, most unusually, follows an editorial comment by A. S. Neill, who clearly recognised the authoritarian overtones of the method:

"Still, McMunn, I'm afraid of this suggestion business ... if parents are to use suggestion on their children, going to little Billy's bed while he sleeps and saying 'Tomorrow you will be a good boy' I think suggestion will be a crime against humanity".

Neill's reservations, however, did not carry the day, since as we have seen, Coué's paper appeared in a later issue and was supported by Ensor's subsequent editorial; and a further paper (in English, this time) by Coué was published in New Era in 1923. But there is no evidence elsewhere in the British

records of the 1920's that the directive aspects of Coué's work illustrated above, found much support in the N.E.F.

Other examples of directive interventionism occur. An early example is in Drummond (1921). This is an explanation and defence of the Montessori method in education, which was described in Chapter II as strongly structured and system orientated. Drummond accepts the Montessori system as interventionist, claiming that it had aroused more popular discussion and questioning than any other educational method, as well as more misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Writing in a highly positive style (by no means uncommon in early New Era contributors, on many subjects) she sets out to clear away these misunderstandings, and affirms a number of propositions: that a child's attitude is one of work not play (p. 189); that imagination is to be distrusted when it tends to obscure reality as it very often does; and that freedom comes to the child through knowledge (as defined from a Montessorian perspective). From these concepts certain more specific proposals flow: that those work processes in the child should be encouraged which speed the acquisition of knowledge, and others, hostile to, or inefficient in that design, arrested or suppressed. Thus while the child is to be allowed liberty of movement, that: "does not mean that the child is to be left to the mercy of his own impulses ... Dr Montessori is not an apostle of licence. At every step the little child is patiently and lovingly directed until through knowledge he can direct himself" (p. 191). Consistent with the idea of directing at every step is the statement:

"It is in accordance with these principles that Dr Montessori forbids the use of the didactic apparatus except for the purposes for which it is designed. The child may work with it; he may not play with it" (p. 194). Drummond is at her most directive when defending the unique quality of the machinery of the Montessori system: "The Montessori material is the pivot of the Montessori method, and those who imagine for a moment that you can have the one without the other simply show that they have not the least notion of the thoroughgoing and comprehensive character of the method" (p. 191). Finally, since imagination ungeared to an (evident) work process is at best inefficient, the world of the fairytale has only a very limited value: Andersen's tales, for example, only useful as helping the children to read. This attitude is consistent with the refusal to allow children to play with the Montessori apparatus. In claiming that the system as proposed by Drummond represents a fairly extreme case of authoritarian interventionism (in a different sense from the meaning given by Law), it should be noted that nowhere in Drummond's article is there any recognition of the need to experiment with, and change, the Montessori system or materials. Rather, as the quotations illustrate, both in theory and method her perspectives seem fixed and unshakeable. "I see" wrote A. S. Neill in an editorial later the same year, "Montessorianism becoming a dead apparatus - ridden system" (Neill 1921).

Yet the Montessori system itself had a considerable appeal in the N.E.F. especially in the earlier years of that decade. The first reference to it in New Era, in the early pages of the

first issue, is in an editorial where Maria Montessori's visit to Britain the previous year is described as "the most outstanding event in the educational work of 1919". The editorial goes on to add: "We do not think it too much to say that an education having its foundations in the Montessori method, shall itself provide the basis of international peace and understanding". That sweeping statement, which came close to accepting Montessorianism as the basis of the New Education itself, was not repeated, and as we shall see later in this chapter, there is evidence of a much more guarded approach to the formulation of fundamental theory and practice gradually developing throughout the decade; but for a time the interest in Montessorianism remained strong, tinged with criticism. One writer (Woods, 1921) saw both the dangers in it of stereotyping one form of freedom, and of generalising from a few experiments; but another in the same issue (Hughes, 1921) saw it as the first kind of self government for young children, developing initiative, love of work, moral power, and widening of interests. On philosophical grounds it was defended by another, unnamed writer (New Era, 1921 p. 178) as integrating willpower with action, and so increasing freedom. Beatrice Ensor herself gradually moderated her initial enthusiasm for Montessori's work. While still accepting its value, by 1925 she was noting that 'some of Montessori's method, so suited to the Italian child, does not prove successful with an English child' (Ensor, 1925). The Montessori method was however well established in the N.E.F. demonstration school, Frensham Heights, by 1927 - although in

the same context where its work is described, the point is made that "no one particular set method is adopted as a basis, the Dalton, Decroly, Winnetka and Project methods all being used as well". (Halbach, D. V.) During the later 1920's interest in Montessori as a 'panacea' in educational reform is nowhere expressed in New Era, and no further **important** references to it occur.

Among other early interventionist approaches recommending highly structured, somewhat dogmatic, and stable alternatives to conventional education, the remaining one of note is that of Ferrière (discussed in Chapter II). This system did not appear to succeed, as in the case of the Montessori system, in establishing a limited but continuing role in the interests of British educational innovators generally, in spite of Ferrière's long and energetic involvement with the N.E.F. (see cap. 2). Reference to applications in Britain, of his work, are sparse after 1925 in New Era. His system is not referred to among those listed by Halbach as being used experimentally at Frensham Heights in 1927 (although Decroly's was); and although a further paper by Ferrière appeared in the report of the Locarno Conference (Ferriere 1927), it is not mentioned in the editorial introducing that report, (New Era, Vol. VIII 1927, pp. 110-113) although his colleague, Decroly, receives special mention (p. 113).

These examples suggest that in Britain the New Education did not easily accept interventionist alternatives which seemed both highly systematised and inflexible, although such systems

existed and were considered by the innovators. In this context, the progress of A. S. Neill's thought is particularly interesting. He represented an extreme example of reforming interventionism in his rejection of both the structures and most of the values of conventional education. As co-editor of Education for the New Era, and then The New Era from 1920-1922 he was in an excellent position to put forward his views, while his vivid and direct writing, which add a sparkle to the early issues of the magazine, never again quite recaptured, likewise helped this process. Yet in spite of these advantages, he rapidly ran into criticism from readers. An examination of these suggests that their causes lay in the extreme and often provocative way in which he put his views forward together with some dogmatism in supporting them. In July, 1920, while Beatrice Ensor was engaged on urgent Austrian famine relief work, Neill wrote a bold editorial to Education for the New Era praising "rebels" and "cranks" openly; saying that Charlie Chaplin was as necessary to a child's soul as Shakespeare, and had "done more to release pent up emotion than Freud, Jung and Adler all put together"; he also attacked the concepts of obedience and respect, and even the ability of teachers to distinguish between right and wrong (Neill, 1920). This provoked a lively response from readers which Beatrice Ensor had to come to terms with in the next issue. She tried, as far as possible, to pour oil on troubled waters, suggesting that the battle which had raged around Mr Neill's use of the word "respect" was a question of terminology, and that the purpose of the magazine was to cover all shades of opinion in a spirit of tolerance. But she

included a definition of educational reformers which mentioned a group of "Iconoclasts who believe that only by the swift and complete destruction of our present methods can real progress be made!" (Ensor, 1920). Although no reference to her co-editor is made, it is clear that much of what Neill had written in the preceding editorial came uncomfortably close to the margins of that distinction. Neill now found himself in dispute with Claremont, who attacked Neill's statements about pent up emotions (Neill, 1921; C. A. Claremont, 1921), and he also defended himself against a contributor to the January 1921 issue who wrote in favour of maintaining the adult's claim to self respect. (Woods, A. op. cit. 1921). Neill maintained, against the general tide of opinion, the importance of a sudden, rather than a gradual break with the old order: "self government is a psychic necessity if the child is to ahead into the adult. Most of our contributors in this issue have declared against a sudden introduction of self government. I disagree. I am all for the dramatic movement, the abreaction of the repressed emotions" (p. 157). Basic differences between Neill and Ensor, are sharply illustrated elsewhere in the April 1921 issue of The New Era, in their separate answers to a question from a reader whose son was being expelled from school. The head had written to the parent, saying that he could not "sacrifice the many for the one", and the parent asked what was the opinion of the editors. Neill replied thus:

"My opinion is that if a teacher has to expel one pupil, that teacher is in the wrong job ... he is a failure. His duty is to diagnose the trouble, and then put the lad on his own natural

line of development ..."

Immediately beneath this, Beatrice Ensor wrote her own answer:

"My opinion is that, if a child does not fit into a school, his parents should try to find a more suitable school. For instance, a girl may not fit into a coeducational school and yet be quite successful in a girls' school. Also a child who cannot live in the atmosphere of a self-governing school, may be quite happy if sent to a school where the staff rules. Certainly the many should not be sacrificed to the one". (Neill, A.S.N. 1921; Ensor, B.E. 1921, p. 198).

A main difference between these two viewpoints is clearly Neill's absolute refusal to bend his principles; and Beatrice Ensor's willingness to compromise. The compromise is not inadvertent. She goes slightly out of her way to underline the extent to which she would compromise, specifically instancing two areas, coeducation and self government, which were so important to her that she specially mentioned them in the same year in the basic principles of the Fellowship, (see principles 4 and 6 in the Calais Report of that year). Neill resigned as co-editor of The New Era in 1922. Years later he remarked on how critical he had always felt about the New Education Fellowship, as being too conservative (Stewart, op. cit. pp. 286-287). Thereafter his work and movements were mentioned from time to time in The New Era where he was often referred to as 'The Dominie' (e.g. 1927, p. 106, where the first note of Neill's move to Suffolk occurs). But his particular ideas



received little further support in N.E.F. writing throughout that decade. Indeed, the next open support for a completely non-structured approach to education along Neillian lines came from the United States, in a speech at the Locarno conference in 1927 reported the same year in The New Era. (Mariella Johnson, 1927). Here Mariella Johnson, director of the 'School of Organic Education' at Fairhope, Alabama, attacked not only the established structures but new ways of maintaining them, and hence by implication the idea of structures as such :

"There are no new standards ... only new methods of enforcing old standards. What are these standards? They are those which look upon life, even child life, as a long process of getting ready ... for high school, ... for college, ... even the mental tests are standardised in this direction."

The approach is totally child centred in the Neillian sense:

"It is normal for children to be individualist, selfish, greedy. The child is a getter. The normal adult ought to be a giver."

There is, as with Neill, the same positive and at times provocative tone of assertion:

"The whole environment should be one that administers to the child's growth. We should fit ourselves to minister to it. We do not, and so we are not fit for our jobs".

It is interesting to note that support for the extreme pupil centred approach to educational innovation reappeared at this time from the United States, as a little over a decade later the extreme client-centred movement in counselling was also

to come from that land in the work of Carl Rogers. Yet in 1929 Mariella Johnson's paper was as exceptional in the general context of papers given at Locarno, as Neill's had been at Calais in 1921. Thus at Locarno Beatrice Ensor spoke specifically about the need to take into account the child's social background, and the mistake of thinking that everything that belonged to the past was bad. Elizabeth Rotten, of the need to help children to 'find their place in the external ordering of things'; Pierre Bovet, while supporting the principle of complete child freedom, in order to determine psychological laws of human development, argued for the practical need and value of compromise with the older traditions; Decroly spoke for the need to adjust the amount of freedom to the particular individual and his needs, avoiding a blanket libertarianism; Lombardo-Radice (in a paper read for him) argued for balance: he spoke of "a pedagogic superstition that ... entrusts everything to the teacher, while there is a superstition of the pioneers which deprives the masters of everything". Ensor (1927); Rotten (1927); Bovet (1927); Decroly (1927); Lombardo-Radice (1927).

Nor was Mariella Johnson supported by the main speakers from the United States. That country, as described in Chapter I, was passing through a test-dominated phase of innovation at this time in counselling, an influence that was also apparent in educational innovation more widely. Thus Rugg argued for the application of a scientific method in education, for determination of what concepts a child must know at various

ages; attacked free schools for not having this knowledge, and for lack of planning generally; he advocated the use of scientific methods for selecting what ought to be taught, and the teaching techniques; specifically accusing the free schools of neglecting, in their child centred approach, the shortness of childhood and the need to prepare the child for adult life (Rugg, 1927). Carleton Washburne was another speaker from the United States who opposed the Neillian philosophy and practice. He was a very early American influence in British progressive thinking, his first description of scientific approaches to curriculum planning and efficiency of teaching methods having appeared in The New Era a year earlier (Washburne, 1926). His speech at Locarno in several points indicates how far away his views, and the scientific approach he represented, stood from those of Mariella Johnson. He specifically accepts the competitive value of American society; (" we must equip our children to go out and compete, as they will have to compete with other men and women for a living" (p. 126)), and also the need for the child to conform to the status quo more generally:

"We must study society and know just what subjects, what knowledge and skills the child must have, and also we must have diagnostic tests ..."

His approach is structured, with reliance on scientific testing and speed as two main differences from the other structured ideas proposed by Europeans such as Decroly and Ferrière; a further difference is in his separation of creativity from

learning processes! "We propose to teach them all the skills and knowledge they need in the quickest, best, most painless manner possible, and leave as much free time as possible in the curriculum for creative activity and social cooperation". (p. 128).

Elsewhere in the same issue of New Era he indicates how far his Winnetka technique is committed to both system - and structure orientation, which although interventionist in relation to conventional education seems to reinstate one set of conventions, with another, equally bound by considerations of respect for visible performance and mechanical precision :

"If there are 100 ways of putting certain numbers together in the Winnetka technique the child is tested in every one of those ways. He must be 100% perfect before he can go on to the next step. If he makes mistakes he is referred ... to the part of his book which gives him further practice ... Thus, in history, specific facts are asked in the test and there is only one right answer" ... (New Era, op. cit. sup.p155).

Another American speaker, William Rutherford, also supported a systematised, problem centred approach to education. (Rutherford, 1927).

#### Summary on Interventionism

The discussion on interventionism made so far points towards these conclusions :

1. That interventionist attitudes were publicised in Britain in the 1920's in some ways similar to those described by Law in his study of counsellors four decades later, in which he indicated a group who showed a desire to take positive steps to change the status quo.
2. That, however, where this appears to be associated among some counsellors with an open rather than a system orientation, it was not so in education. Rather, two further patterns appeared (a) a system-and structure-orientated interventionism aimed at replacing one set of conventions by another, the proponents varying mainly in the degree of freedom they allow for experimental change to the new structures: (Ferrière, Decroly, Ensor, Claremont, Drummond, Rugg, Washburne) and (b) a non-structured but system orientated interventionism represented in its extreme form by A. S. Neill and Mariella Johnson. It is suggested that these apparent differences may well not indicate any essential difference between the attitudes of the educational innovators of the 1920's and those of modern counsellors, the apparent differences being due to the limits of the current research findings in counselling in this area. This, however, is reviewed further in the conclusion to the chapter.
3. That innovatory approaches that had strong authoritarian overtones did not gain much acceptance, or were actively attacked, in Britain during the 1920's. Examples include the proposals of Coué, A. S. Neill, some aspects of the Montessori system, and to some extent the work of Ferrière.

Reaction to American thought, which appeared later in the decade, is examined in the next section.

#### Gradualist Intervention and the Search for a System

Most writers to New Era recognised the importance of working with the established system of education, in attempts to promote gradual change from within, rather than to work for its overthrow and replacement. This is indicated in Appendix II where nearly all authors show a willingness to accept the status quo as a starting point. The desire to avoid any head-on collision with established systems was also evident in the N.E.F. carefully phrased statement of principles. The differences already described above between Beatrice Ensor and A. S. Neill can also partly be interpreted in terms of Mrs Ensor's willingness to compromise as far as possible. That this did not spring from fear of, or weakness towards, established public values, is indicated in the remarkably outspoken issues of New Era on sex education in January and April 1924. Beatrice Ensor clearly realised the danger of explicit attention to sex education at that time, warning that her readers might object to her frankness, and bidding them to consider their own prejudices and limitations. She argued for explicit discussions about sex and its meaning, for dissociating sex with sin, and for sex education in schools. (B. Ensor 1924 pp. 1 - 7). A series of articles by contributors dealt in what today would be considered an innocuous way, with general problems of sex education, one section being given also to short descriptions of six case histories, suggesting individual relationships

between sexual difficulties and kleptomania, and difficulties of concentration; and dealing with instances of homosexuality and masturbation. Mrs Ensor's expectations of public opposition were justified. Advertisements for the January, 1924 issue were refused by the English Review, The Field, The Queen, John O'London's Weekly, The Welsh Outlook and the Weekly Freeman. Some Scottish readers were particularly shocked, and in one place copies of the magazine were burnt. (Ensor, 1924, p. 37). In spite of this reception, the April 1924, issue of New Era contained 7 further articles on the subject (see Appendix II) describing sex education at Bedales, and in the United States, and having two substantial articles on homosexuality and abnormal sex development. By contrast, the next issue, for July 1924 was much more neutral, dealing almost entirely with descriptions of educational innovations in overseas countries (Appendix II).

The explicit treatment of sex, in contrast to the generally more compromising and gradualist approach of the movement, can be understood by looking at the forces which moved through the N.E.F. during this decade; which at times seemed likely to institutionalise it, but from which the Fellowship escaped again and again, the New Era retaining in the close of the decade, in 1929, much the same open and experimental approach with which it started in 1920. In Britain this process reflected much of the personal psychology of Beatrice Ensor herself, who was the only editor, after A. S. Neill's resignation in 1922, until October 1928, when she began to pass the editing of individual issues of the publication to others,

as she was frequently abroad. During the last years of the decade also, the base of theory and philosophy began to widen with the rising fortunes of the movement, and in England, with the emergence in it of powerful and influential voices such as Sir Michael Sadler and Percy Nunn

Influence of Beatrice Ensor throughout  
the 1920's

(1) Her main expressed convictions.

Beatrice Ensor remained constant throughout her editorship to two main underlying convictions: the validity of mystical experience, that belief in a world elsewhere, which as Lawson and Petersen have emphasised (op. cit. (1972) chapter II), formed a main current more generally in progressive education; and second, to the importance of the 'New Psychology', especially to those schools of thought within it which seemed to her to integrate the spiritual, the individual, and the group: thus she was particularly interested in the psychology of Jung. Spirituality is **emphasised** in the first sentence of the first principle of the Fellowship in 1921, and the implication, that the child is basically good, and that education should therefore aim at developing this innate goodness, underpins all the remaining principles. Her convictions in this matter recur from time to time in editorials and elsewhere. An early paper (Jinarajadasa 1920) was directly taken from a speech given to the Theosophical Society, (although Beatrice Ensor generally avoided using the Fellowship as a voice piece for Theosophical Views) and epitomises both her interest in spirituality and



psychology (its title was 'The Multiple Personality of the Child'). In January 1921 she criticised the degradation of education in modern times, recalling its ancient root in religion both in Western Europe and India (Ensor, 1921, p.123). Her belief produced its own optimism which merged with that of post war Europe to produce occasional expressions of over optimism, as in her equation of the old, restricted forms of education with the main sum of human unhappiness in the past. (Ensor, 1922). On one occasion, her interest in, and desire to demonstrate, the reality of 'a world elsewhere' led New Era to give considerable publicity to alleged photographing of fairies, in which she made statements that implied acceptance of the evidence: "we have recently come across other children who see fairies, and we are trying to obtain more photos", and: a very careful distinction should be made between these (fairies) which are as definite as the more material things of everyday life, and the purely imaginary fairy tales ..." (my italics).

In April 1925 she brought out a complete issue of New Era on spiritualising the curriculum (Appendix III) and in a somewhat reflective editorial in 1926, spoke of the value of solitude, and of withdrawing into the spirit for a few minutes every morning on awakening. (Ensor 1926). The importance of religion also dominates her editorial for April 1928, much of which contains explicit statements of her convictions.

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In fairness to Mrs Ensor, the validity of the alleged photographs has never been disproved, or established, in spite of much investigation, and was still being discussed as late as 1975. (Gardner, 1975).

She saw a need to subdue the superficial everyday self, in order to release the real self, a viewpoint consistent with Theosophical thought, and with a long philosophical tradition in education (McCallister op. cit. 1931). This led her to support Coué, in spite of directive overtones, and to give a personal interpretation to some aspects of Jungian psychology. Thus in commenting on Coué's paper (op. cit. 1922) earlier in the year, she said in an autumn editorial in 1922:

"There is a good deal of discussion among educationists on the Coué theory of the inferiority of the Will to the Imagination and we are inclined to believe that this is because M. Coué and his school are using the term Will in the restricted sense of the personal not of the normal consciousness: but if we realise that the chief aim of character building is the surrender of the lower self to the higher self, we begin to understand the place of will in the narrow sense in relation to will in the wider sense". (Ensor 1922 p. 99).

In chapter II it was argued that Mrs Ensor had partially misinterpreted Jung's description of the Persona in denying its association with the self. This is consistent with the differentiation between two broadly opposed attributes of the individual in the above quotation. Her position thus allowed her to accept discipline, of a humane kind, in education, and so reduced the distance between her views and those of more formal educationalists, making compromise easier, and allowing her to accept, to some extent, a directive approach in education and in guidance. Mrs Ensor's concern with spiritual values led her towards an 'inner centred' approach - the approach of that group

of thinkers who consider that objective reality is a reflection of what the mind sees. Barclay (1968) has noted that among counsellors belonging to this group, the validity of intuitions and feelings is accepted as important, with a corresponding reduction of attention to the empirical assessment of overt behaviour (which in Carl Roger's thought, for example, reaches as far as to deny the applicability of tests in counselling). Mrs Ensor shows a considerable agreement with this position, in several revealing passages in New Era, although she adopts a much more tolerant attitude towards testing than Rogers was later to do. Thus in October 1923, in an editorial introducing the report on the Montreux conference she states :

"The importance of the unconscious mind cannot be over estimated ... the unconscious of the individual is part of the collective unconscious of the universe, which is God himself, the reservoir of power, the storehouse of memory, the well of wisdom ... the total expression of the ages". (Ensor 1923, p. 216).

In the same editorial, she goes on to say that as God is within, and man is good, imposed authority from without must be used carefully ("beware of retarding progress by too dominant emotional or mental influence"). The progression of her thought here illuminates her tolerance, her avoidance of the conclusion which A. S. Neill would have made, and which Edmond Holmes (1911) specifically reached from the same premises, that therefore any imposed authority is bad, and that therefore externally imposed tests are irrelevant. \*

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"Inward and spiritual growth ... cannot possibly be measured. The real "results" of education are in the child's mind and heart and soul beyond the reach of any measuring tape or weighing machine". Holmes, E. (1911) op. cit. p. 52.

Jung's concept of the collective unconscious had thus a powerful appeal to Mrs Ensor. She concludes her editorial by appealing to the Fellowship to develop its own collective unconscious, even suggesting that by this process "any member, however remote in space, can at any moment become linked to the collective unconscious of the Fellowship". (p. 218). In 1924 she invited Jung to come to London to speak at the New Education Session of the British Empire Exhibition, which he accepted. (Ensor, 1924, p. 41). The importance of Jungian principles at the root of the 'New Psychology' is explicitly stated in another editorial in 1926 (Ensor, 1926, p.3), and in 1927 she moves tentatively towards proposing the expression of the collective unconscious as the basic goal of the New Education itself:

"It seems to us that the different lines of thought in the New Education are working towards a discovery which will revolutionise the whole of our educational methods. Are we not seeking to tap the sources of the collective unconscious which contains the potentialities of the human race, and in which the past, present, and future are blended?" (Ensor, 1927, p.2).

The belief in 'making the unconscious conscious', amounting at times almost to a crusade, explains the bold publications on sex education described earlier, since in both Freudian and Jungian psychology sex is seen as a repressed force requiring greater recognition in conscious life than the mores of English education in the 1920's permitted.

- (2) The attitude of Beatrice Ensor to the rise of the test centred movement in psychology.

As the decade progressed, however, she was increasingly obliged to recognise that a new movement in psychology, deriving from a different and indeed opposed philosophical root, had begun to diffuse its influence widely in the progressive movement, in the shape of empirical approaches being extensively developed in the United States and making wide use of psychological and other tests. Beatrice Ensor's underlying dislike for these ideas is very carefully restrained, in keeping with her tolerant and balanced approach to educational innovation generally, but it breaks out in one unusual and clear statement in 1928, (after she had studied the American system at first hand during previous visits :

"Nothing but statistics and measurement kill life. Any scientifically planned method may become over organised, may emphasise the system and forget the reasons for its existence". (Ensor, 1928, p. 108)

Yet even here she qualifies her attitude by going on to point out the usefulness of such methods, especially for the majority of teachers who cannot rely on intuition alone, and must depend on 'substitutes' which however are 'not fundamental'. That Mrs Ensor did not allow her personal convictions to prejudice her publication against the behaviour centred approaches is indicated in their treatment throughout New Era in this decade; thus we have already surveyed the favourable reaction given to the Montessori methods. Descriptions of empirical casework in an Ohio school were published as early as 1921 (Ensor 1921, p.202). In the same year an article on Dewey philosophy appeared (Schneider, 1921). We have already noted (Cap. 2) the early

attention given to intelligence testing at the 1921 Calais conference. In January, 1925, Beatrice Ensor noted that such tests "have come to stay" although "at present they appear to be too mechanical" (Ensor, 1925, p.3). She appealed for their use in connection with other tests, rather than alone, in a prophetic statement accurately predicting the accepted approach of counsellors using such tests in later decades :

"In the future it is possible that tests of emotion will be evolved and that by a combination of these with mental tests an extremely valuable index of ability and personality will be obtained".

Parallel views in later counselling theory, are for example Strong (1948 p.44)) and especially Super, D. and Crites (1962, Cap. 20) which contains important definitive statements supporting this viewpoint. In the same editorial Mrs Ensor also described intelligence testing in Madrid and cited individual examples of casework with difficult children in London. The following year, after a visit to the United States, she described her findings in a long editorial (Ensor, 1926, pp. 90-104) in which she gives a detailed description of intelligence testing; notes its general use in schools, and that most pioneer teachers approve of the process, as adding precision to ordinary assessment. The tone of her comments here is however flat and factual, rather than enthusiastic, and she concludes on a note of caution about their limited value, seeing them as belonging to an area separate from the more important one of creativity. Yet in 1927 she reprinted an American paper on

'schools of tomorrow' in which the spread of objective measurement is specifically predicted and praised (Morgan, 1927).

We have already noted the attention given by important American speakers such as Washburne at Locarno during the same year to the use of objective tests. In 1928 again in New Era a number of authors dealt in detail and sympathetically with the rise of test-linked psychological services in Britain, one of them (Scott, M.) describing the work of Burt and Spearman, The British Psychological Society's Research into the use of tests in schools, and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. A range of books for teachers interested in using psychological tests is also given, and the involvement of the London Day Training College and others in such work scanned. It was however in the editorial immediately following this issue of New Era that her (already quoted) observation was made about statistics killing life.

From time to time Mrs Ensor revealed a movement towards the acceptance of one or other system as basic for the N.E.F., but did not permit such tendencies to dominate. We have already noted the early enthusiasm for the Montessori approach, and the deeper involvement with Jungian psychology, which, however, even as late as 1927, still retained only one place among many orders of thought represented in The New Era. Towards the middle of the decade, the theory of recapitulation,<sup>\*</sup> present in the thought of both Ferrière and Decroly, was pressed forward, being presented in a precise and reductive form by the influential philosopher Emile Marcault in a paper which sought to show

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\* The theory or doctrine that the individual in his development recapitulates the stages or types which have been passed through in the evolution of the race, or, in brief, that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. See Drever (1952).

that stages in individual development rather exactly coincided with specific centuries of European history (Marcault, 1925), a viewpoint seconded in a short separate note in the same issue, by Ferrière (Ferrière, 1925, p. 105).

Beatrice Ensor took the arguments seriously. In an editorial to the next issue of New Era, in January 1926, she predicted that in future education would be based on a study of the "evolutionary phases of the child's consciousness, which changes and develops as the child grows" (italics in original). She suggested stages based on sensation (birth to 6/7 years), action (7-12), emotion (12-16 years), and reason (16-21 years) (Ensor, 1926, pp. 45-47). She did not, however, try to develop any complex structure on the basis of recapitulation theory, beyond suggesting an integration of it with Jungian principles as a broad basis for understanding the modern educational scene, in a further editorial in 1927. (Ensor, 1927, pp.2-3). In several places in The New Era throughout that decade she emphasised her refusal and that of the Fellowship, to subscribe exclusively to any one approach. An explicit statement, leaving such decisions to the individual teacher, occurs in an editorial in 1923 (Ensor, 1923 pp. 38-39), and is retained throughout the decade. In 1929 at the Elsinore conference Sir Percy Nunn made a powerful bid to unite the two main currents of thought then present in the Fellowship, the 'inner' centred and 'outer' (empirical orientated) movements already described, and which Nunn defined as the 'spiritual' and 'biological' respectively. Beatrice Ensor noted the importance of his contribution in her editorial, and then added:



"Yet in the formulation of a philosophy of wholes (Nunn's thesis) we must follow Dr Raup's advice and beware of the fallacy that any one set of principles can adequately take care of all human life, for 'as sure as a person gets a nice system to which he adheres rigidly and relentlessly, he observes the values but he also cuts across other values in life'." (Ensor, 1929, p.199). Later in the same editorial she adds, while accepting psychology as the basic informing discipline of the New Education: "above all, let us beware of seizing upon an exaggerated psychological method, and train ourselves to make use of the findings of all the various schools of psychological thought" (Ensor, op. cit. supra p. 200).

On the other hand, her deep interest in inner orientated education and in the reinstatement of spiritual values in psychological and educational terms, led her to neglect, to some extent, the importance of more mundane but potentially decisive forces stemming from economic and political realities. In an interesting article on 'Schools of Tomorrow' in 1925 ( a very unusual departure from her policy of containing her main comments in editorials) she imagines returning to England from abroad twenty years later and finding all the schools in the country following progressive principles with a disappearance of prejudice generally (Ensor, 1925). She fails to appreciate the importance of deeply institutionalised industrial and other economic forces (although her imaginary visit to a school is set in an industrial part of England) and the survivability of the public examination system.

It can perhaps be objected in her favour that the international

climate in 1925 was favourable to such speculation, but A. S. Neill in his comparatively short time as coeditor a few years earlier had shown more awareness of potentially dangerous political events, and of the limits of idealism. As early as 1921 he included an extract from The New Age, warning about the dangers to world peace of international competition over oil rights, mentioning it in his editorial. Later that year he specifically referred to 'the coming second world war', and the general refusal of mankind to change the emotional attitudes towards aggression that cause war. On the other hand in the same short article he shows himself committed to a system of psychological beliefs and their expression, more fixed than those of Beatrice Ensor. (Neill 1921, p. 216).

Summary of the influence of Beatrice Ensor's  
thought in the decade 1920 - 1929

In summary, although Mrs Ensor was essentially an 'inner centred' individual who may have neglected some of the broader economic and political forces that influence education, tending to over emphasise the inner psychological ones, she was able to sustain a balanced approach, conscientiously representing to her readers the play of two main influences on progressive thought: a spiritual psychology closely aligned to that of Jung, powerful throughout the decade; and an empirical psychology, linked to the important test-centred movement, which gathered force throughout the decade from American and British origins. That neither of these or any other single set of ideas, was allowed to dominate and institutionalise the movement appears

to have been largely due to Beatrice Ensor's own strong personality and principles, equally able to assert a control on the vividly expressed libertarianism of Neill and on her own doubts about empirical tests.

Early Attitudes to Specialist Guidance and Counselling.

(a) The perceived difference between teaching and specialist guidance roles.

From the basic propositions of this thesis, it should be possible to predict that a generally favourable attitude would be taken by members of the Fellowship towards specialist guidance and counselling services wherever these were found in schools. But it must be remembered that at this time neither in America nor in Britain had counselling reached the stage of developmental counselling, where as described in Chapter I and 2, it comes particularly close to an application of many principles of progressive education. Rather, guidance services in both countries were much concerned with the use and development of psychological tests; in the United States in particular, as Super, Pepinski, McDaniel and Shaften, Berdie, Beck and others are agreed (See Cap. I), test dominated, problem centred, broadly directive forms of guidance had emerged from the original concepts of Frank Parsons, under the stimulus of empirical aptitude and selection tests developed in the first world war. Since educational changes in North America were interpreted to British Fellowship members partly through the eyes of Beatrice Ensor, who described in The New Era her first hand impressions, one would expect a treatment at once fair but unenthusiastic. On the other hand one would expect developments in this field to be seen as relevant:

they were new, experimental, based in the important discipline of psychology, and individually orientated. With this in mind, the full range of articles, editorials, reports and reviews, in the New Era for the decade were examined for examples of comment and description in the area of specialist guidance and counselling.

The first actual use of the word "counsellor" in the sense of someone offering a helping relationship to pupils on a one-to-one basis, occurs in The New Era for July 1926\* in an article by an American school principal describing educational innovation in her school (L. Wilson 1926). This may well be the first use of the term with its modern meaning, in any British publication, since it predates by 37 years the similar use of the term in the 1963 Newsom Report, previously thought to be its first application (See Cap. I). Wilson's use of the term in 1926 was, however, not generally taken up, and both before and after that date references are frequently made to specialists loosely described as such, or as 'psychologists' or 'school psychologists' although the context often implies a lower level of specialisation than that of a British University degree. The earliest hints of a potentially favourable attitude to specialist guidance functions as they existed in the 1920's, come in descriptions of casework in an Ohio Psychological Clinic, in a set of 'international notes', in The New Era for April 1921 (p. 202). Here three cases of learning difficulties in school are described, with their outcomes. Case histories of sexual problems were described (in the context of the two issues of The New Era on that topic) in 1924 (pp. 14-18). The issue for

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\* "Individualised 'guidance' by expert members of the staff - three of them, all with special fitness and training for this complex and difficult duty. These counsellors constantly complement and supplement the work of the class and home room teachers" (My italics) (L. Wilson, op. cit. p. 133).

January 1925 was particularly interesting, as it concentrated on examinations and intelligence testing (Beatrice Ensor followed it immediately by an issue on spiritualising the curriculum. See Appendix III).

In her editorial for this January 1925, Mrs Ensor makes the point that the progressive school is suitable for functions that would today be grouped among those of guidance and counselling:

"Under the free methods indicated it is possible to study the individual child and to adjust psychological difficulties, which, in an ordinary school, would have caused the child to be dubbed naughty or lazy." (Ensor 1925, p. 5-6).

Six case histories follow, describing behaviour and other disturbances, all with perceived roots in home problems. In the same issue a generally favourable review is given to a publication surveying psychological tests for use in schools and mainly compiled by Cyril Burt. (p. 31). In her article of the same year on schools of tomorrow, reviewed above, Mrs Ensor described a staff member called an "adviser":

"It is no longer expected that a certain child will reach a stage by a certain age. There are small companies in charge of an adviser or teacher who is in close touch with each child; the companies are grouped together according to intelligence, not according to age. The relationship between the teachers and children is one of friendship. The teachers not only help in work but in play also, guiding and advising."

"Then do the children choose their own subjects?"

"Not altogether. The advisers help them to choose, and there

are certain main subjects which a child must study. We realise ... that the aim of education is ... the development of the inherent faculties in each child, and the building of character" (Ensor, New Era, 1925, p. 85).

This passage has been quoted at length for several reasons:

- (a) It is the first prediction in The New Era of a semi-specialist guidance or counselling role, in education, and by an influential personality.
- (b) It quite accurately predicts the emergence in Britain of a role equidistant between teaching and full time guidance specialisation, which has tended to evolve since the 1960's, as we have seen.
- (c) By direct implication, Beatrice Ensor sees the semi-specialist guidance worker as essentially an educator, and part of the progressive movement in education.
- (d) There is some acceptance of the relevance of psychological tests (grouping by intelligence) but otherwise no further mention of such tests, consistent with Beatrice Ensor's basic resistance to such systems, described above. As a consequence, there is no recognition of the need for detailed pupil records, which are not described elsewhere in the article.
- (e) The quotation disclosed an essential similarity between the teaching roles, and some basic components of later counselling roles, which we explored in Chapter I: emphasis on the individual, and on rapport (a relationship of friendship) for example.
- (f) Guidance is seen here as developmental, rather than problem-

centred, but not as client centred in the Rogerian sense. The description confirms, at this point, a basic proposition of the thesis, that the approach of educational innovators in the 1920's was basically similar to that advocated in the most advanced stages of counselling four decades later: a form of developmental guidance. It is particularly notable in view of the fact that guidance specialists in education, mainly in America, at that time, were largely engaged in problem centred, test orientated work.

- (g) Finally, Beatrice Ensor notices the relation between personal and educational guidance, and sees them as being handled by the same person, rather than split off into separate specialist roles. Such separation existed, as we have seen, in North America at that time, the first steps at reconciliation not being reached until 1950, when as we have seen (Cap. 1), mental health was recognised as an aim of vocational guidance by the American National Vocational Guidance Association. However, the movement in North America in schools has not been towards a shared teaching and counselling role. In Britain, as we have seen, specialisation in individual areas of guidance and counselling remains, alongside shared/teaching/counselling roles.

In the following year (1926) the first description of a counsellor occurs, described above, from an American source, describing a role different from that of Ensor's **advisers'**, in that it is more specialised and separate from teaching and

the process of personal guidance is seen as mainly passing through the role of the teacher. Beatrice Ensor herself recognised this difference: in her description in July 1926 of progressive schools she had studied during her recent six week visit to the United States, she passes over in seven lines a brief mention of "trained psychologists" on the staff of most state schools "in charge of the records and intelligence testing, and whose special work is the study of difficult children" (Ensor, New Era, 1926 p. 99), seeing only a very limited relationship between the work of these specialists and functions central to education. (In the same editorial she gives 64 lines to the Dalton Plan, over 150 to the Winnetka Technique, and 65 lines to Art). She summarises, in a later editorial the same year (Ensor, New Era Vol. VII, Oct. 1926, p. 149) her picture of the true teacher:

"In the language of modern psychology, the true teacher establishes the right relationship between herself and her pupils so that there may be no reserves, no checks to the outflowing life for which the teacher is the guide and inspirer. The supreme service of education is perhaps to unfold in the child the capacity for creative self expression and to lead the child to a vocation in which these powers can be expressed in the service of others". (italics in the original). The appeal again to rapport, to child centred activity, and to the need to establish a relationship between education and creative work in later life would have been acceptable descriptions of a counsellor's role as seen through the eyes of later counselling specialists such as Wrenn, in America, or Hughes



in England for example. It was not seen by Mrs Ensor as the role of a guidance specialist in the 1920's: in summary she saw the function of modern developmental counselling as being discharged then through the work of a progressive teacher; and in the future also through her concept of semi specialist advisers; to the existing specialist role, which she first of all studied in North America, she was willing to accord only a very limited recognition. There is no evidence that she foresaw the evolution of modern developmental counselling out of the test centred specialist roles of that time as such. Nor was she alone in this. The other specific "futurist" article in the literature surveyed is by the American, Jay E. Morgan (op. cit. 1927). Although this article scores a number of bulls eyes, predicting widening curriculum choice, closer integration between education and employment, longer teacher training, widening experimental work, films, radio, TV and continuing education, and although the author sees a use for objective tests and measurements, the latter are described in terms which place them as props of education, rather than as central to it. Once again, the functions of developmental guidance are seen as the list suggests, to pass through the role of a teacher rather than through both teacher and counsellor.

A. S. Neill also saw counselling functions as being essentially those of a teacher. In the issue of New Era for April, 1928, (reviewing progressive education in England) he made a (now rare) appearance, reviewing his work at Summerhill. Here he describes "Private Lessons", especially for new children:

"I sit and smoke while the child sits and brings up his various worries. At the moment a new boy who has had an unhappy time sits daily and invents uncomplimentary epithets about my face. This will continue until he exhausts his interest". (Neill 1928).

It is clear that Neill is here describing a form of client centred counselling role closely similar to that of Carl Rogers (other similarities of philosophy between Neill and Rogers were examined in Chapter I), but within a teaching role.

(b) The attitude towards the specialist guidance role.

We have already surveyed Beatrice Ensor's personal attitude towards the emerging test-centred, prescriptive specialist guidance role of the 1920's, in her accepting but basically unexcited tolerance of the test-centred movement, the useful but tangential role accorded to the specialists themselves, and her failure to predict an evolution of it into an education centred one. Nowhere in New Era for the 1920's is there any article specifically recognising the existing specialist role as having an educational function beyond that. A favourable review of a book on vocational guidance occurs in 1925 (New Era, p. 65); in 1926 a description of the work of the International Bureau of Education in Switzerland notes that Poland had asked it for information on vocational guidance; (New Era 1926, p. 138); in 1927 there is a favourable review of a work on guidance by the Child Study Association of America (New Era p. 67). In 1928, as already noted, Margaret Scott's article

surveyed in some detail the existing psychological services, clinics and research centres in England. The scene described is almost exclusively one of experimentation with, and advocacy of, the extended use of tests for educational and vocational classification. An interesting exception occurs in her description of the Pioneer Health Centre, at 142 Queens Road, Peckham, London, SE. This organisation existed specifically to further the aims of a preventative guidance and Miss Scott notes that it had therefore to aim to include the normal area of the population in "an adventure in social medicine". (New Era, 1928, p. 93). The aims of this organisation, clearly seen as 'advanced' by the standards of the 1920's, suggest a wider relevance for the historical trend in guidance from a prescriptive stage to a preventative stage, which occurred in North America. Again, the attitude shown in New Era towards this trend is consistent with what has been suggested already: it receives a generally favourable notice, but is not seen either by Miss Scott or by Beatrice Ensor as indicating the evolution of the test-centred guidance movement into anything further. Finally, towards the end of the October 1928 issue of The New Era the establishment of the first child guidance clinic in London is noted (New Era, 1928, p. 200).

We have seen that essentially system-orientated interventionist movements existed within the Fellowship from its inception, balanced by others, notably the thought of Beatrice Ensor, which preferred a more middle of the road, experimental approach, or, in the terms of this thesis, an approach moderately systematised and structured, and resting on few principles.

The absence of marked enthusiasm, and the cautious acceptance of the rising test-centred psychology reflected to a large extent Beatrice Ensor's influence on New Era, but was found also in other influential figures. Sir Michael Sadler, then President of the English Section of the New Education Fellowship, speaking at Elsinore in 1929 on examinations, showed considerable resistance to their extension. (Sadler, 1929). It is true that he was speaking of competitive academic examinations, but it can be argued that there is a considerable overlap between that, and the area of psychological testing: in both, an individual is compared against the performance of his peers; and so both have a competitive principle at their root; both can be (and were in the 1920's) used for selection by assigning cut-off scores or grades for this purpose; historically Binet validated his first intelligence tests in Paris towards the close of the 19th century, against the criterion of pupils graded into bright and dull groups by their teachers; and the uprush of interest in psychological tests in the 1920's came largely from their successful use for selection in the first world war. Quoting Sir Philip Hartog, Sadler emphasised the point that there were areas of culture not amenable to examination:

"Examinations test, and can test, that part of a man's or a woman's education in which it is useful and necessary to think and act more or less on a model. Culture is that part of education which is meaningless unless it is sensitive and individual". (Sadler, New Era, 1929, p.13).

He describes a kind of Englishman whose important contribution

to public affairs rests on intuition rather than reason:

"they do not reduce the operation of their minds to the currency of words ... but they and their kind are immensely important as factors in the collective judgement of England ... they do not know when they are beaten, and by their tenacity of prejudice or conviction they beat others oftener than they know" (p.15). Finally, he appeals for a widening of the base of examinations to include teachers' assessments, and assessments of the school situation as well, and care in noting the bearing of economic forces on selection processes. Much of this is directly in agreement with Super and Crites' (op. cit.) warning, four decades later, against decisions in guidance and counselling based on a single, or limited range of psychological tests.

#### CONCLUSION

Throughout the decade the N.E.F. in Britain continued to show the same patterns of approach to education which appeared in the first conference in Calais, examined in the last Chapter. The agreement, explicit or implicit, throughout the mass of material surveyed in this chapter, is that the approach to education should emphasise rapport: pupil activity; be developmental; and, generally, experimental. These and the basic emphasis on the individual pupil, from which they stemmed, are principal components of the approach of modern specialist counsellors to their clients. Differences in opinion at Calais arose from the interpretation of 'child-centred' concepts. Similar differences of opinion have arisen in modern counselling, and in previous chapters a relationship

between the differences of opinion on this subject, both in counselling and in progressive education, has been suggested in terms of an open/system orientation on the one hand; and a tendency towards, or away from reducing theory to structures requiring the client, or pupil, to meet a sequence of criteria in a basically problem-centred approach.

A main point to emerge in the present chapter concerns the concept of system orientation, the concept of interventionism, and the relationship between them. We have already explored the proposition, first described in Law's research among British school counsellors, that attitudes to children vary along an open/system orientation, and we have seen, in Chapter II, that this concept could be applied to the views of the early innovators, so that Ferrière and Montessori among others stand close to the system orientated end, and Neill, and Mariella Johnson (from the present chapter) stand nearer the open-orientated end. Law went on, towards the close of his research, to suggest interventionism as a definable axis cutting across this first open-system axis, as suggested in this chapter in diagram 1. In Law's research, interventionism emerges as a general aggressive attitude, which could be used to defend the status quo, producing his authoritative counsellors, and, equally, to attack the status quo, producing a subversive kind of counsellor. It should perhaps be re-emphasised that this diagram was only put forward tentatively by Law, as a possible idea for further research, since it emerged only towards the end of his work, and was not

a central point of his thesis. In this chapter we have carefully examined interventionism among the innovators of the 1920's and find a rather different picture:

1. In the first place, the simple distinction between interventionism and non-interventionism becomes suspect. True, the innovators were all, by definition, interventionists but their interventionism varied. Some, as we have seen, wished only to use new methods to support old priorities, restricting the new ideas to the field of improving subject learning. Others, such as Neill and Ferriere, Decroly and others, proposed very different systems from those conventionally in use, but as we shall examine presently, varied greatly in their ideas of introducing them. Between these, a very influential group, principally represented by Beatrice Ensor and her associates, wished to experiment with various kinds of reform, and gradually to bring them into the conventional system, by processes which we have described as gradualist intervention, or integration. The idea that interventionism for the purposes of reform is subversive, does not, as we have seen, hold for the innovators generally.
  
2. The pattern of interventionism we have found suggests that it is not possible to predict attitudes towards the adult world from attitudes towards children as revealed in Law's open/system orientation. The most striking difference between the two sets of attitudes is shown here by Neill, Johnson, and their supporters. Towards

children their approach is extremely permissive, placing them at the open end of the open/system orientation. Towards adults on the other hand, their attitudes are highly authoritarian, and no compromise is accepted with those who disagree with their ideas. If, however, we turn to system orientated innovators, we find that Ferriere did not, for example, adopt a similar aggressive attitude. It is true that he attempted to lay down sets of rules for defining whether or not a school could be called progressive, but he did not assert the validity of his rules with the directive certainty with which Neill supported his libertarian views. The fact that system orientated approaches to educational reform could vary so much in the attitudes of their proponents towards the conventional pattern, i.e. that the kind of interventionism they sought could vary, makes us wonder if, at the opposite extreme, libertarian views such as those of A. S. Neill, need necessarily be associated with an authoritarian, rebellious attitude to the conventional system. Since the evidence we have surveyed so far does not allow us to say anything definite on this point, we cannot go beyond the observation, that the application of Law's open/system orientation to expressed opinions in education, <sup>partly</sup> defines educational innovators' attitudes towards children, and not towards the adult world. The fact that educational innovators could vary so widely in the kind of interventionism they sought, independently of their attitudes towards children, is an important



point, since, together with the wide use of generalisations common to much early writing in the field, it explains how people with very different attitudes towards children and adults could initially seem to be preaching the same gospel of innovation: thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, fascists were able to defend their views in New Era in the 1930's in closely similar terms to those used by Beatrice Ensor and others, whose attitudes towards both children and society in general were very different.

3. A final point to emerge is that nowhere during our survey of the 1920's do we find groups corresponding to the 'paternalist' or 'authoritarian' counsellors described in Law's model. The implications appear to be, either that the educational innovators we have studied do not overlap completely on these criteria with modern school counsellors, or that, had further research on the nature of interventionism been carried out, the 'paternalist' and 'authoritarian' patterns of responses might have been shown not to be homogeneous categories.

That such research has not yet been done in Britain can very largely be explained by the probability that counselling has not yet reached the 'social action' stage: in which the validity of the social and educational structures containing it is questioned. The implications from American research are, as we saw in Chapter I, that a 'social action' stage would follow an earlier developmental stage. Some evidence supporting the idea that in Britain a 'social action' stage has not yet

appeared widely among counsellors, but that a 'developmental' stage has been partly reached, comes from earlier research by Vaughan (op. cit. 1976, pp 18-21 and 90-91). Using an open ended questionnaire containing such questions as "what do you personally understand by the term 'counselling'?" and "can you define the long term aims of your counselling practice?" among others which provided opportunities for very wide interpretations of the role, he examined 41 returns from counsellors working in a wide range of other occupations, including teaching, social work, psychotherapy, the churches, general medical practice, and the law. Using a thematic analysis with an independent assessor, 32 respondents were found who described counselling mainly in terms of the solution of immediate or forthcoming decisions in the client's life. 16 of those however qualified their replies in one or more answers to subsequent questions in such a way as to suggest a longer term, developmental responsibility to their clients. Three others specifically described counselling in developmental terms. But none of the 41 respondents described counselling in any way as being concerned with changing the social or occupational institutions in which they worked. As far as it goes, this evidence suggests that such ideas among practising counsellors are still in an embryonic state, although as our survey of British writing in counselling in Chapter I indicates, they are implicit among many leaders of counselling thought.

So far we have been looking at how far the role concepts of modern British counsellors seem to be in accord with the aims of the

earlier progressive educators. The survey in this chapter however has also examined the related question of how far the earlier innovators saw specialist counselling itself as relevant to the kind of reforms they wished to encourage, (bearing in mind that such terms as 'client-centred counselling' and 'developmental counselling' had not then appeared and these concepts have to be identified by descriptions of their functions; and that the earlier stage of specialist guidance work in the 1920's was mainly on information-giving and test-centred processes. Here the evidence shows that certain aspects of teaching, seen as essentially 'innovatory', conform closely to processes of developmental counselling. None of these however is seen as being the province of a guidance specialist, but rather of the teacher. It is suggested that this viewpoint remained unchanged because of the very limited test-dominated prescriptive role which guidance specialists were seen to play in the 1920's. Attitudes towards this limited test-centred role varied, as described, but were generally favourable in that the role was seen as helpful to the aims of the New Education, although Ensor, Sir Michael Sadler, Neill, and Mariella Johnson among others expressed various notes of caution, and none of them - or any others - predicted the evolution of this limited role into developmental counselling. The review of the N.E.F. in Britain during the 1920's made here does not show any gradual drift towards institutionalisation of concepts. The structures of the movement, internationally, became rather more complex as it expanded, but at concept level it remained experimental and

essentially eclectic.

This again is consistent with the overall picture described in Chapter I, of the counselling movement in Britain, which has not so far showed that tendency to develop into distinct 'schools' of thought as in the United States. Beatrice Ensor appears as a major agent of this eclecticism in the New Education of the 1920's through her control of New Era from 1920, and especially from 1922, until the end of the decade, resisting attempts by personalities as diverse and powerful as Neill and Nunn to define the philosophy of the movement in one system. Her policy of experimental integration of educational change, based on teachers rather than specialists, found general support among contributors to N.E.F. conferences, and to New Era throughout the decade. The eclectic approach which, through Mrs Ensor dominated the movement in this period, was tolerant, but extreme approaches, such as those of Neill or Coué, tended to move towards the margins of the movement's attention, after a brief period of central interest and discussion. On the other hand, a wide range of topics in, and related to, education, were singled out over the decade for special attention. These are listed in Appendix 3, which also shows that after 1925 the emphasis tended to shift from teaching techniques towards wider social and international education, as the movement expanded. In spite of the gradually increasing awareness of the importance of the social context of education, reflected in Appendix 3, only limited recognition occurred of the social and economic forces that continuously played upon the movement during this decade. Quotations in this chapter show that Mrs Ensor herself

recognised the depth of prejudice against innovations in the public schools and universities; but within the progressive movement itself economic forces limited the population that could be reached by new methods. The lack of marked attention to economic influences can be explained by the political and economic background of the 1920's which was, of course, less directive than that of the 1930's. But the impact of external economic - and other forces - was imminent, and the Elsinore Conference marked the close of that post war decade, in which, as a new and wide-ranging experimental movement emerging in an atmosphere of uncertain post-war hope, the New Education Fellowship had focussed the weight of its efforts on development of the individual pupil as such, in patterns of thought which closely parallel, in an educational context, many of the ideas of modern developmental counselling; and which reach beyond it into the area of social intervention and educational reform.

APPENDIX I:

## ATTENDANCE AT MAJOR N.E.F. CONFERENCES IN THE 1920's

Data Sources: Montreux Boyd & Rawson, op. cit. p.78  
 Heidelberg New Era Vol.VII (1925) p. 93  
 Locarno New Era Vol.VIII(1927) p.117  
 Elsinore New Era Vol. X (1929) p.231

Montreux 1923Total attendance: 361

The analysis by individual countries is based throughout on the breakdown given for Montreux in 1923 to allow comparison with later conferences.

COUNTRY	REPRESENTATION (INDIVIDUALS)	PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATIONS OF TOTAL (Adjusted to nearest percentage unless under 1%)
Great Britain	100	28
Switzerland	24	7
France	15	4
Belgium	6	2
Holland	15	4
Italy	19	5
Spain	11	3
Germany/Austria	7	2
Scandinavia	21	6
Russia/Eastern Europe	22 + 12 + 25 + 15 + 2 + 21	27
Japan	19	5
U.S.A.	13	4
Egypt	10	3
Armenia	4	1

Heidelberg 1925Total attendance: 450

30 countries

35 from North  
America8% Additional data  
not available.

Locarno 1927

Total attendance: 1064 members excluding lecturers, organisers and local day members.

COUNTRY	REPRESENTATION (INDIVIDUALS)	PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATION OF TOTAL
Great Britain		
England	129)	
Scotland	46)	
Ireland	6)	17
Wales	3)	
Switzerland	122	12
France	34	3
Belgium	7	1
Holland	16	2
Italy	4	0.4
Spain	4	0.4
Germany/Austria	267 + 33	28
Scandinavia		
Sweden	17)	
Denmark	16)	
Finland	6)	4
Norway	1)	
Russia & E. Europe		
Poland	63)	
Hungary	22)	
Latvia	20)	
Czech.	11)	
Romania	9)	14
Jugos.	8)	
Russia	4)	
Estonia	3)	
Bulgaria	2)	
Lithuania	2)	
Japan	2	0.2
U.S.A.	162	15
Egypt	?	

Nations represented at Locarno but not at Montreux in 1923

Turkey	10	0.9
India	7	0.7
Africa	3	0.3
Australia	3	0.3
Brazil	3	0.3
West Indies	3	0.3

Nations represented at Locarno but not at Montreux in 1923 (cont.)

Canada	2	0.2
China	2	0.2
Mexico	1	0.1
New Zealand	1	0.1
Peru	1	0.1
Portugal	1	0.1
Uruguay	1	0.1
+ unknown	6	0.6

"political troubles had kept away most of the Italians and Spaniards" Boyd p.82

"Russian representation had shrunk to 4" p.82

Elsinore 1929

Total attendance: 1746 from 43 countries.

COUNTRY	REPRESENTATION (INDIVIDUALS)	PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATION OF TOTAL
Great Britain		
England	264)	
Ireland	10)	
Scotland	49)	19
Wales	5)	
Switzerland	29	2
France	47	3
Belgium	7	0.4
Holland	32	2
Italy	6	0.3
Spain	9	0.5
Germany/Austria	217)	
	20)	14
Scandinavia		
Sweden	233)	
Denmark	215)	
Finland	68)	32
Norway	39)	
Russia (Note not listed)		
& E Europe		
Russia	0)	
Poland	68)	
Hungary	26)	
Latvia	40)	
Czech.	6)	
Romania	13)	9
Jugos.	3)	
Estonia	0)	



COUNTRY	REPRESENTATION (INDIVIDUALS)	PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATION OF TOTAL
Russia & E. Europe (cont)		
Bulgaria	4)	
Lithuania	0)	
Japan	2	0.1
U.S.A.	240	14
Egypt	4	0.2

Numbers present at Elsinore, from Nations represented for first time at previous conference at Locarno in 1927

Turkey	10	0.6
India	15	0.9
Africa	4	0.2
Australia	15	0.9
Brazil	0	0
West Indies	3	0.17
Canada	3	0.17
China	6	0.34
Mexico	0	0
New Zealand	6	0.34
Peru	0	0
Portugal	0	0
Uruguay	0	0

Nations represented for the first time at Elsinore conference

Cyprus	1	0.05
D. E. Indies	2	0.1
Greece	1	0.05
Doubtful	10+	0.57

APPENDIX II

ARTICLES IN NEW ERA, 1920 - 1929 INCLUSIVE  
 DESCRIBING OR ADVOCATING SPECIFIC CHANGES  
 IN STATE SCHOOLS.

Full references to individual authors  
 are given in the bibliography.

Volume and Year	Page Reference	Author	Topic
Vol. I, 1920	4	Ensor, B.	Appeal for information
	17-18	Yates, S.	Description of experimental work in Glasgow Council (Infants) School
	29-30		(1) Integration of International History with Matriculation studies. (2) Advice to an Infant School Head.
	39-47	Green, C.S.	Development of an experimental class on out door principles attached to an L.C.C. School.
	57	W.G.R.	Application of a new method in an L.C.C. School.
	75	Kings, Mary	Ways of stimulating study in an elementary girls' School.
	119-120	Day, Agnes	Attack on the official inspection of a specific L.E.A. school.
Vol. II, 1921	128-130	O'Neill, E.F.	Introduction of experimental work in a deprived council school in Lancashire.
	131-135	Woods, Alice	Surveys experimental methods in a range of private and local authority schools.
	164	Woods, Alice	Conditions influencing possibility for self government in Board of Education schools.
	165	F.R.	Description of self government in Surbiton High school.
	173	Piggott, H.E	Description of self government in Hornsey County school by the Head.

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Vol.III, 1922	6 - 7	Sharwood-Smith, E.	Difficulties of integrating free timetable methods into a formal system by the school head.
	19 - 22	O'Brien Harris	Vertical integration in a Board of Education school.
	27 - 28	Mackinder, J.	Description of what are seen as necessary under- pinnings of discipline for government in an L.C.C. infants school.
	29 - 31	Pinchin, E.F.	An experiment with a free timetable in an elementary school.
	58 - 60	Cecil-Birch, A.	Article on the importance of reform by an elementary school teacher.
	78 - 80	Grant, A.E.	Proposals for the use of new art methods in conventional secondary education systems.
	84	Sawer, D.D.	Proposal by a training college tutor for a new approach to art teaching in board schools.

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Vol.IV, 1923	153 - 155	Editorial	Difficulty of integrating new methods with old, in slum areas, and examples of success.
	159 - 164	Dean, N.	Use of the Dalton plan in a Leeds school.
	173 - 174	"Headmaster"	New kindergarten methods in a Senior Department of a Harrogate Elementary School.
	189 - 192	Lynch, A.J.	The Dalton plan in arithmetic teaching in an elementary school.
	204 - 206	"A. M. D."	Implies that handwork is one of the very few free areas in a 'Board' school and suggests experimental methods.
	207 - 210	Le Quesue, A. P.	Experimental class-rate in a LEA primary school described.

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Vol.IV, 1923	222 - 224	Eades, J.	Use of the Dalton plan in a Leeds LEA school.
	268 - 269	Bertier, J.	Although by the head of the Ecole des Roches, describes specific minimal conditions that should be sought for as goals in state schools generally.
Vol.V, 1924	8 - 10	Cooper, E.	Sex hygiene in State schools, described by a head with 15 years' experience.
	114 - 115	Colter, M.F.E.	Attack on the failure of inadequately trained teachers to understand children.
Vol.VI, 1925	127 - 129	Mackinder, J.M	A factual but short description of individualising work in an infants' school
Vol.VII, 1926	33 - 37	Radcliffe, J.A.	A somewhat defensive, fictionalised article introduced by a note that this is to help those teachers "who think that the New Education is only for private teachers, favoured heads or educational writers".
	48 - 51	Anon.	Attack on methods in a State school by a teacher formerly employed in a private progressive school.
	162 - 165	Editorial	Notes on new methods being used in several L.E.A. infants' schools in Scotland.
	169 - 172	Snodgrass, N. S.	Application of Dalton plan in a Demonstration school attached to the Teacher Training College in Dundee.
	173 - 179	Masterton, J. A.	Description of a silent reading experiment in a Scottish elementary school.
	180 - 184	Skinner, B.	Description of experimental self government in a Scottish State school.

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Vol.VIII, 1927	47-51	Ludford, S.	Poetic expression as a foundation for reading, described as an experimental approach in a London School.
	52-55	Rice, C.M.	Specific advice for new teaching methods in Scottish elementary schools.

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Vol.IX, 1928	56	Editorial	Recognition of the importance of elementary schools as a focus for new methods.
	73 - 74	Lynch, A.J.	Described the difficulties of implementing the Dalton plan in British State schools and highlights areas of success.
	77 - 80	Cooke, E.	Description of experimental work in an elementary school by a headmistress.
	81 - 84	Editorial	Notes on experimental work in 10 elementary schools.
	133 - 136	Editorial	Notes on experimental methods in some State secondary schools.
	141 - 142	Editorial	Describes briefly some "Central" State schools offering some attempt at experimental work.
	144 - 149	Owen, G.	A general description of the Nursery school movement in England with some examples of LEA involvement.
	150	Christie, E.M.	Experimental art work in an L.C.C. Infants' school.
	168 - 171	Gibson, S.R.	New Ways to use the library in a State secondary school.
	189	Bailey, C.W.	Advice on the organisation of drama in a State secondary school.

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Vol.X, 1929	9 - 19	Sadler, Sir Michael	A critical, theoretical and practical overview of the Public examination system.
	154 - 156	Boyd, W.	An empirical review of the relation of achievement to discipline in Scottish schools.
	156 - 170	Various	Notes by various school heads on innovations ranging from private to State schools.

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APPENDIX III

PRINCIPAL TOPICS EXPLORED IN BRITAIN BY  
THE N.E.F. DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1920's

(SOURCES: Volumes I - X of Education For the New Era  
and The New Era)

Self Government	April 1921
Free timetables	January, 1922
The Decroly System (3 articles on)	April, 1922
Art teaching	July, 1922
Reports on Montreux Conference	October, 1923
Sex Education	January, 1924
Sex Education (7 articles on)	April, 1924
Overseas Education	July, 1924
Examinations	January, 1925
Spiritualising the Curriculum	April, 1925
Report on Heidelberg Conference	October, 1925
Re-creating the Teacher	January, 1926
The New Schools of Europe	April, 1926
Progressive Schools of U.S.A.	July, 1926
New Education in Scotland	October, 1926
New Ways in Music Teaching	January, 1927
Pioneer Education in S. Africa	July, 1927
Report of the Locarno Conference (On freedom in Education)	October, 1927
Pioneer Education in Russia	January, 1928
Progressive Education in England	April and July, 1928
The Teaching of English	October, 1928
Progressive Education in Denmark	January, 1929
Curriculum Reform in the United States	April, 1929

Discipline in the Home and School

July, 1929

Report on the Elsinore Conference  
(on individual psychology and the  
curriculum)

October, 1929

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Footnote: Descriptions in this Appendix refer to the main content of individual publications, and are not necessarily identical with the content description on the issue itself.



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CHAPTER IVTHE CHALLENGE OF THE 1930's AND THE YEARS  
OF WORLD WAR II

## INTRODUCTION

## Challenge and Response

Internationally, October 1929 marked the beginning of a period dominated by an increasingly disturbing flow of related events culminating in the disaster of the second world war. It is a truism now to say that at the start these events took people in general by surprise, and that they followed or accompanied each other so closely that there was not enough time to study in depth their causes or to develop effective remedies. But because of them from 1932 onwards the N.E.F. was forced into a position of response, a defensive posture in marked contrast to the buoyant assertiveness and expansion of the previous decade. In company with a growing number of movements and nations, it shared this disadvantage until the later years of the war, fighting against what was increasingly seen as a crude, basic challenge to democracy and freedom. The decade of the thirties, therefore, together with the war years, seem to form one consistent period, the beginning sharply marked by the financial collapse on Wall Street in October, 1929; the close less clear, and merging gradually into the pattern of international change in thought and action with the turning tide of war. The speed with which the international scene darkened, and the crude direct form of its final threat, give grounds for describing this one period, very unusually, in simple terms of challenge and response. The N.E.F. was challenged at every level in the validity of



its basic concepts about human nature; in its conceptual priorities; in its belief in internationalism; in its competence to withstand economic and administrative disorganisation. In this chapter we shall not try to describe every aspect of the resultant contest, but shall examine the response for the light it can throw on the effect of powerful political and economic pressures, on a movement originally committed to a variety of child centred approaches to education: which we have interpreted in terms of developmental counselling. To do this we shall have to examine these specific questions:-

1. How far was the movement away from a child centred approach, which has been noted both by Stewart and by Boyd and Rawson, the result of the changed political and economic situation in this period, or part of a more basic trend?
2. Did this drift result in a rejection or important modification of the earlier child centred approaches?

By choosing these questions we are, in fact, asking how far the N.E.F. was able to remain true to its role as an international and educationally based movement expressing principles later found in developmental counselling; under the pressure, first, of forces developing within it, and to some extent deriving from its very basis; and later, of specific and powerful external pressures (here called "the challenge").

As we shall be dealing with a period of response, it will be convenient at the start to describe the major pattern of "the challenge", as a frame of reference.

### The Challenge

The severe dislocation of American business activity in October 1929 was followed by a tremendous rise in unemployment. In 1930 unemployment figures had reached three million; three years later they were over fifteen million. The Depression in America lost to Europe much of the loans on which the post war revival of her economy - significantly in Germany - had depended. As Europe still imported many of the world's raw materials and exported a large porpotion of the world's manufactured goods, a European slump, coupled with a slackening in American demand and falling American prices, swiftly broadcast the economic repercussions of this collapse elsewhere, leading to a world-wide trade depression from which there was no full recovery until after World War II. In three years world trade shrunk to about a third of its previous size. To protect their own industries and agriculture countries raised their tariffs higher and higher, restricting imports and bringing international trade virtually to a standstill.

This economic decline clearly favoured the rise of narrow, self-defensive nationalism, which ipso facto tended to be a movement opposed to the internationalism of the Fellowship. The apparent success of Italian fascism and Russian communism had already set the pattern. Dictatorships emerged in South America in 1930, and throughout Europe in the same decade. In 1933 the World Monetary and Economic Conference failed to resolve the main problem of tariffs, underlining the triumph of nationalism over internationalism in the stuggle for the world's

diminishing trade. In Japan, militarism, again an example of a deep rooted and indeed central cultural tradition, emerged powerfully in government, promoting a solution of lost markets by an attack on China, where democracy had also failed.

This was the background against which Germans, flung into despair by the new economic collapse, began to gather behind Hitler; who again deliberately geared his appeal to deep cultural traditions restructured to fit Nazi mythology. By September 1930 his party had risen to second place in the Reichstag; in January 1933, with unemployment figures approaching seven million, and from an uncertain and confused political melée, Hitler was accepted as leader with Von Papen in a coalition. The Reichstag fire of the following month provided Hitler with a convenient excuse to begin a vicious bloodbath, and to demand dictatorial powers, which the Reichstag gave him against a background of open intimidation by Nazi storm troopers. In July 1933 all other political parties were declared illegal; in July 1934 the residual internal political threat from the storm troopers was removed by a day of wholesale murder; and Hitler began to walk upon the international scene with the fatal steps to war: the reoccupation of the Rhineland in March 1936; the occupation of Austria in March 1938; the Czechoslovak crisis of the summer and autumn of 1938 culminating in the Munich agreement of September 1938; the final annexation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939; the Polish corridor crisis of the summer of 1939; and the invasion of Poland itself on the 1st of September.

The failure of the League of Nations to prevent such trends was highlighted by other, parallel international events, in particular by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931; the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935; and the course of the Spanish civil war from 1936 - 1939.\*

### The Response

#### The outward movement as part of a basic trend.

In examining the first of our two questions, we start by noting that at its inception in 1921 there were two rather different perspectives in the N.E.F. The first was the child centred perspective, in its various orientations, which we have examined intensively. Commonly shared across many of the viewpoints were

- (a) the belief that children were basically good; and that it was the function of education to lead it out;
- (b) that the new field of psychology was the most important informing source for guidance in doing so, and
- (c) that it was the development of the child as a whole that mattered - taking into account in particular his relationships with others.

The second perspective was internationalism, the movement having been so structured from its start. This meant that members took an active and concerned interest both in different national approaches to education, and in the relief of

\* Footnote: sources for the above summary include:

Bullock, A. Hitler, A Study in Tyranny. Penguin ed. 1969.

Churchill, W. The Second World War: Vol.I: The Gathering Storm  
Cassell. London 1948.

Grant, N. Society, Schools and Progress in Eastern Europe.  
Pergamon, London 1969. esp. caps. 3 and 4.

Hastings, P. Between the Wars: 1919-1939; Benn, London 1968.

Shirer, W. L. The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. Secker and  
Warburg 1960.

hardship and distress caused to children by the effects of war or other catastrophies. Thus as we have seen, Beatrice Ensor as early as 1920 was engaged in famine relief and refugee work in Austria, and the very first paper in the Report on the Calais Conference (Haden Guest, op. cit. 1921) looked at overall desiderata for children on a world basis.

While the first of these perspectives has close approximation to the application of developmental counselling in educational settings, the second goes beyond it. It is true that since the 2nd world war a number of international organisations concerned with counselling have appeared, including the British based International Round Table for the Advancement of Counselling, and the French based Union Mondiale des Organismes pour la Sauvegarde de l'Enfance et de l'Adolescence (U.M.O.S.E.A.) but neither of these, nor any other, has so far gained any recognition at all comparable with that of the N.E.F. during the 1920's. This basis of internationalism meant that from the start, the N.E.F. had a wide humanitarian field of interest; so that it was bound to take notice of any important international process affecting the interests of children. It can be seen, in fact, as an organisation incipiently committed to social and political response, and possibly action. Counselling, on the other hand, at all stages has so far mainly developed within the context of other occupational roles; either as a sub-function of such occupations, in which it has been shown to exist in Britain within the fields of the careers service, social case work, psychotherapy, pastoral care, general medical practice and legal practice (Vaughan, op. cit. 1976), or

as a specialist function within individual occupational settings. We have seen in chapter I, how it has developed both as a sub-function of the teacher's role and as a specialist function, within individual schools.

Thus, counselling in its various modern ramifications, has not so far been able to develop an important, and influential autonomous organisation able to comment upon or take action on, social and political events. But the international outlook of the N.E.F. from its inception is one key to explaining a gradual movement from a child centred start, which would be partly dependent on international political and economic changes.

The rising tide of its fortunes during that period which we surveyed in the last chapter, now appears as a separate influence which tended to move the N.E.F. towards a position of social intervention, since it drew in leading national and international figures. Also the policy of educational intervention which it followed throughout the 1920's touched at times on wider areas of social responsibility, such as in Ensor's 1924 articles on sex education, and more importantly in the enquiry on examinations which beginning in the late 1920's was continued by the work of a commission of the Fellowship in the early 1930's.

A third key to understanding the outward trend comes from the initial desire of the N.E.F. to understand the child and help him develop in relation to his whole environment. We have noticed (chapter III) the early concern with self government (e.g. the April 1921 issue of New Era): the growing concern with the

teacher, then with the parent and home, and running parallel with these, articles in New Era on education in other countries, implicitly pointing to the importance of wider social contexts. We have not concentrated on this movement so far because it has already been described by Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. 1965 ch. 5) who relate it to the underlying principle of the child's freedom: "an essential condition (of which) was the freedom of parents and teachers" (p. 81). (They also point to the widening horizons of the movement in education generally, and to the social perspective brought in, especially from Americans such as Harold Rugg, in the conferences at Locarno, and later at Elsinore). That much of this outward movement came from fundamental ideas about the child's situation can be seen in the frequent direct or implied statements during the 1920's that concern should be with the child as a whole, and not in isolation from his environment. Indeed the relation of the child to his whole environment forms the basic starting point for the reductive thinking of Decroly and Ferrière. Beatrice Ensor's emphasis on the Jungian concept of the collective unconscious in another, rather more mystical but likewise inclusive perspective. The importance of a pattern of wide ranging relationships between the individual and the universe has also been stressed as central to mystical experience, for example by F Happold (1963) an influential member of the N.E.F. in the 1930's. Mysticism itself was of course an important concept at the root of the Fellowship's organisation within the Theosophical Society during the first world war; Lawson and Petersen (op. cit. 1972 Chapter II) identify it in the context of occult interests as an important strand in the weave of progressive education more generally.

Thus we note that an outward movement from the child centred start was encouraged by two basic perspectives of N.E.F.: internationalism and the concern for the child in his environment; from these premises, an outward movement developed independently of direct political or economic pressures: indeed we noted in the last chapter that throughout the first decade of its life, New Era showed very little response to ongoing political or economic changes. The extent of the movement was then increased, and the potential involvement in wider and wider circles of educational influence deepened, by its own success and the attraction to N.E.F. of leading educators and thinkers. It seems important to underline this trend here, because of its potential relevance to any future effort in the counselling field which may result in the formation of autonomous organisations (as distinct from counselling movements within specific occupational areas). As we have seen in chapters I and II, in counselling, the child is nearly always considered in relation to his environment: this is even implicit in casual use of such terms as "adjustment" and "maladjustment" for example. Since counselling efforts are also seen increasingly as being relevant to a wide area of the general population, and not just to those with severe problems, it seems entirely reasonable that an autonomous organisation for the advancement of counselling might tend to come under influences like these we have just defined for the N.E.F. independently of political or economic pressures.



Effects of the original outward movement upon the aims of the N.E.F.

What now were the effects of this expansion upon the aims of the N.E.F. in the early thirties? This is part of the second basic question we need to answer, but it is convenient to introduce it here. First, it can be said that nothing in the movement so far summarised necessarily ran contrary to the original interests of the Fellowship in the development of the individual child. It was rather a shift of emphasis towards the edges of a circle whose centre and point of reference remained the child himself. This is illustrated from our previous survey where various aspects of what later came to be called counselling, especially developmental counselling, continued to be seen as very relevant, to the movement's interests throughout its expansion in the 1920's.

By the beginning of the 1930's however, signs of a division of opinion had begun on how far this outward movement should go and whether the change of emphasis ought not to be recognised formally. This division of opinion continued to be expressed at various times throughout the decade, although as the pressures of the challenge multiplied, the content changed.

There was little or no call for the N.E.F. to return to the concentration on the child which had existed in the early 1920's. The titles of the main international conferences of the 1930's illustrate this:-

'Education in a Changing Society' at Nice in 1932;

'Educational Foundations of Freedom and a Free Community' at

Cheltenham in 1936; and the aborted Paris conference in 1939

with the proposed title 'Teachers and the Realisation of the Democratic Ideal'. Other conferences, held in Britain, throughout this period illustrate the same centrifugal movement from the child-centred origins in 1921; 'Education in a Changing Empire', the British Commonwealth Education Conference in London in 1931; and the St Andrews Conference of 1935; 'Education for Leisure' influenced by the unemployment of the depression year.

Where unquiet was expressed about the widening movement, it centred upon the need for a philosophy - a system - to hold together the unity of the movement. Early indications of this followed the Nice Conference of 1932. In a letter to the Executive Committee of N.E.F. dated 19 October 1932 Dr Robert Ulich said:

"big numbers never are a success, if they are won by compliance to the principle of the smallest resistance. Such a tendency has its success for the first years but suddenly things are turning. Therefore I entirely agree with Dr Rotten who is afraid that the N.E.F. is in danger of enjoying too much the exterior growth and to lose the character of a new human education"

That was his criticism. His solution lay in making the N.E.F. into a scientific organisation. He argued that it was true, in the beginning, that the N.E.F. was fostered by a spirit:

"lying in the last sense above or outside scientific enquiry", but once great numbers of different viewpoints began to be expressed emotional unity was lost, and to regain coherence scientific methods were needed to elucidate and test different standpoints. Thus he was arguing, in essence, for a yardstick,

a system, essentially logical rather than intuitive, to meet the results of growth.

We have examined this letter at length partly because Uhlrich did not speak only for himself but for a wider group of influential N.E.F. members, including Dr. Becker, Gebhard, Pfahler, Rotten, Schneider, Wilker and Wommelsdorff; partly because it was taken seriously by the N.E.F. executive. His ideas were seized on and supported by Ferrière, who, as might be expected, was attracted to the call for a system. Writing to the Executive Board on 7 February 1933, he said :-

"the greatest danger that the Fellowship runs, is that of having its ideals obscured through the pressure of material and utilitarian considerations. In this connection we should not place a false value upon the too great success achieved at the Nice Conference in our contacts with officialdom ... although we have officially abandoned the statement of principles which was drawn up at the Calais Conference of 1921, the essence of these principles has not been affected; the contrary is the case ..."

He goes on to suggest that a new formulation of principles be devised and at the next conference :-

"we hang up in large letters our first principles, agreed upon in 1921; the new principles which are going to be adopted ... will prevent our intellectual efforts from being wasted." He ends by reasserting that he does not believe the movement has ever departed from the basic principles. Ferrière thus supports the indications (which also we received from the Fellowship's continuing interest in specialist guidance), that the pattern

of expansion at this time was not inconsistent with an ultimately child-centred approach.

The Executive was clearly concerned at the need for a philosophy and set out its opinion on the situation at some length in a set of notes. N.E.F. December 1932. (N.E.F. Sect. 1. 34B Appendix V). They recorded in particular the strong element of nationalism, at the Nice Conference, and even saw cultural differences, pointing to Uhlrich's views as examples of one approach, and the views of the American Progressive Education Association (P.E.A.) as another:

("founded on Dewey ... they had very definite views on the application of education to the modern world ... they were naturally impatient when they found that their Latin speaking colleagues ... could not understand their point of view").

It is interesting here to observe that although the Nice Conference highlighted the existence of such cultural differences, and implicitly pointed at causes, the N.E.F. did not take up the very real implications for its international approach, namely that such differences derived in part from deeply rooted cultural traditions varying geographically, and thus, having emotional roots rather than being simply the outcome of different processes of speculation, would be very resistant to change. Hitler, as we observed, together with Mussolini and the Japanese, had recognised the strength of such cultural traditions and deliberately and effectively fostered and used them for their own ends. The Committee, in their notes and recommendations, paid attention to other matters. They pointed to the importance of economic factors - it was

necessary to maintain large numbers at conferences in order to show a profit. The existence of big differences of opinion, on a national basis, was accepted and the solution offered in two ways :-

- 1) By keeping planning for the International Conferences in the hands of an Executive Committee, members being selected from those who had travelled widely, have an international outlook, as well as understanding the needs of the Fellowship.
- 2) By restricting the aims of the Fellowship to a few basic principles. The statement at this point is important, because it bears upon the whole concept of the Fellowship's aims as seen by the committee then :-

(WEF Sect. I 34B Appendix V December 1932 point 4, p.3).

"we must not allow the conference to become so watered down as not to represent very definitely a particular point of view. We think, however, that the point of view should be found in a few certain basic principles and not in any too definitely formulated educational policy. It would be foolish for us to determine today how education is to be changed, and in any case it will always depend on individual countries. We may be able to agree on a few basic principles, but their application in different countries must always be a national question."

The statement shows how far the growth of the N.E.F. in numbers had outrun the development of its philosophy. In our examination of the 'search for a system' in Chapter III we noted the positive aspects of the avoidance by N.E.F. of being drawn

into becoming the mouthpiece for any one particular viewpoint, with the effect that, by default, it could remain true to its original interest in the development of the individual child. The negative consequences of this policy now began to show: the indecisive tone of the statement quoted, in such strong contrast to the bold assertions of the early 1920's; the acceptance of the dominance of nationalism at a time when its most destructive characteristics were appearing generally; the assumption in the last statement ("their application in different countries must always be a national question") on the eve of Hitler's final rise to power in Germany. For our purposes, what begins to be suggested at this point is, that the field of psychology which throughout the decade of the 1920's had allowed N.E.F. to make many definite statements about the development and hence the education of the individual child, as it has also done for the later field of counselling, was not proving adequate as a source of information about educational organisation and aims in international and hence cross cultural matters. We shall look at this in more detail presently. Also, that although the N.E.F. had avoided becoming linked with any one approach to education, it had over concentrated upon the translation of psychology into educational practice to the exclusion of looking at other important and relevant influences on education - in particular economic influences and those of entrenched traditional cultural values. A final point to emerge from the notes of the Executive at this time was that no decision had been reached on whether or not the next conference should concentrate on the individual or society. This was epitomised in two suggested titles for the conference :

1) The growth of personality and the New Education.

or

2) The New Citizen and the New Education

Thus there existed in the early 1930's an area of debate about aims, which arose out of the expansion of the movement as an international organisation, and was, at this time, discussed in terms fairly free from the influence of direct political pressures; although clearly an important issue was the disharmony of viewpoints based on differing cultural traditions. This is relevant to answering the first part of our question one.

We have now to examine the reformulation of aims; the place of psychology in the thinking of the movement; in the context of the influence of political events on this process, as the clouds darkened after 1933. This will help us to answer the remainder of question 1, on the influence of direct political pressures.

#### The Reformulation of Aims (1)

Following the exchanges of correspondence and the comments we have just looked at, the archives of the Fellowship are remarkably silent about aims until 1936. A survey of their content suggests reasons for this. They were in part financial, arising from the economic repercussions of the depression. The need to raise £2000 'in view of the non-renewal of the Rockefeller grant' is mentioned by Beatrice Ensor in a letter to Wyatt Rawson in May 1933. Reductions of staff and urgent appeals for money followed (New Era itself was running at a loss of between £250 and £300 per annum in 1934) (N.E.F. Executive Committee Report, July 1934 W.E.F. Archives Sect. 1 (34A) p.11)

and Mrs Ensor doubted her ability to carry the burden further. The full report of the Nice Conference of 1932 made a 'heavy loss due to the cancellation of subscriptions owing to the American and other crises' (N.E.F. Executive Committee Report, October, 1934; W.E.F. Archives 1, 34A. Document 22, p.8). These problems took up much of the time of the Executive Board, and the remainder was given to administrative matters. A typical example of concerns at this time is the content of the Executive Board meeting held in Cape Town (at the time of the South Africa Conference) in October, 1934. It deals with : the election of new members; thanks to Mr Rawson and others for carrying on under difficult financial circumstances; a possible sub-committee to be centred in London for administrative and financial work; the 1933 financial audit; problems of headquarters income; an appeal for funds to the Countess Labia and again to Rockefeller; application for recognition of various sections in India and elsewhere; a list of service members for information; the work of commissions; plans for regional conferences; losses on conference reports; and attempts to regulate the financial help received from the Dartington Hall Trustees.

The drift away from the earlier emphasis on specific aims, illustrated here, is interesting for two reasons. First, it suggests how pressures (in this case, financial) can divert the attention of an organisation away from its declared long term aims; second, the extent to which the Fellowship was now involved in the massive task of simply trying to hold together the many different activities which had developed during the expansion of the previous decade. That this took up most of the



thought of its leaders during the years of the early 1930's, suggests a de facto alteration of aims was in process,

- (a) under the effects of the Fellowship's own previous expansion, largely independent of the economic and political changes of 'the challenge' and
- (b) as a result of economic pressures of the 1930's.

Can we describe this change more systematically, so that it would be applied to, for example, the consideration of a specifically counselling organisation, in a different historical period?

Spencer Millham et al (1977) during the course of quite separate research into the effectiveness of treatments offered in residential settings to deprived and delinquent adolescents, has developed a classification of the aims of institutions generally, which seems helpful to us here. He defines institutions as :-

- (a) Instrumental: those concerned with the transmission of skills and information.
- (b) Expressive: concerned with 'states of being' perceived as worthy in themselves, such as moral or religious states, or an individual's need for esteem and affection:

"Here the concern of the service is to inculcate more than the mere acquisition of skills, and emphasis is put on the achievement of some end state, such as loyalty, tolerance, or the development of an adjusted personality" (op. sup.p.3).

- (c) Organisational: the institution is concerned with maintaining an ongoing service and the administrative and professional bureaucracy which works it. "The concern of the organisation for public reputation and recognition can also be included in this category" (op. sup. p. 3).

Applying Millham's classification to our theme, the Fellowship can be described at this time as passing to some extent from an expressive movement towards an organisational one. The idealism, the crusading vigour of the 1920's to reform civilisation through emphasis on liberating the education of the individual, are consistent with Millham's description of expressive institutions; the concentration on immediate pressing problems in the early 1930's is consistent with his description of organisational ones. Further, this pattern of differences is in agreement with those observed and commented on at the time by Uhlrich and Ferrière, described earlier.

However, Millham, in his paper, makes it clear that the three categories are not necessarily exclusive, and this again would be consistent with Uhlrich's

argument that in spite of the Fellowship's concern with 'material and utilitarian considerations' the essence of the basic principles was unchanged at that time.

These lines of thought, together with the evidence from the period 1932 - 1936, allow us to make a refinement to our answer to the first question we asked : the movement away from a child-centred approach was in part a consequence of trends stemming from the basis of the movement, but it was reinforced by the economic stringencies of 'the challenge'. The overall consequence, by 1936, was that the Fellowship had insidiously drifted from an expressive movement some distance into an organisational movement, without, however, formally abandoning the declared aims of its foundation. The N.E.F., initially committed to principles parallel to developmental counselling,

had, by the end of the 1920's, shown many trends in social action, which we reviewed in the context of interventionism; but by the early 1930's it had become emmeshed with problems, partly of expansion and partly imposed, which were diverting its aims to its own survival. The possibility of this happening to counselling organisations set on similar paths has not so far been systematically explored.

We may conclude this part of our answer by noting that the pressures forcing organisational, short term goals, upon the Fellowship continued from both economic and political sources throughout the decade and the war years. The International Conference at Cheltenham in 1936 made a loss of over £390 (W.E.F. Sect. 1. 35(B) dated to 17.2.1937). In October 1936 the major grant from the Rockefeller Foundation failed (Day, E.E. 1936) forcing immediate and severe restrictions on the work of the International Headquarters itself. (It is interesting to note that 29 years later Rawson said:

"the threat of war now caused the Rockefeller Foundation to withdraw its European grants" (Boyd and Rawson, op. cit. 1965, p. 110), which highlights the involvement of economic and political pressures on N.E.F. aims, although nothing to this effect is contained in Day's letter to Rawson announcing the withdrawal; or in the subsequent N.E.F. executive committee reports discussing the issue). Urgent changes in organisation were needed (Lynch, et. al. Jan. 1937), and the London premises were sold (W.E.F. archives, 1, 35(B) Document No. 37 May 1937). The war itself added further financial complications, including the loss of prospects of international funding, salary cuts to H.Q. staff, and increasing dependency on American money (Soper,

C. , Jan 1940), leading to pressure to remove the headquarters to New York, (Redefer, F.L. 1940). The budget for 1942 predicted subscriptions at only £100 "dwindling as each new country becomes involved in the war" (Soper, C. May 1941). The document on this is typed, a very thin wartime carbon issue; seems to represent the nadir of the Fellowship's financial problems. Thereafter things gradually improved, and by July 1945, the N.E.F. executive committee noted receipts of over £1,200 received since the start of that year, from various foundations and individuals (W.E.F. archives 1, 35(A) Document No. 71, July 1945).

Meanwhile, similar organisational goals were imposed by the mounting political pressures: "some of our members", noted the Executive Committee of N.E.F. starkly in 1937, "ask bitterly what they are to do with our exalted educational aims when they are faced by cold and hungry children" (W.E.F. archives, 1, 35(B) March 1937), referring to evacuees of war. In December 1938:-

"the Secretary reported that a good deal of her time was spent in trying to help teacher refugees who called or wrote ..."  
(W.E.F. archives 1, 35(B) Document No. 49 dated 9.12.1938)

The issues of New Era for February, September, October, November and December 1939 are pre-occupied with evacuation plans and problems. The immediate effects of the outbreak of war itself were to halt committee meetings and by August 1940 C. Soper notes that the extent of work at headquarters 'varied with world events ... help with evacuation of schools and individuals;

and interned friendly aliens'. (Soper, C. August 1940). N.E.F. headquarters itself was hit by bombs in 1941 (Soper, C. 1941). The aims of the movement were not, however, wholly forced into organisational ends. Long term, expressive goals, still retained a place, and, with these, N.E.F.'s link with its earlier commitment to principles of developmental counselling. These, however, were deeply influenced by the forces of 'the challenge'.

We have already partly answered our second question (how far did the drift away from a child centred approach represent a rejection of it) in earlier parts of this chapter; we have also shown that the imposition of organisational goals represented not a rejection of the earlier goals, but the N.E.F. struggle for survival; in turning to the residual concern with expressive goals we shall be more directly trying to answer this second basic question.

#### The influence of psychology upon the aims of the movement.

Psychology, as we have seen, was the basic discipline informing the Fellowship throughout the 1920's. It has also provided the main basis for the various counselling approaches which we surveyed in Chapters I and II. Consequently a study of the place and influence of psychology in the changing aims of the Fellowship is essential, not only to understand the direction of change, there, but also for any more general indications which might be relevant to counselling movements.

The psychologies of the 1920's that gained most acceptance in the Fellowship were those of Freud and Jung. These were both

broad-based psychologies. They sought to describe not only the whole life cycle of man but to provide systems for interpreting the entire human situation across the whole range of psychological health and sickness. Of these two systems, that of Jung tended to be particularly popular, because it also accepted and interpreted mystical experience in a meaningful way to a movement partly based in mysticism. We have seen in our survey of New Era comment and opinion how easily these psychologies could be generalised to explain problems. A. S. Neill in particular was given to rather glib applications of Freudian principles. While no major international economic or political disasters occurred, this was well enough; and the basic thesis, that the child was ultimately good and through educational reforms using the new psychologies, the wider social evils of war and unequal competition could be averted permanently, seemed to stand uncontested. The gradual emergence within Fellowship circles of another, empirical, more narrow based psychology, in the later 1920's, was not due to any rejection of these older psychologies; it rather reflected the independent rise of empirical psychology elsewhere: we saw in Chapter I how it had also spread widely within the American counselling movements in this period. A consequence of the spread of empirical approaches, however, was that by the start of the 1930's the area of interest served by psychology itself had begun to change. We need to examine this area, as it was seen in New Era, still the effectual mouthpiece of the English speaking membership, in order to assess its relationships with the earlier child-centred aims of the movement, and how far psychology in the 1930's helped the Fellowship to answer the increasingly urgent problems of 'the challenge'.

Appendix I contains a resume of the main articles, reviews, and commentaries published in New Era between 1930 and 1939 inclusive, which were contributed by well known psychologists of the time, or referred to significant psychological work. If we look at the first four years of the decade, we note that there are no specific Jungian points of view at all, and only <sup>three</sup> ~~four~~ Freudian and post Freudian ones (Chadwick, 1930; Freud, A. (reviewed) June 1931; Adler, A. Oct. 1931) although these show that school in a favourable light. What appears most clearly is rather the concern with studying child development, especially early childhood, from a scientific viewpoint. This is particularly emphasised by the articles of S. M. Gruenberg, (Aug. 1930; Sept. 1930; Oct. 1932; May 1934; Sept. 1934) representing the influence of the American Child Study movement reinforced by Lowenfield (Nov. 1930) Susan Isaacs (March 1932) and W. Moodie (Nov. and Dec. 1932). There is very little in this emphasis that widens the field of attention beyond the social relationships of the immediate family, in particular of the parents and children, apart from obvious references to the role of the teacher. Cultural differences in child rearing practices, and the implications of these for the depth and tenacity of international differences in, for example, attitudes to authoritarianism, at adult level, are hardly touched on. This is not a point of criticism. It is clear that serious attempts were being made to relate psychology to the more limited and directly observable facts of everyday experience in the home, the nursery, and the classroom, as perceived by the readers of New Era. This is further indicated by the problem advice panel established in January 1931 to answer



queries from parents and teachers, developed in October 1932 into a regular supplement to the main publication. But the wider, social and potentially political, relevance of these topics is not explored. Lowenfield (op. cit. 1930) for example, sees the relationship of behaviour problems in the nursery to the values of the parents, and even their need to explore those values, but does not go on to examine the possible roots of such values in cultural and economic differences between societies. Nor do such concerns appear in the reviews of Piaget's work in October and December 1930. Pieron (1932) does in fact note and attack the dismissal of Binet's empirical work by the Soviet Union, but seems too involved with his defence of Binet to reflect on the wider possible implications of the Soviet rejection, such as the limited ability of psychological research to inform and change political and educational values. During the same period, however, Beatrice Ensor (Nov. 1932) was continuing to impress on readers the value of psychology to parents of young children, giving it a major role in rearing 'a loftier race' and repeating that it is in the basis of the New Education. Crichton Miller (Appendix I: Sept, 1931) Director of the Tavistock Clinic, reinforced the early views of the Fellowship about the great potential of education for major personality change by saying at the British Commonwealth Education Conference in 1931 that teachers had a major responsibility for changing inadequacies developed in the home background in the first five years of life. His speech is reported in New Era as "one of the most interesting papers of the whole conference".

Thus during the years when the forces of 'the challenge' were assembling their final threat, the focus of psychology as reflected in New Era was beginning to contract upon verifiable scientific studies of the immediate facts of child development as perceived especially in America and Britain, while still allowing the larger claims of the 1920's to stand uncriticised. We have argued in chapters I and II, that reductive approaches in the field of guidance and counselling often tend to be associated with problem centred approaches; and as Appendix I shows, this was the direction in which psychological interest, as reflected in New Era, moved after 1934. For the Fellowship itself, it was unfortunate that this retraction should occur in the field which had always supplied the main intellectual justification for the New Education, at a time when it urgently needed to come to terms with the broad based attack from 'the challenge'. The last description in New Era of a new system of psychology based on a wider field of reference and supported empirically, is that of Charlotte Buhler's work, (Appendix I: Dec. 1933) which Wyatt Rawson described as "a fascinating book which should certainly be translated into English; for its appeal is as much to the religious and the philosophic as to the scientific mind". Yet her work, as reviewed by Rawson, while offering obvious avenues of thought towards the cultural and social matrices in which individual life aims develop, and by which they may be changed, does not explore such matrices, nor did it offer to readers of New Era a specific framework to interpret the violent world events then happening. Yet even so, it stands out as rather different in subject matter and approach

from the surrounding psychological concern with the early years of childhood, and the increasing concern with the treatment of specific problems in it.

After 1934 the slant of psychology in New Era is increasingly towards children's problems, and their solution using psychological tests, under the direction of specialists, and frequently in, or in association with, a medical institution. This trend is illustrated by the references in Appendix I. Child Guidance Clinics and work in them are widely surveyed (Boyd, W. July 1935; Welleus, L. April 1936) (discussing a somewhat different Belgian setting); Miller, E.; Burns, C.; Duguid, K.; Hilda, M.; (All May 1936); Fordham, M. S. M. Sept. 1937). The emphasis on a test-centred approach, implicit in the work of these clinics, occurs elsewhere: in Gimson's paper (June 1935), Peterkin, M.A. (July 1935), Cavenagh, F.A. (July 1935), Seth, G. (May 1936), and as the basis of Cattell's argument (May 1937); in Dawson (Sept. 1937); July 1938); and Schonell (December 1939). Appendix I also shows that in general the topics covered in these papers have a limited, specific range, not likely to lead the reader's thought out towards wider issues, exceptions being Boyd, W. (op. cit. July 1935) Cavenagh (op. cit. July 1935) and Cattell, R. (op. cit. May 1937). The latter paper, while expressing an anxiety which arose about this time and remained an intermittent topic of debate in psychological circles for the next twenty years (the question of the decline of national intelligence) seems to show a remarkably naive and unfeeling approach to wider issues, in suggesting that the poor and defective should not be allowed to breed, and a Ministry of

Evolution be established. Yet this is the only example from the literature surveyed, of an attempt by a psychologist (Cattell was described as psychologist to the Leicester Education Committee) to apply findings from psychology to wide social and political goals. The reductive, problem centred approach of the majority of these clinic-centred or test centred articles is found also elsewhere: in Schonell, F.J. (Sept. Oct. 1938), Low, B. (Sept. 1938), Bowlby, (Sept. 1938) McAllister, A. (Sept. 1938), Neustadt, E. (Sept. 1938), and McAllister, A.(1939).. These are summarised in Appendix I.

There remains a group of papers which were not entered on testing, specific children's problems, or the work of clinics. These include Gruenberg, S.M. (Feb. 1936), Searl, N. (May 1936) the Institute of Child Psychology (May 1936), Thomas (July 1936), Hadfield (Sept. 1936), Isaacs, S. (Sept. 1936), Redl, F. (reported, Sept. 1936), Gruenberg (Sept. 1936), Louise Le Teller Swann (Nov. 1936), Isaacs, S. (Jan. 1938), Hamilton Pearson (July 1938), Roberts, P. (July 1938), Dunsdown, M.I. (Sept. 1938) and Lyward (Sept. 1938). These are also summarised in Appendix I. It can be seen that the area of relevance is wider in this group than in the others. Gruenberg, for example, notes that adolescence is partly determined by processes (such as mechanisation of industry) which reduce drudgery and hence the need for child labour (Appendix I, Feb. 1936); and she sees the dangers in the feminist movement of artificially "packaging the concept of motherhood (ibid, Sept. 1936). Thomas tries to bring psychology back from the clinic into the classroom, surveying its contribution to education on a broad field;

Dunstan stresses likewise the value of closer cooperation between psychologist and teacher; Roberts draws attention to the stigma which can attach to children referred to a psychologist; Susan Isaacs in September 1936 and in January 1938 stresses the value of emotions in the child's development. But nowhere is the content widened to take issue with the problem of the 'challenge' then threatening the Fellowship on every hand. The one exception is the report in the April 1938 New Era of a debate arranged by the North-Western Child Guidance Clinic on the motion "that economic rather than psychological factors are responsible for the present world conflicts". The motion, proposed by a Dr John Lewis, was developed on the well-known theme that conflicts are caused by economic strife, more fundamental than religious, social or political strife; that the present world difficulties were an outcome of this, with attendant (secondary) psychological side effects, and that the solution lay in reducing unemployment and not in attempts by psychologists "to condition the individual to living in a society which exposes him to perpetual anxiety and insecurity". His argument is remarkably close to those which we surveyed in Chapter I, from the much later American literature in counselling, where developments towards increasing recognition of social responsibilities are implied, with attempts to change the environment rather than the individual's response to it. The motion in 1938 was opposed by a Miss Low of the staff of the British Institute of Psychoanalysis, who said that all economic systems originated in the minds of men; that the nursery showed that greed and fear were not necessarily the

outcome of economic causes, and that no fundamental change in world conditions was possible without a full understanding of the mechanics of the mind, the task of the psychologist. The views expressed here are almost identical with those shared more widely in the Fellowship:

"in the present situation - people are too apt to blame economic causes, governments and politicians; but it is to human beings themselves that we must look ... for the present state of things ... and possibilities of improvement"

(B. Ensor, Editorial. New Era Nov. 1932).

No record is given of the voting on this debate and significantly it attracted no editorial comment in the April 1938 issue of New Era beyond the introductory words "an interesting debate".

The failure of the main movement in psychology to help the Fellowship to take order with 'the challenge' at this time is highlighted in a survey of Vol. 20 of New Era, for the year 1939, when the international crisis was stretched to breaking point. Amid the mass of articles dealing with problems of evacuation, there are only three contributions by psychologists for the whole year (as opposed to eleven in 1938). That by McAllister deals with the application of clinic techniques to a holiday camp situation; that by Thomas, while dealing with evacuation, does not use any psychological expertise, but discusses problems from the viewpoint of an intelligent, pragmatic layman; finally Schonell's contribution on the causes, testing and treatment of

backward readers, in December 1939, is in sharp contrast to the surrounding titles (editorial: "Our Part in a World at War"; other articles: "Liveliness on the Home Front; "Homes, Camps, and Billets"; "Camps for Peace and War"; "The Care of Belgium's Children"). Perhaps significantly, Schonell's article is placed last in this list. (These are summarised in Appendix I).

#### Interim Summary

If we may sum up our arguments here, they indicate :-

1. That varying forces had by 1939 combined to drive the Fellowship from expressive aims, largely to organisational aims, in Millham's definition of these terms, without however, leading to a rejection of the early principles.
2. That the fields of psychology which had supplied the intellectual justification for the earlier expressive aims were less used in the Fellowship to explain the mounting political and economic pressures of the 1930's.
3. That this situation was aggravated by a widespread retraction of the aims of psychology upon a narrower, test dominated, clinically influenced approach to children, which however did not lead to its rejection by the Fellowship as an important area of reference.
4. That this retraction actually defended the original child-centred aims of the Fellowship, by maintaining a focus upon the limited area of the home, the classroom, and the individual differences of developing children, as increasingly revealed by the spread of psychological testing. It is illustrated by the space given to Schonell's

paper amid the pressing organisational problems of the first months of war. This conclusion is a further perspective in answer to our second basic question, and supports the description made earlier in the chapter, of a change in focus in the Fellowship towards the edges of a circle of interest whose centre and ultimate point of reference remained the child. Because of (1) and (2) above, however, the focus of attention did not again return to the child to the extent of the early 1920's.

The attitude of the Fellowship towards the  
development of the specialist guidance  
movement

That psychology was indeed a main supporter of the child-centred interest during the time of 'the challenge' is further illustrated from a review of the attention given during this period to the rise of the specialist guidance movement. We have already seen in the last section and in Appendix I that child guidance clinics were essentially applied psychology units, often with a medical emphasis. They tended, however, to deal with the more severe problem cases. As they developed, so did other services geared more definitely to the general needs of children. Some of these constituted specialist guidance units in their own right, such as the National Institute of Industrial Psychology (N.I.I.P.). We need to examine attitudes expressed in the Fellowship towards this area, in particular to see if:-

- a) The development of specific guidance services was seen as being upon a basis of psychology, generally.



- b) The Fellowship views expressed support for such movements.
- c) Members recognised any link between the specific guidance services and the older, developmental counselling principles upon which educational systems had been proposed and tried in the previous decade.
- d) Other viewpoints were expressed suggesting an opposition to the development of guidance within specialist frame works, and for proposing alternatives.

This examination will help to throw more light on the residual area of concern with the individual child, which we saw in the last section was supported mainly from the emerging field of developmental psychology, and in this way is a further contribution to answering our second basic question in this chapter. At greater distance, it contributes towards our general understanding of the role of the Fellowship in the counselling movement in education during the period of 'the challenge'.

Our primary information is drawn from articles and comments in New Era over the period of 'the challenge', and relevant evidence from the Archives of the World Education Fellowship. This is set out in Appendix II. Point (a) above is easily answered by even a brief glance over the data. Clearly psychology, and in particular test centred psychology, played a major - indeed an overwhelming part - in the thinking on guidance. That is as we should expect from the general historical movement of guidance and counselling, surveyed in earlier chapters, and from the survey of psychological influence in the Fellowship more particularly at this time, which we made in the last section. It is interesting, however, to pause for a few moments over

those contributions which do not specifically emphasise the role of psychology. One of these is by Coade, the Headmaster of Bryanston (Appendix II, April 1936). He feels that the main qualification for guidance should be personal experience, and he expands this, not in terms of psychological expertise, but in terms of an inner wisdom:

"one who is alight from within with the deeper wisdom, the greater intensity of vision that comes to those who respond to, and cooperate most fully with life. This experience has enabled them to attain to a certain degree of balance, a certain fullness of spiritual culture, a certain tranquility which raises them above the ruck of mankind ... to such persons not only children, but men and women of all kinds, will turn for guidance or leadership. (but) words of wisdom, unless they are tempered by the fire of personal experience, will ring hollow in the ears and hearts of children".

This approach, with its appeal to intuition based on experience, came, as we saw in Chapters I and II, to be partly accepted in counselling psychology at a much later date as a definable approach standing apart from those centred on the use of techniques and measurable behaviour change. But it is clearly in the mainstream of N.E.F. traditional thought, as we have surveyed it in the last two chapters.

Another, rather less obvious one, is the contribution by B. Chambers, headmistress of Maltman's Green (~~a school listed in Appendix IV, Chapter III~~). Her approach does not specifically attack psychology, indeed she supports the idea of

a professional psychologist teaching the subject to girls, and in that context illuminating their problems. But she is very clearly opposed to directive guidance, and hence, by implication, to many of the procedures then popular which derived from test-centred approaches. Her opening words are: "I was relieved to hear that though the New Era is contemplating a number on guidance for the difficult child, it is avoiding the word guidance in the case of the normal child. I have a strong, some would say an unreasonably strong, prejudice against any deliberate attempt on the part of teachers to guide pupils. I feel it is quite permissible to open the eyes of the young that they may see where they are going, but feel that the choice of the road should be entirely theirs".

Thus she aligns herself much more closely with the non-directive school of thought which developed in counselling, as we saw, on the work of Carl Rogers over a decade later, but which was already well established in N.E.F. writing in the previous decade. She does not, however, appear to support the extreme libertarianism of A. S. Neill. While the analysis of any paper of this sort, to determine the attitude of the author towards his subject and readers, must generally be subjective, yet it is difficult not to be gradually impressed with the calmness of her writing, and the combination of freedom and discipline which seems to inform her thought, and her description of its practice at the school.

Point (b) above is also easily answered, in that Appendix II contains many references supporting, and no material specifically hostile to, the guidance movements based on test centred psychology. It is however, important to look at what form

these guidance movements were seen as taking. Generally specific guidance was seen in terms of some sort of vocational counselling (but the term vocational guidance is in fact universally used). This perception was strongly supported by the work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology (N.I.I.P.) which is widely reported (New Era, Vol. II, 1930; July 1930; A.Rodger May and June 1931; W.E.F. Archives, July 1931; New Era Dec. 1931; March 1933; Thomas, March 1935. Alec Rodger (not to be confused with Carl Rogers) was an influential figure in this process, since he was both active in N.I.I.P. work and in the Fellowship. He contributed two early papers on N.I.I.P. work listed in Appendix II (New Era May and June 1931); his name appears in the programme for the Cheltenham Conference in 1936 (W.E.F. July/Aug. 1936) although he does not feature in Rawson's book on the Conference; and he is listed as a Council member of the English N.E.F. in 1936 (W.E.F. Sect. 1. 35B March 1937). (Other Council members at this time included R. B. Cattell, whose contribution was noted under Appendix I, Miss B. Chambers and T. F. Coade, whose work we have just looked at; also Susan Isaacs and F. J. Schonell, both discussed in relation to Appendix I). Alec Rodger continued to be an influential force in vocational guidance for over two further decades, his 'seven point plan' being widely known in the Youth Employment Service as late as the mid-1960's. In both papers reviewed in Appendix II he strongly identifies vocational guidance as a specialist guidance provision for normal children which needs to be firmly centred on tests based on psychological knowledge; he attacks non-scientific approaches which do not use such methods; and he describes carefully the testing and interview methods used

in the N.I.I.P. at that time, (these remained essentially similar over the next three decades: see the description of them in Vaughan (op. cit. 1970, pp. 75-77). In keeping with the retracted horizons of psychology at this time, he keeps his attention centred on the processes of analysing and examining the individual and accepts the immediate realities of his situation without questioning them: thus in New Era in June 1931 he says: "it is obviously useless to recommend that a boy should have a university training if his parents will in all probability be unable to afford it." Rodger's paper is not mentioned however in the editorial of New Era for June 1931, although there is a section on the relevance of curricula to occupations in later life, in which it might have figured. This illustrates that the relationship between vocational guidance and educational guidance was still imperfectly seen: partly because, as we argued in the last chapter, specialist guidance was presented as a thing apart, the domain of the specialist with his own set of tests and techniques, and not as an integral part of the education process itself.

The concept of guidance as a separate domain of specialists was thus fostered, in the minds of members of the Fellowship, by its close association with psychological testing, and with the specific work of an organisation - N.I.I.P. All this centred on vocational guidance, which gave further specialist precision to it, and seemed to remove vocational guidance itself from the central processes of education. Apart from the papers we have just looked at, others accepting this separation of guidance from education are in the editorial of New Era for June 1932 (see Appendix II) where the specialist clinic for

guidance is equated with the dentist's clinic; the space given to the description by Wellens of the Belgian psycho-medico-social system in April 1936; Dawson's description of vocational guidance in medical terms of 'treatment' in September 1937, and Roberts affirmation in July 1938 that the teacher 'should not attempt with the child anything in the nature of psychological treatment'. The failure to see the close relationship of vocational guidance to educational guidance occurs also in those contributions dealing with guidance itself. King (June 1932) while making an early plea for what amounts to a plan for continuous, developmental counselling by selected teachers through the implementation of vertical organisation in schools, does not foresee the need to integrate it with vocational guidance; Coate (op. cit. April 1936) again as we saw representing a viewpoint not yet developed in specialist counselling, does not mention vocational guidance as a specific function of his teacher guidance specialists; nor does Miss Chambers (op. cit. April 1936). One of the most penetrating examinations of the careers teachers' role, as well as being an early description of it, is H.E. Rubics article (New Era June 1936) He notes the 'vocational illiteracy' of children, and predicts to some extent Donald Super's description, over two decades later, of stages of vocational maturity, although he does not in fact go so far as to suggest a separation of the 'fantasy' stage of children's thinking about work, from 'reality' stages, as Super did later. He also sees the value of psychological tests, and some of their limitations. He sees the need for all round assessment of the individual and not simply reliance on one test, or other criterion, for counselling. Yet he fails to describe

the close relationship between curriculum choice and later vocational choice, and the need to integrate educational and vocational guidance. While the precise reasons for this omission in Rubic's case, are speculative, the omission itself is consistent with wider patterns of thought at this time, which tended to separate vocational guidance from educational guidance, a trend aggravated by the development of the clinical, test-centred, specialist movement in guidance, supported by approaches in psychology current at the time.

An exception, from the field of psychology surveyed by the Fellowship to these separatist tendencies, were the contributions of Charlotte Buhler described in Appendix I, who related vocational development to the formation of a life goal, and detailed the conditions on which a career would, in her eyes, succeed or fail. As we saw in our review of Appendix I, she was the last psychologist described in this literature during the period of 'the challenge' with a new, broad-based psychological perspective having at least some potential relevance to the troubles of the time. The significance of her contribution was that it showed, in vocational terms, the relevance of adolescence to adult life through a theory of stages of development (whereas Freud's previous stagal theory had focussed on developments in childhood); hence it pointed, by implication, to the relationship between educational and vocational guidance. Here, once again, we find the Fellowship ahead of its time, in the attention it initially gave to her work, and in Rawson's enthusiastic support, quoted earlier. D. B. Hershenson (1968) in an historical review of life

stage developmental systems, notes that not until 1947 did anything else significant appear along such lines (Murphy, 1947). Super himself in 1957 used Buhler's classifications in part in his own famous developmental system (Super, 1957). Yet in spite of this initial interest, her name and work rapidly faded from the pages of New Era; nor does it recur elsewhere in the archives of the Fellowship; Charlotte Buhler is listed in two documents in relation to the Cheltenham Conference of 1936: - in the Provisional Programme, 2nd edition, June 1936, where she appears under the heading "first series of study courses" and again in a one page brown printed sheet advertising the conference, under the heading of 'Psychology' under the 'Study Courses'. Her name does not, however, appear in a larger 64 page official programme; nor in the 24 page 'Study Courses Day to Day Programme' booklet, under the description of 'Study Courses' or elsewhere. Rawson does not list her name in his report (Rawson, op. cit. 1937); and her name is not referred to in the extensive reporting of the Conference in the Autumn and Winter issues of New Era for 1936. (All the documents referred to here are contained in W.E.F. Archives, III, 193.); nor do Boyd and Rawson list her name in The Story of the New Education. The time was not yet ripe for the development of such perspectives in educational thought, and the immediate problems of 'the challenge' were too pressing.

This review of the form in which specific guidance was seen gives us the means to answer point (c) above: there are no contributions listed in Appendix II which relate the specialist guidance movements to the older, developmental counselling



principles of the Fellowship.

One important possible cognitive bridge, that of Buhler's work, was not used. On the other hand, the development of the specialist fields of the Child Guidance Clinics and vocational guidance are, as Appendices I and II both show, very extensively surveyed throughout the period, indicating that this work was seen as relevant to, if separate from, the work of the school. Indeed, there are one or two attempts to link clinical and educational work, as we have seen, but on a mechanical basis, as in the editorial to New Era in June 1932; and there are individual efforts to link parts of the specialist system to parts of the educational system, as in J. Robert's advocacy of record systems as an alternative to examinations in June 1933. It is understandable that if psychology in general, as the main common denominator of the new education and the rising field of specialist guidance, should fail to supply sufficient perspectives between the original aims of the Fellowship and the methods of test centred counselling, that these relationships should remain unclear and the two fields separate at this time.

We are now able also to answer point (d) above. For opposition to develop between two systems of thought and practice, they must be seen to be openly and obviously at variance; or else after a careful comparison of principles and practice, differences must appear below the surface, or else, of course, differences can arise by misunderstandings based on inadequate or distorted communication. There is no evidence of this in the material surveyed. The first of these conditions did not arise, since nowhere in the literature surveyed is opposition to the test

centred movement in guidance expressed. For reasons which we surveyed in Chapter II, we might expect that a careful comparison at depth might have shown differences in aims between the test centred approaches and those of many (but not all) the progressive educators: but such examination was not made at that time, for reasons intensively surveyed in this chapter. In the material surveyed in this chapter, alternatives to the test centred system exist, if at all, only by inference. Thus it might be said that King (Appendix II June 1932) Boyd (ibid; March 1934) Sheldon (ibid; 1935), Coade (ibid; 1936), Chambers (ibid; 1936) Rubic (ibid; 1936) and the N.E.F. recommendation of 1944 (in which efforts to counter Nazi indoctrination are seen as education rather than counselling) reflect an approach in which specific guidance and counselling processes are seen as being essentially in the hands of teachers rather than specialists. As however these authors do not take issue with the adjacent test-centred specialist guidance movement, it is unclear what their attitude towards it is. Sheldon, for example, in a short paper on guidance for girls, refers to the Secondary School Head Mistresses' Employment Bureau and to the local Labour Bureaux as specialist outside agencies, but in an otherwise practical piece of advice, relating educational and vocational guidance, does not refer to N.I.I.P. or to other psychological testing services. As in our previous survey of early attitudes to the test-centred movement in the later 1920's (chapter III) what we see are two separate movements in the same field of personal guidance; one is general with a long history and a sophisticated educational expression in the Fellowship since its start; the other is specialist; new; founded in behavioural psychology, test centred and with short

term or immediate goals in contrast to the long term, developmental perspectives of the New Education; yet, as we saw in an earlier part of this work, destined in future to converge more and more closely upon the original principles of the Fellowship, in the form of developmental counselling. In the meantime, however, the Fellowship's own attitude to its basic principles were under review, as we have seen, and to this we now return.

Implications for Counselling values in  
attempts to reformulate aims during  
'the challenge'.

We have already seen that for various different reasons N.E.F. had during the 1930's drifted some way into organisational aims, which indeed became acute enough after 1936 to constitute a struggle for survival. At the same time the rising pressures of 'the challenge' were forcing the movement to take political facts more and more into account. At various times throughout this period attempts were made to reformulate ideas about the long term aims of N.E.F. We have surveyed these as they appeared before the pressures of 'The Challenge' became acute. In closing this chapter we shall not try to summarise the aims that later emerged (even were this possible: and neither Boyd and Rawson in Chapter VI of their work nor Stewart (pp. 22 - 234) have succeeded in defining any consistent philosophy emerging from this period), but shall examine various different attempts that were made in the 1930's to sum up N.E.F. aims, in order to see whether any of them represent any rejection of the original developmental counselling values of the early twenties, or, alternatively, any important ideas which would potentially be

helpful to the emergence of counselling values. Such examination contributes a final perspective in answer to our second basic question in this chapter.

Early in 'the challenge' Professor F. Clarke writing in New Era (1933) described the modern scene as one of lawlessness due to the failure of the institutional controls to integrate the new possibilities of science. He appealed for a 'plastic organisation of living ideas', for restriction of the place of science and a greater place for religion, for a real philosophy of education to give a moral lead against the rising international anarchy of the time. This is really an appeal to the Movement to present such a philosophy; to take more account of the political developments of the time; but does not itself touch on the basic counselling values of the movement. A more definite and succinct prediction of what N.E.F. might in fact do is contained in a document addressed at this time to members of the Consultative Committee of N.E.F. on proposals for its reorganisation (N.E.F. Archives, Sect. I 34B. Document XVII March 1932). In it the purpose of the movement is defined as "to adapt education continuously to the changing needs of society. A new education is always being needed". The document notes that N.E.F. serves the purposes of individuals who come together from all over the world to discuss common educational problems and to try to find solutions to them. This description gives to the Fellowship an enormous field of reference, and further exemplifies the widening horizons that had taken place in the previous decade, but does

not qualify any of the original developmental counselling values. In a rather sombre review in New Era of Rawson's book on the Nice Conference, F. Clarke in October 1933 pointed to the great diversity of views expressed at the conference, and the tensions within the Fellowship, as correctly reflecting the international tensions of the time, and again appealed for the Fellowship to look outward:

"a real understanding of our problem cannot begin ... until we look away from the school and face squarely the world we are living in ... that a century of progressive emancipation should have ended in Hitler and Mussolini not only being tolerated but eagerly accepted should give us pause".

Again, the appeal to the Fellowship is actually to widen its aims further, a process already well advanced, as we have seen. W. Boyd, a little later, summed up the huge range of interests now engaging the Fellowship thus: (Boyd, W. 1934)

"The idea that sums up the ideals behind the policy is not as so many people imagine, that of self realisation, but rather than of wholeness ... in terms of practical policy, the Fellowship is concerned with every phase of child guidance and direction, formal and informal alike ... to bring together family and school, play and learning, schooling, life work, juvenile and adult interests, voluntary groups and nations, national and international movements ... it is this ideal that has animated its conference."

This interpretation from a leading figure in the movement is interesting for three reasons. First, it illustrates the continuance of a basic N.E.F. principle, particularly important in

mystical experience, as we noted earlier, that of wholeness, the relatedness of all lifeexperience. Secondly, it provides a basis potentially favourable for the concept of developmental counselling values, since these explicitly look towards counselling as an educational experience spread across the whole of life, not just the school period, or critical decision points of life. They are aimed at helping the client to understand the pattern of his life, by a process of integration of the meaning of its various parts. The statement also provides a potentially favourable ground for supporting the concept of continuing education, a vehicle in which the functions of developmental counselling could conveniently be carried.

A weakness in Boyd's description is the vagueness of terms such as "wholeness". This difficulty in close definition was, as we have seen throughout, endemic to N.E.F. writing, and partly necessary as a low common denominator to link the various wide shades of opinion and principle among members. Fascist writers such as Von Durckheim-Montmartin and Codignola (New Era V. 14, 1934) were thus able to disguise the real aims of their methods from N.E.F. readers under a show of generalisations, ("freedom to us means primarily freedom from selfish motives, freedom to understand and to serve the good of the community" wrote Von Durckheim in New Era) which warns us to be careful to examine closely the implications of such terms for guidance and counselling values: since authoritarian education systems support (and provide) highly directive guidance processes often under the name of counselling, (see Vaughan, 1975 op. cit.).

About this time also Dewey argues in New Era for education to take the lead in trying to halt the drift of international disaster, but there is a note of bewilderment in his words which suggest uncertainty about what to do:

"the schools of the world must somehow have failed ... or the rise of this evil spirit on such a scale would not have been possible ... (but) who could have dreamed that the demons of suspicion, fear, hatred and prejudice would take possession of men's minds in the way that it has done?" (Dewey, J. 1934).

Dewey's argument is for education as an effective weapon against fascism, but in proposing this aim for the Fellowship he does not seek to alter any of the basic values important for counselling.

The importance of relating aims to the needs of 'the challenge' determined the theme of the 7th World Conference at Cheltenham in 1936. ('Educational Foundations of Freedom and a Free Community'). About this time also, Beatrice Ensor, in her final report as Chairman of N.E.F., outlined long term aims for a more definite policy of social action, which, while consistent with an advance from counselling aims, does not reject counselling values. She says that the N.E.F. should stand for principles of a world commonwealth and not be satisfied with merely making statements but should set to work on a technique for bringing it about, asking these questions:-

- 1) What institutions does the new world order require?
- 2) What human relationships?
- 3) How can the school help as an institution?

- 4) How can we secure the intellectual and economic cooperation between nations?
- 5) How can we obtain a sympathetic study of the development of thought and practice in countries going through periods of violent evolution.

(Ensor, B. Aug.1936)

The executive committee itself now attempted a composite reformulation of aims. They are contained in a draft of the Aims and Principles of N.E.F. signed by the International Executive Committee and dated March 1937. (W.E.F. Archives, Sect. 1, 35(B) March 1937). In it old ideals are re-emphasised:

"The growth of the human spirit seems to us the supreme fact of history and our foremost practical aim is to give it expression ... this is essentially an educational aim and not only every school and home, but every office, shop, factory, and indeed the very structure of economic, social and political life should minister to it" (page 3).

Although the Fellowship was now looking more definitely outward from the school to the wider community there is a certain absence of awareness of cultural variance in some of the statements, for example that "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 the common life" (my italics) (point 2). Again, the principles of 'wholeness' is supported ("fundamental unity of man irrespective of all differences"). Communal life and



practical training in citizenship are supported, and greater contact between the school and the wider world is advocated. Although to some extent this attitude indicates a greater awareness of the need for schools to take on a more active role in social and possibly in political life, there is nothing specifically opposed to the earliest principles of the Fellowship; which are contained within the wider frame of reference now envisaged. Indeed, child **centred** values, central both to counselling and the early views of New Education, are specifically supported:

"In setting itself to 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." (point 4, p. 2)

(i.e. by B. Ensor (President) L. Zilliacus (Chairman) A.J. Lynch (Vice-chairman) and by W. Boyd, F. Clarke, A. Ferriere, W. Rawson, E. Rotten, W. Wallon and E. Hartree.)

In an accompanying letter, headed "The New Education Fellowship and the World Situation", four main overriding aims are described : (W.E.F. Archives 1, 35B, March 1937),

- 1) to act as an agency of information and research on new education methods
- 2) to respond to 'the challenge' (specifically described as such) by defining the basic conditions necessary for children to live, in order to receive an education worthy of the name;

- 3) to encourage the growth of the human spirit towards unity as described;
- 4) to oppose 'any organisation of society that permits the oppression of some human beings by others, and discrimination by sex, race, nationality, language or faith.'

For teachers, certain basic principles are stated:

- (a) To avoid propoganda for any political party;
- (b) To bring the school into closer unity with the larger community;
- (c) To foster independence of thought and respect for the individual conscience as an aid to democracy.
- (d) To use the school work for democracy. ("We are therefore open to the charge of seeking to predetermine in some measure (children's) fundamental attitude to life. Let us admit the charge ..." (p.5)

Again, in this much sharper delineation of aims, with its specific exclusions, we see the original values contained within a wider, more politically orientated outlook. The importance of the individual for self determination is even contained in its qualification (predetermination of fundamental attitudes to life) since this is immediately followed by the statement:

"the outlook which we are trying to foster includes the right of question and rejection even in fundamentals" (p. 5).

The importance of the old, child centred values was re-emphasised also at the Cheltenham Conference itself, by R. H. Tawney, reported in New Era in December of 1936. He believes that

the basic purpose of education is to make children healthy and to ensure the conditions for a happy childhood. Healthy, happy children make independent, freedom loving adults. Educational policy is at all times and in all places social policy. In arguing passionately for educational reform towards what would today be described as a comprehensive state system, he further makes a point which, by direct implication, supports a main principle of counselling, (that of individual or 'client centred' provision):

"Equality of provision does not mean identity of provision. On the contrary, it means far greater diversities of provision than have ever existed in England or than can exist as long as our policy is what it is. But these diversities should be related to natural differences in taste and capacity between children themselves, not to the vulgar irrelevancies of class and income."

Basic N.E.F. principles were also emphasised in Dec. 1936 by Professor Saiyidain at the inaugural address of the first N.E.F. conference at Gwalior, reported in New Era in November 1937.

In this report, an editorial introduction says :

"many readers will be grateful for his restatement of our common aim."

The article was edited under headings, which are :

1. Reverence for childhood ("every child brings with him the message that God is not yet disappointed in man")
2. Cultivation of uniqueness
3. Individuality and the social medium ("individuality grows and realises itself best in a social medium ... active

and cooperative contact with other children and adults (brings) out the best in them ... this will differ fundamentally from the resignation of the individual found in the totalitarian states ... ").

4. Freedom (stress here is laid on activity, self government leading to self discipline, freedom for teachers as well as children).
5. Release of the creative impulse (see as present in all children; to be integrated with work, so leading to joy, and as justifying the claim that education could become a "great revolutionary force").
6. This sorry world (competition seen as the outcome of bad habits learned in youth: the cure, in a new education from earliest childhood).
7. The message of the New Education (in view of the forces of hatred at work today education must assume the lead in "those values which I have discussed in this paper").

A comparison of these aims with those of 1921 shows how remarkably little changed were the values, and how closely they still accorded with those of counselling values in the 1960's and 1970's, as we have surveyed them. Professor Saiyidain remained an accepted and influential member of the Fellowship through following years, and along with J. Piaget, was one of the international delegates to represent N.E.F. meetings prior to the formation of UNESCO during the war (Diary of the New Education Fellowship" in Changing Ideas and Relationships in Education, N.E.F., London 1952).

Thus in spite of the pressures of 'the challenge' which had brought a new awareness of the power of political and social forces in education, and of the need to proclaim, and as far as possible protect, basic needs of children as N.E.F. saw them, the original values remained unaltered. The movement which tended to associate the educational, social and political aims gathered force with the coming of war, and is represented in the titles of the war time conferences:

Towards Education in a Planned Democracy; A New Deal for Youth; Education Now and Tomorrow (Oxford 1941); Education and the Social Problems of Adolescence (Exeter 1942); Social Aims of Post War European Education (London 1943)\*

Stewart (op. cit. p. 230) in describing the important role of Karl Mannheim in these conferences, demonstrates the increasing political awareness of the Movement, and of sociology noting that Mannheim was an important originator of educational sociology in England. These trends resulted in the 'Children's Charter' of 1942, described in Stewart (op. cit. p. 232), Boyd and Rawson (p. 122) and in Changing Ideas and Relationships (op. cit. p. 32). We shall not repeat them here, but it is significant to note that while they dealt generally with children's right of access to sources of health and knowledge, the first point reiterated the N.E.F. belief in the value of the individual and child centred principles:

"The personality of the child is sacred: and the needs of the child must be the foundation of any good educational system".

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\* Described in Changing Ideas and Relationships in Education N.E.F. (op. cit. ) 1952. p. 31.

Summary

This survey of changing aims in N.E.F. policy during the period of 'the challenge' shows that while a new political and social dimension was added, being gradually reinforced throughout the whole period, the basic principles remained essentially unaltered. These, as we have stressed, agreed closely with the principles around which the concepts of specialist counselling, especially developmental counselling, have tended to grow in post war decades, and suggest that there may be some validity in the idea that counselling principles tend in practice to promote a movement from education towards social and political action. Such a trend was, as we saw in the last chapter, already present in the 1920's in the interventionist approach of N.E.F. to education: interventionism itself having been shown to exist as a measurable dimension in counselling also.

## CONCLUSION

The basis of the N.E.F. provided the necessary springs for an outward movement in the 1920's, in its internationalism and its "holistic" approach to the child's situation. This last has parallels in counselling thought, the first has not, at least in a form comparable to that of N.E.F. The expansion of N.E.F. in the 1920's was greater than that of any comparable later counselling movement and it speeded the trend away from a child centred start. By the early 1930's and before the Movement had begun seriously to suffer from the economic restrictions of the Depression, the outward trend had carried

the Fellowship into waters where organisational aims, rather than the earlier expressive aims, in Millham's use of these terms, had become increasingly dominant, as examination of topics of debate in the Fellowship at that time shows. Very shortly economic restrictions, later partnered by increasingly urgent and powerful political pressures, joined forces with the problems caused by the earlier expansion, to force a pattern of organisational aims on the Fellowship in a fight for survival. We have described the related pattern of economic and political pressures as 'the challenge', and defined a period in the history of the Fellowship on the basis of it, extending from the early 1930's to near the end of the European war. During this time the psychologies which had provided intellectual foundations for the Fellowship's views in the 1920's were increasingly superceded in the main Fellowship literature by a more empirical, narrow based, test-centred, clinically oriented psychology, which, while it failed to offer relevant guidance to the Fellowship in its response to 'the challenge', tended to maintain and even strengthen the interest in the child and his immediate environment. The work of this area of psychology was widely and consistently reviewed by the Fellowship throughout the period of 'the challenge'. Empirical psychology also dominated the emerging field of specialist guidance, which took on many of its characteristics, becoming, as the Fellowship saw it, a test-centred clinically orientated movement, relevant to, but separate from the educational concerns of the Fellowship. If the evidence surveyed shows no recognition of parallels between the first

principles of N.E.F. and those of specialist guidance, it also shows no evidence of widespread opposition to the development of the test centred approach. In the absence of any firm lead from the field of psychology, the response to the political events of the later years of the 1930's, and the war years, tended to reflect that of nations opposed to fascism generally, and there is an increasing emphasis on political goals in education, particularly the teaching of democratic thought. Along with this came closer definitions of the basic rights of children.

We have reviewed these trends here in relation to two central questions, designed to assess how far N.E.F. was able to remain an international movement committed to principles closely aligned with those of the later counselling movements, but in an educational setting, during a period of extreme economic and political pressure. On such a vast field as that of international politics and education in the 1930's and early 1940's it is not practicable to measure trends in aims with quantitative precision. But if the whole history of the movement is taken into account, from its inception in 1921, certain systematic continuities appear. These can best be illustrated by considering two different explanations. First, the movement's origins can be seen as an expression of post war liberalism, vaguely couched to include many different viewpoints, and containing a vastly optimistic hope of reforming the human race through education, based on a growing understanding of the inner reaches of the human mind and principles of integration of man and his environment. The



movement can then be seen as expressive in aims, as Millham uses that term. Its success in the 1920's causes these early aims to be left behind, and organisational aims come to be important and eventually dominant in the 1930's. At the same time the onset of political pressures causes a new set of expressive aims to appear in the defence of democracy, and these, together with organisational aims, determine the activities of the Fellowship in the later years of the war. In this explanation, the aims of the movement are seen as generally at the mercy of major forces created either through uncontrolled internal expansion or from outside economic and political events.

The absence of any clearly defined and consistent philosophy is seen as a weakness largely responsible for the drifting pattern of aims, and the relationship of the movement to other advances in education then and later, particularly to the later counselling movements, is uncertain. This explanation is consistent with a superficial view of the facts presented in this chapter, and is supported by direct reports from the time, which we reviewed. Even as late as 1941, F. Redefer, writing to C. Soper (Redefer, F. 25th July 1941) could say :-

"of this I am convinced. Someone, some group must develop a specific and definite programme for N.E.F. if it is to continue to exist in the post-war world".

On the other hand, the explanation which we have followed throughout, is that at its inception and first conference at Calais in 1921, the N.E.F. stressed as a major part of its principles, five points of basic importance in later counselling

theory, and sought to apply them in education in a pattern corresponding to counselling in its much later developmental form; and that the proponents of this movement in education varied among themselves in terms of open/system orientation and reductive/non-reductive perspectives as, later, counsellors have also been found to do so, in Britain.

This extends the arguments presented by all the main writers on the Fellowship, but particularly by Stewart, that relate the Fellowship to wider and deeper movements in education. We have further sought to show that the 1920's were not merely a period of uncontrolled expansion, but one in which the Fellowship resisted all attempts seriously to modify its original aims. This provides a basis of continuity between the 1920's and the later period of 'the challenge'; for although it is true that organisational and, later on, political aims appeared in the Fellowship more openly, yet the main evidence of this chapter is that, as in the 1920's, the Fellowship did not lose sight of its original principles, which were essentially child centred. This is indicated by its continuing close interest in the field of 'empirical psychology and its application in the specialist child guidance movement, which we surveyed intensively, even although its reviewers and commentators did not generally see the field as part of education.

Likewise, in the specific references to aims, amid the deepening political crises of the later thirties, there is no suggestion of a narrowing or changing of the basic child centred principles. This acceptance of a general continuity

with the past is consistent also with the movement of an organisation from developmental counselling aims towards increasing awareness of social issues as Beck and Birdie have provisionally suggested in America for the future of counselling there.

We now turn to examine the relationships between old and later aims, and the relationship with specialist movements in guidance and counselling, as they appeared at the beginning of the post war period, and at subsequent changes in them.

APPENDIX I

ARTICLES, REVIEWS AND COMMENTARIES IN NEW ERA  
1930-1939 INCLUSIVE CONTRIBUTED BY INFLUENTIAL  
PSYCHOLOGISTS OF THE TIME, OR REFERRING TO  
PSYCHOLOGICAL WORK, OF SIGNIFICANCE TO N.E.F.  
MEMBERS.

Volume and Date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
<u>Vol. II</u> <u>1930</u>			
Jan/Apr.	132	Lee, Porter Kenworthy, M	Review of the work of a bureau of children's guidance
Aug.	49-52	Gruenberg, S. M.	Family relationships; and their bearing on the development of individuality
Aug.	57-59	Chadwick, M.	Report of the Fifth Inter- national Congress on Mental Hygiene, New York. Stresses the value of the teacher and the need for the teacher to understand herself.
Sept.	58-59	Chadwick, M.	Supports Freudian approach to the neurotic child.
Sept.	70-74	Gruenberg, S. M.	The approach of the Child Study Association through parent conferences.
Oct. 1930	112-114	Piaget, J. (Reported)	Report of a speech in London describing the international- isation of morality. The tone of the report is factual. Relationships to N.E.F. aims are not made.
Nov. 1930	137-139	Lowenfield, M. F.	Behaviour problems in the nursery. Need for parents to search own values argued, but philosophical issues not discussed beyond this.
Dec.		Piaget, J. (Reported)	Positive review of the child's concept of causality.

Volume and Date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
<hr/>			
Vol. XII <u>1931</u>			
Jan.	32; 71; 142	Various teachers and psychologists	Problem advice pages answering queries from parents and teachers
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June	216	Freud, Anna (Reviewed)	Acceptance of Freudian principles of development: positive review.
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Sept.	330-331	Crichton-Miller, H. (Report)	Teachers have responsibility to correct inadequacies in home background: a major role given to education.
<hr/>			
Oct.	347-349	Adler, Alfred	Adlerian standard viewpoints. Supports the recognition and development of individuality.
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Vol. XIII <u>1932</u>			
March	96	Isaacs, S. (Reviewed)	Factual survey of tests for children reviewed; and discussion of Piaget. Reviewer notes she praises activity methods consistent with N.E.F. aims.
<hr/>			
July	202-205	Pieron, H.	A defence of Binet by his colleague as "more than a measuring rod". Attack on the dismissal of Binet's work by the Soviet Union.
<hr/>			
Oct.	307-314	Gruenberg, S. M. et al.	Start of a regular supplement to <u>New Era</u> for use by parents' study circles and discussion groups. Stress on habits leading to self discipline in later life. Politically neutral.
<hr/>			
Nov.	315-318	Ensor, B.	Editorial on value of psychology to parents of young children. "The New Education is based on psychology". Reviews work of commissions on psychology set up by N.E.F. Gives psychology a major role in rearing "a loftier race".

Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
Nov.	321-324	Editorial	Review of practical applications of psychology as seen at the Nice Conference - emphasises: a) importance of home b) counselling by parents as non-directive c) close cooperation by teachers and 'psychoanalysts'. d) use of psychological tests in vocational guidance.
Nov.	333	Editorial	Difficulties due to variance in technical terms in work of N.E.F. Commission on Mental Tests are noted.
Nov.	328-329	Moodie, W.	Teaching acceptable habits to young children.
Dec.	377-380	Moodie, W.	Popularising article on child development to adolescence. Selection at 11+ defended. Some psychological difficulties of development noted. No reference to cultural variances of importance.
Vol. XIV 1933			
March	93	MacRae, A. (Reviewed)	Reviewer notes that the book describes work in the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. The reviewer accepts that vocational guidance requires a specialist not an amateur. Reviewer's approach is non-critical.
	114	Bevington, S.	Review of Bevington's book <u>Occupational Misfits</u> based on empirical studies by N.I.I.P. Relation of vocational needs, discovered by this report, to educational aims, is not discussed.

Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
Vol. XIV <u>1933 cont.</u>			
Dec.	115	Buhler, Charlotte (Reviewed by W. Rawson)	Review of Buhler's broad based psychology of life aims centred on the development of a career. Rawson comments very favourably on the synthesis of religion, philosophy, and science achieved by Buhler.
Vol. XV <u>1934</u>			
May/June	149-151	Gruenberg, S.M.	Values of the family stressed
May/June	158	Burt, C. (et al) (Reviewed)	Very favourable review of a book based on BBC talks, on the contribution of psychology to education.
Sept.	163-164	Smuts, J.C.	Need to balance empirical psychology and psychology of holism.
Sept.	185-189	Gruenberg, S.M.	Importance of parents' and teachers' attitudes in development of self esteem.
Vol. XVI <u>1935</u>			
Feb.	54-55	Buhler, Charlotte	Developmental problems in teachers' careers. Based on empirical studies. (Disillusion at age 30; resignation at 40). The article did not attract any attention in subsequent <u>New Era</u> writing.
June	148-150	Gimson, B.L.	Report of an empirical study of intelligence testing.
July/Aug.	192-193	Boyd, W.	Partly deals, in an article on other issues, with the development of the first Child Guidance Clinic in Scotland in 1926, under educational rather than medical principles.
July/Aug.	207	Peterkin, M.A.	Need for individual tests for an individual education. Their use in guidance.

Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
Vol.XVI <u>1935 cont</u>			
July/Aug.	208	Cavanagh, F.A. (Reviewer)	Review of N. Rawson's edition of <u>The Examination Tangle and the Way Out</u> : the reviewer advocates the use of psychological tests as an alternative to examination.
Vol.XVII <u>1936</u>			
Feb.	58-60	Gruenberg, S.M.	Dependency in adolescence and the use of money as an index of it. Some relation to back ground causes, in effects of mechanisation in reducing drudgery.
April	110	Wellens, L.	Early description of psycho-medico-social centre work in Belgium. Psychology is given an empirical and limited role.
May	118-122	McCalman, D. R.	Eclectic approach to psychological handling of neurotic fears of children: daydreams and the relation of fear to creativity are explored using a broad interpretation of conditioning rather than depth psychology.
May	122-125	Seth, G.	Treatment of speech disorders. Psychology is seen here as a profession heavily problem centred with a medical basis.
	128-130	Searl, N.	Rather defensive Freudian interpretation of parent/child relationships using a case study.
May	137-139	Miller, E.	Organisation of a child guidance clinic. Heirarchal. Medical and problem orientated.
May	139-140	Burns, C.	Description of child guidance work under education authority. Heavily problem centred.
May	140-142	Duguid, K.	Description of work of a psychologist in a Child Guidance Clinic in London.



Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
Vol.XVII 1936 cont			
May	144-145	Hilda, Sister M.	Psychology in a Catholic Child Guidance Clinic. Hierarchal. Problem centred. Religious problems separately handled by priest. (Limited role of psychology).
May	145-148	Institute of Child Psychology	Use of play to develop psychological understanding of child.
July/Aug.	185-189	Thomas, R.	General resume of perceived contributions of psychology to education: changed attitudes to curriculum, to children. The classroom, not the clinic, seen as the main field of psychological endeavour.
Sept/Oct.	236-238	Hadfield, J.A.	A psychological argument supporting internal centred control of instincts as key to success.
Sept/Oct	238-243	Isaacs, S.	Child can only develop by accepting both the 'good' and 'bad' in himself. Early parental attitudes vital for this.
Sept/Oct	244-246	Redl, F. (Reported)	Report of his speech at the World Conference Integration of Instructional and other Makers of Freedom. Psychoanalytical approach. Political relevance unclear.
Sept/Oct	246	Gruenberg, S. M.	Importance of family life stressed. Attack on feminism and the "packaging" of motherhood.
Nov.	270-272	Louise de Teller Swann	Anti-psychological test movement article by an important teacher (Vice-Chairman, Ass. of Head Teachers). Supports post-Freudian approaches.

Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
Vo1.XVIII 1937			
May	136-140	Cattell, R.	Possible decline in national intelligence feared through over fertility of lower I.Q. groups. Solutions:- 1. Stop the breeding of the poor and defective. 2. Speed up breeding of others 3. Ministry of Evolution proposed.
Sept/Oct	251-254	Fordham, M. S. M.	Psychiatrist accepts a strict problem centred role for child guidance clinics.
Nov.	286-289	Furtmuller, A.	An appreciation of A. Adler.
Vo1.IX 1938			
Jan	18-20	Isaacs, S.	The development of the child to age 11. Value of love, and games.
April	118	Editorial Report	Report of a debate in the N.W. Child Guidance Clinic. The question of whether present world problems can best be explained through human nature, and therefore psychology, or through economics, is debated for the first time in this context.
July/Aug	182-183	Hamilton-Pearson E.A.	Growth of normal child. Descriptive, medical slant.
July/Aug	184-187	Dawson, M.	I.Q. and personality tests described.
July/Aug	208-210	Roberts, P.	Argues against the validity of the stigma which attaches to the children referred to a visiting psychologist at school.
Sept/Oct	223-227	Schonell, F.J.	Psychological factors in learning difficulties in arithmetic.

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Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
<u>Vol. IX</u> <u>1938</u>			
Sept/Oct	227-229	Low, B.	Psycho-analytical assessment of teachers' problems.
Sept/Oct	231-234	Bowlby, J.	Psychological factors in child aggression.
Sept/Oct	234-238	McAllister, A.	Speech defects and psychological explanations.
Sept/Oct	239-241	Dunsdon, M.I.	Value of cooperation between school psychologists and teachers in dealing with problem children.
Sept/Oct	243-248	Lyward, G.A.	Psychoanalytical review of difficulties and opportunities in co-education.
<u>Vol. XX</u> <u>1939</u>			
	229-233	McAllister A.	Application of clinic techniques to a camp situation.
Nov.	245-251	Thomas, R.	Article by psychologist on evacuation problems. Almost completely descriptive; little evidence of any specialist knowledge being used or applied at all.
Dec.	300-306	Schonell, F. J.	On causes, testing and treatment of backward readers.

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APPENDIX II. ( CHAPTER IV)ARTICLES AND COMMENTARIES IN NEW ERA, 1930 - 1939  
INCLUSIVE, AND FROM W.E.F. ARCHIVES, RELATING TO  
GUIDANCE

\* Under 'guidance' is included:

- (i) Contributions discussing a one-to-one relationship as described in Chapter I.
- (ii) The work of specialist guidance agencies (e.g. National Institute of Industrial Psychology)
- (iii) Specialist topics:
  - (a) On the concept of guidance, or
  - (b) On one of its sub-divisions
    - as educational guidance
    - vocational guidance
    - personal guidance/counselling.

This includes descriptions of research work in guidance by individuals or agencies.

Source and date	Page	Author	Topic and Comments
<u>New Era</u> Vol.II 1930	50	International Notes. (Editorial)	The work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology (N.I.I.P.) described and advocated, under the heading 'psychology', applied to vocational guidance.
<u>New Era</u> Vol.II July 1930		Editorial	Child Guidance Clinics described as cooperating with N.I.I.P. in testing cases referred for vocational guidance.

<u>New Era</u> Vol. XII June 1931	199-200	Rodger, A.	Use of tests and interviews in N.I.I.P. to help a boy choose his career or future study course. Financial limits of parents to help a bright pupil are accepted as unpassable. Job matching is approved.
<u>New Era</u> Vol. XII May 1931	175-176	Rodger, A.	Futility of non-scientific approaches to vocational guidance. Descriptions of early test centred research in London, and of tests used by N.I.I.P.
Programme for the British Commonwealth Education Conference July 1931.		W.E.F. Archives III, 187	Under the heading "sectional meetings", section IV states: "Dr. Macrae of the N.I.I.P. will lecture on vocational guidance and demonstrate the use of test material"
<u>New Era</u> Vol. XII Dec. 1931	427	Review of <u>Earl</u> , F.M.	Review of ' <u>Methods of Choosing a Career</u> ' (Harrap). The book is on a test centred method of vocational guidance used by N.I.I.P.
<u>New Era</u> Vol. XIII June 1932	172-175	King, R.	Defence of vertical organisation in schools to provide a tutor who can a) mediate in discipline b) keep pupil records c) liaise with parents d) cultivate the confidence of pupils.
<u>New Era</u> Vol. XIII June 1932	165-166	Editorial	Advocates the use of a child guidance clinic by all pupils at regular intervals "in order that the full development of the whole child may be aided and guided by experts cooperating with parents".
<u>New Era</u> Vol. XIII Nov. 1932	321-324	Editorial	A resume of 'some of the most practical points emphasised by some of the psychologists at the Nice International Conference', includes a report on Earl's defence of vocational guidance by the use of psychological tests. It is predicted that a scientific vocational guidance will break

New Era  
Vo. XIII cont.  
Nov. 1932

down the class barriers  
between various occupations.

New Era  
Vo. XIV           93  
March 1933

Review of  
book A. Macrae

Review of talents, temperaments  
and the psychology of  
vocational guidance in form of  
summary of test centred  
vocatinnal guidance by N.I.I.P.

New Era  
Vol.XIV       139-144  
June 1933

Roberts, J.

Detailed descriptions of the  
use of record systems in  
U.S.A. schools as an  
alternative to exams, and of  
value for specific and  
guidance purposes.

New Era  
Vol. XIV       258  
Dec.1933

Rawson, W.

Review of C Buhler (see  
Appendix I). Buhler proposed  
a complete scheme of  
vocational maturation as a  
life process.

New Era  
Vol.XIV       113-114  
March  
1934

Boyd, W.

Personal expression of views  
on future of N.E.F. contains  
the statement: - "The N.E.F.  
is concerned with every phase  
of child guidance and  
direction, formal and informal  
alike".

New Era  
Vol.XVI       83  
March  
1935

Thomas, T.

The school should liaise more  
closely with employers to  
place boys in jobs. N.I.I.P.  
work is supported.

New Era  
Vol.XVI       85-86  
March  
1935

Sheldon,  
Helen

Careers guidance and education-  
al guidance seen as related.  
Should be done by the school  
head.

New Era  
Vol.XVI       114  
April  
1935

Review

The 1935 Yearbook of Education  
favourably reviewed. It  
contained a study of the  
relation of education to  
vocations and sections on  
psychological testing.

- |   |                        |  |  |
|---|------------------------|--|--|
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol.XVII<br>April<br>1936   | 108-111                | Coade, T.F.                                  | Guidance of pupils should be in the hands of teachers. The main qualifications are<br>(1) being an experienced adult<br>(2) maximum friendliness with pupils;<br>(3) least possible formality - but the adult is to retain "a simple natural dignity"  |
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol.XVII<br>April<br>1936   | 106-108                | Chambers, B.                                 | Opposes all directive guidance; supports a qualified psychologist teaching that subject to girls and in the context of that, dealing with problems.  |
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol.XVII<br>April<br>1936   | 111-113                | Wellens, L.                                  | The Belgian psycho-medico-social system described, sympathetically.  |
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol.XVII<br>April<br>1936   | 174-177                | Rubic, H.E.                                  | Vocational guidance described by a careers teacher. Attitude change seen as essential, before information on jobs. psychological tests are evaluated and cautiously accepted.  |
| Programme<br>for the 7th<br>World<br>Conference<br>of N.E.F.<br>(Cheltenham)<br>July/Aug.<br>1936 |                        | <u>W.E.F.</u><br>Archives<br><u>III</u> 193. | Main speeches are to include 7 on the use of psychological tests to establish knowledge of character, personality and as general aids in education. Specific contributions include A. Rodger on "How Temperament affects Vocational Choice" and Sir P. Hartog on "Scientific Testing as an alternative of Adjunct to Exams". |
| <u>School and Society</u><br>Sept. 12<br>& 19, 1936<br>Vol. 44<br>Nos. 1133-<br>1134              | 321-329<br><br>361-367 | W. Carson<br>Ryan                            | Report of the 7th World Conference of N.E.F. at Cheltenham. A full treatment of the discussions of the psychology section (omitted in Rawson, op. cit. 1937) states that stress was laid on the necessity for linking up the work of the child guidance clinics with other agencies for mental health in the community       |

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|--|--|---|
| <u>The Freedom We Seek</u><br>N.E.F.<br>London<br>1937                 | Rawson, W.<br>(ed.)                              | 'A survey of the social implications of the New Education', reporting the 1936 World Conference at Cheltenham omits mention of A. Rodger, Sir P. Hartog and McCalman, and presents a shorter account of the proceedings of the psychology section than in Carson Ryan (op. sup.). |
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol. XVIII<br>Sept 1931                              | Dawson, M.                                       | An extension, by implication, to normal children, of methods of vocational guidance carried out in clinical work with disturbed children. Heavy emphasis on psychological tests, and stresses emotional factors in vocational development.  |
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol. XIX<br>July 1938                                | Dawson, M.                                       | Stresses the value of measured intelligence in the educational and vocational guidance of children. Specific critical ages of 7+, 11+ and 14+ are emphasised. The approach is reductive and problem centred. The virtues of competition are praised.                              |
| <u>New Era</u><br>Vol. XIX<br>July 1938                                | Roberts, P.                                      | More use should be made of the visiting psychologist for guidance of the normal child. The teacher " should not try to attempt with a child anything in the nature of psychological treatment". Psychologist should be disguised as mental tester, at the school.                 |
| Minutes of H.Q. Committee and Guiding Committee of N.E.F.<br>Nov. 1944 | W.E.F.<br>Archives<br>Sect. 1<br>35A.<br>Doc. 70 | The treatment of children suffering from shock and deliberate perversion by the enemy, is described as <u>Education</u> (underlined in original) rather than as counselling or guidance.  |



## CHAPTER IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most of the source material for this chapter is contained in Appendices I and II to the chapter, where full references are given in date order. References to W.E.F. Archive sources not contained in appendices, or subsumed under the name of a specific person (see below) are given in full at appropriate points in the text. The following bibliography contains the remaining sources.

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CHAPTER VTHE POST WAR PERIOD FROM 1946 - 1964

## INTRODUCTION

The Review which we made in the conclusion of Chapter IV emphasised the importance of certain continuities in the Fellowship's history. These link the answers to various questions which we have asked in studying the diffusion of counselling principles and practices through progressive education. Like a ship that is blown off course from side to side by various winds, but returns to its original heading, the Fellowship was swept by enthusiasms, and driven by longer and more powerful pressures, from the initial burst of interest for Montessorian methods in the early 1920's to the sustained fight for survival, with the inevitable rise of organisational aims and eventually political statements, in the 1930's and the subsequent war years. Yet, as we have seen, throughout such disturbances, and after them, ran the basic pattern of interests that had informed the Calais conference of 1921: concern with the individual as such; with his creative evolution; and with the related problems of interpersonal and inter-group behaviour. These, as we have seen, can all be related to modern counselling, but in a form diffused through the teaching process, rather than concentrated with the work of a specialist. So important was this aspect of the Fellowship's interests, that even the rise of specialist guidance organisations themselves,

although outside the classroom and not (in the eyes of the New Educators) seen as clearly related to teaching, can be noted and partly tracked through the successive issues of New Era. There were of course other basic interests in the Fellowship, in the fields of comparative and international education, which appear to reach beyond the boundaries of most (but not all) modern specialist counselling interests; and there, also, we note that the movement remained true to its original aims, maintaining as best it could its international horizons against the nationalist pressures of 'the challenge' and the war years. It is interesting to speculate on the possibility that this international perspective may itself have played a significant role in helping the Fellowship to maintain its original aims: but that is a question beyond the range of the present research (although this is discussed briefly in the context of creativity later in this chapter). For the purposes of this chapter we have to ask these basic questions:

- (i) - Were the aims of the movement, in the post war period, still consistent with support for the principles of developmental counselling, or did they show trends away from such interests; if so, in what areas of activity, and in what directions?
- (ii) - Was interest still expressed in helping the development of the individual pupil's life and personal values as a function of education, i.e. in developmental counselling, or did this interest fade?

In order to answer these, we shall have to break them down into additional, more precise questions. Thus the first question clearly requires an examination of whether any recognisable pattern of aims can be distinguished from the statements and activities in the Fellowship in this period; if so, how far these seem to be consistent with pre-war aims in their relevance to counselling issues. The second question requires a study of the approach in the Fellowship both to developmental counselling as a function of teaching, i.e. the diffused or egressive aspect of counselling in education; and on the other hand of the approach to the specialist guidance movements, such as the Child Guidance Clinics and to some extent also the evolving Youth Employment Service and other specialist movements, which provided the precedent for the later specialist counselling movement, described in *the sequel* Chapters I and II as the ingressive aspect of counselling.<sup>†</sup>

First, however, we have to define the span of time which in this short introduction we have casually referred to as 'the post war period'.

#### The definition of the period.

As we have seen, the expansion of the 1920's and the retraction of the 1930's and the war years are clearly separated both in terms of their backgrounds in world political and economic events, and in the history of N.E.F. itself. There is no similar easy way of defining the subsequent period. The close of the European war, like its advent, was long foreshadowed, and the close of the

<sup>†</sup> See pp. 384-385 for a fuller definition of the terms 'ingressive' and 'egressive' as used in this study. Law [op. cit. pp 206 217] used these terms earlier, but with specific limitation to their bearing on the more specialist or semi-specialist <sup>counselling</sup> Roles in education. /287..

Far Eastern conflict appeared as an almost inevitable sequel to it. The initial jubilation was not followed by any period of expansive euphoria such as that of the 1920's, but was dampened by the rise of the Cold War. The need to check by educative processes, the drift into a third world war is stressed as a main aim of N.E.F. by Zilliacus as early as 1947 (see Appendix I).

It is difficult to point to any critical world events in the subsequent period comparable in their effects to the economic depression of the early 1930's or the rise of Hitler. However, the Paris conference of 1946 marked the first full return of N.E.F. to its former international activities, after the war, and also marked a significant event at the start of a period no longer dominated by the specific pressures of 'the challenge'. The close of the period is likewise not marked in terms of world events or the internal history of N.E.F. However for our purposes it is marked by a significant change in the history of the guidance and counselling movement: the sudden irruption of American specialist counselling training courses in three British universities (Reading, Keele and Exeter) in the mid 1960's and the dramatic rise of counselling as a specialist concept in British educational thought and practice between 1965 and 1970, (surveyed in Chapter I). The events of those five years, therefore, seem to call for special attention in considering the relation of counselling to education, both for the reason just given, and because, being closer to the time of writing,



the margins of safety in the selection and evaluation of significant trends are narrower. Thus we close this chapter on the eve of such events, in 1964.

The aims of the movement in the delimited period.

In examining these, we will follow our previous practice of including statements by individuals specifically on N.E.F. aims; expressions of group views (such as those of national sections of the movement) on N.E.F. aims; and statements of a more general kind on educational aims but contributed by major figures in the Fellowship. Statements by other individuals on aims in education in general will not be included unless they aroused subsequent discussion published in New Era or recorded in the Archives.

(a) The Cirencester Definition of Aims, 1947

The formation of U.N.E.S.C.O. in 1945 was welcomed by the Fellowship as a major advance of the views it had held, in the overall importance of education. Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. 1965 p. 155) rightly ask whether the role of N.E.F. would now attenuate, and answer 'no' by pointing in particular to the ability of an independent body to speak more openly on controversial issues. Thus they defend a position of freedom for the N.E.F. to pursue that independent, evasive, but persistent heading, which in the introduction to this chapter and earlier, we described as being the essence of its continuity with its own past. But very soon the question of aims was specifically raised, at the international headquarters

conference at Cirencester in 1947. A document (Document No. 79, October 1947, W.E.F. 1, 35 (A)) was drawn up there and submitted to members of the Executive Board and International Council for comment. This calls for some attention as it is not discussed in detail in Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. sup.) or in Stewart (op. cit. 1968) and is directly relevant to answering our first question on the continuity of aims, especially of those that bear on child centred education and principles found in counselling. The document contains six main points:

1. Emphasis on a rapidly changing world society.
2. Interactions of individuals "determine the direction of change".
3. Education fosters the "fullest potentialities of each person both as individuals and as participating members".
4. The specific aims of education must continuously be re-examined.
5. Education requires the creative thought of men and women "freed from the inertia of the past".
6. Asks for comments from the Executive Board and Council on how to implement these for the needs of teachers.

Before looking at these points in detail, it is worth noticing that the Executive Board and the International Council generally accepted them. This is clear in a letter and a set of enclosures circulated to librarians in 1948 by J. A. Lauwerys (the then Deputy Chairman of N.E.F.) (Lauwerys, 28 June 1948, N.E.F. Sect. 1, 25). The enclosures contain a statement of

aims emphasising all the points above, with one exception. Point 2 above has been changed to emphasise the "conflict of collectivism and individualism", thus implicitly emphasising an aspect of the rapid changes mentioned in Point 1. The relationship between these two points is further highlighted by the fact that in the later document they are conjoined in the opening statement of aims, which now forms a short paragraph thus:-

"Man's ways of living in the present period of world history are undergoing exceptionally rapid and profound change. The conflict between collectivism and individualism threatens to split the world asunder".

In a personal interpretation of the Cirencester document, L. Zilliacus (New Era 1947: see Appendix I) described the aims in terms of preventing a drift towards a third world war, but this is not the main emphasis of the statement enclosed in Lauwerys' letter, which in spite of its dramatic opening words, merely closes with references to the "struggle of mankind towards a world of order, peace, social justice and freedom".

The aims described in these documents do not contradict any of the earlier aims of the movement: in particular not the concern with the individual as such. Indeed, the changes in the final document just described actually sharpen the perceived concern with the individual, and point directly at two threats to society, in the speed of change, and the growth of "collectivism". What does seem to be new is the clear emphasis

on the need for N.E.F. to evaluate educational innovation (rather than just initiate it) but this does not, as such, infringe the child or individual centred aims of the movement generally. (Point 4 of the 1947 document). In Point 5 is contained a statement which might equally have been made in the 1920's, as it repeats an original and essential concern of the Fellowship for more exciting, creative education. Thus these early post war aims concentrated round 3 central issues:-

- (i) Tensions and conflicts created between the individual and society through speed of 'change' on a world scale.
- (ii) The need for a programme of continuous evaluation of the effects of educational innovation.
- (iii) The continuing concern with creativity.

We need to examine the acceptance and interpretation of these aims throughout the period under review in order to see more clearly how far they were received and translated into practice, and if other, different aims were proposed. Here, however, we have a starting point for answering the first of the questions we proposed for this chapter.

(i) Tensions between the Individual and Society.

It is possible that the restructuring of the first part of the statement of aims which we have looked at, may have been related to the interplay of thought between the movement and the newly formed U.N.E.S.C.O. Boyd and Rawson (op. cit. pp. 155-156) stress the close relationship that existed between the two organisations, specifically in the fact that

a considerable number of the Fellowship's leading members in different countries were enlisted by U.N.E.S.C.O. for whole or part time commissions. One of the first projects of U.N.E.S.C.O., launched at the General Council in Mexico City in 1947, was the Tensions project, which in Boyd and Rawson's words, 'sought to discover the deeper causes of human conflicts, the nature of prejudices, and the ways of changing these' (op. cit. sup. p. 156). William Boyd summarised the course of the N.E.F. involvement in this in an article for the Year Book of Education in 1957, the proof copy of which still exists (W.E.F. Archives, 1, 8, NA). In it he describes the role of the Fellowship in the U.N.E.S.C.O. project, in terms of initiating a series of studies among teachers in various countries of the nature of prejudice and attitude change. "For those taking part, this broadened out into a consideration of group dynamics as displayed in the schools and colleges". He also notices a second approach which N.E.F. made through its conferences, "which came together, not to talk in the usual way of conferences, but to enjoy creative experiences by working at various new arts and crafts in small groups under the guidance of experts ... the next stage came when U.N.E.S.C.O. invited the Fellowship to provide guiding papers, with a view to holding a conference at some later time on Education and the Mental Health of Children in Europe. For the next year or two the mental health of both old and young became one of its main preoccupations, culminating in the Utrecht conference of 1956". These proofs were read by J. B. Annand, (the then international secretary of the movement) who criticised heavily

the passages that immediately follow those quoted, where Boyd gives his interpretation of group dynamics as such. However, he accepts the description of the actual movement into deeper emphasis on creative group work, and subsequently mental health, as it stands, specifically reserving his criticisms (in a letter to Boyd: W.E.F. Archives, 1, 8, dated 26 February 1957) to the last two paragraphs, which in the proof are heavily marked. But in the letter just mentioned, he says "I do not believe a better statement could be made on the Fellowship's philosophy and ways of working up to 1956". It is interesting to notice, then, that the initial concern with dangers to the individual and to society was developed in these activities in terms of group dynamics, i.e. in a somewhat reductive approach, and not on the broader plan which, for example, Whyte followed in his Organisation Man, also published in this post war period (1956). For our purposes in answering question 1, we need to ask if, and how far, in this interest in group dynamics, the Fellowship moved towards or away from its older concerns with helping the development of the individual.

Fortunately, the difference of opinion between Boyd and Annand generated a correspondence which help us to answer this question. In the last two paragraphs of his article, Boyd said that the restatement of the Fellowship's aim as an education for mental health required an approach that was concerned with "mind changing, an idea more congenial to dictators than to democrats", but that the thinking has so far /been confined to a small group of persons". He asks if such ideas are compatible with

the "regard for personality which has always been the cardinal principle of the new education" and questions the practicality, in any case, of using "schools and training colleges in a democracy to bring about change by direct intervention".

This is the area most heavily marked in the proof copy. That Boyd was implicitly criticising group work as such is clear from his preceding paragraph describing the movement, and from Annand's letter to Boyd of 26th February 1957 (W.E.F. Archives, Sect. 1, 8) where he says that Boyd's statements in his last two paragraphs convey "a false, and possibly damaging impression of what the Fellowship is trying to do in its group work".

He emphasises that although the drift of the Fellowship's work from the 1920's onwards has been towards group interests, the purposes of group work are not mind changing but

(a) "To enable this working in the group to come out of the isolation in which we all, in varying degrees, but teachers perhaps more than others, tend to work and live"

(b) "to release through talk ... or through painting or poetry or movement, creative potentialities in the members, and

(c) thereby to increase awareness, not only of the individual's possibilities and limitations, but of the riches that may be evoked from others when the environment is permissive, reassuring, nourishing on the one hand, yet challenging and evocative on the other. In short the purpose is not to try to change people's attitudes to any preconceived pattern, but to attempt to show how the blockages that prevent people from realising their full potentialities may be removed."

For our purposes we note here that Annand does not recognise any trespassing upon the rights of the individual in group work, but rather sees it as beneficial to the individual and society both. Indeed, as described in the passage above, group work meets the five criteria which we described in the first chapters as common characteristics of teaching and counselling: emphasis on the importance of the individual; on the concept of personal development; on the emotional relationship between teacher and pupil (except that, as Annand describes group work, the relationship with the group replaces that of the teacher); emphasis on activity, curiosity, and creativity; and concern with long term goals (which is not explicitly stated by Annand, but is implicit in the aim of increasing individuals' awareness of their possibilities and limitations spelt out in point (c) above).

We have explored Boyd's criticisms and Annand's defence of group work in detail here, because it represents the only authoritative attack on group work made by any member of the Fellowship during this period, and appears directly to question the Fellowship's continuing interest in the respect for the individual, which is of central importance in counselling.

To explore the question of tensions between the individual and society further, as an aim of the Fellowship, we turn to Appendix I. \* First, we do not find any other material in

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\* The material for inclusion here was based on the definition of aims reviewed at the start of this chapter; not on the basis of the definition of aims made at Cirencester in 1947; also before a detailed study of those aims had been made. This reduces the danger of any inadvertent selection of evidence.



Appendix I which is hostile to group work, although Boyd, (1956) in attributing the interest in it to a consequence of the political events of the 1930's, seems to be trying to downplay its importance. Where tensions between the individual and society are discussed, they tend often to return to the original fear expressed in the statement of aims in 1947. Thus Boeke (1956) sees the first aim of the Fellowship in terms of "counteracting the natural tendencies of man to dominate, manage, and compel"; the German national section review of aims and principles (1956) stressed the destructive forces of mass society and the vital need for individuals to be helped to preserve mental health in such conditions, and the Italian national section, the need for a balanced development between individuals and society. The overall need was seen in the statement as that of "keeping man the master of his civilization", in which broad statement is implicit the concern with humanitarian values shared by the New Education and the counselling movements alike.

The term 'mental health' tends to recur throughout the comments on group work. The movement of the aims, from the initial concern with tensions between the individual and society, in this direction, actually takes it so close to those areas of interest which we have classed as 'guidance' that some of the relevant comments fall into Appendix II\* (q.v.).

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\* Appendix II was constructed from an examination of all issues of New Era between 1946 and 1964 inclusive, for material relevant to guidance, as defined at the start of the appendix.

Thus Ben Morris (Appendix II, 1952) actually defines guidance as the technique of mediating between the needs of the child and the needs of society, and sees this as the essence of education for individuality; Mary Swainson (Appendix II, 1953) describes educational and vocational guidance as dependent on the quality of human relationships; Seonaid Robertson in a postscript to Maria Wens's article (Appendix II, 1958) stresses the need for "a community that has a respect for artistic creation" in the context of art as guidance, and a complete issue of *New Era* (Vol. 43, 1962, pp. 189-230: see Appendix II) was given to considering a U.N.E.S.C.O. sponsored study of the relationships between adolescents and adults, in which considerations directly relevant to those of guidance and counselling functions predominated. We note also that nowhere in Appendix II can be found any articles or commentaries on guidance which attack the importance of group work as an aid to individual development. The alignment of this part of the Fellowship's aims with those of a guidance movement becomes indeed so definite that we shall reserve further treatment of it to later on in this chapter.

(ii) The evaluation of educational innovation as an aim

This is supported not only in the statement of aims circulated with Lauwerys' letter of 28th June 1948 (op. cit. supra) but in a number of articles in *New Era* between 1946 and 1964 (see Appendix I). The editorial of July/August 1952 New Era mentions the need for awareness of persistence of change; the N.E.F. Diary for 1920-1952, reviewed in New Era in 1952, describes evaluation of innovation as the main function of

the modern Fellowship; Ben Morris in summarising the Copenhagen meeting of national sections in 1954 describes the word "New" in 'New Education Fellowship' as meaning 'renewal'; Rugg describes a detailed application of scientific principles to curricula reform as a way of establishing a balance between the needs of the individual and rapid external changes; Saiyidain in 1956 spoke of the need to assess growing points in education in relation to N.E.F. ideals; Lauwerys in 1957 spoke of the need continuously to develop new instruments to move towards basic goals of N.E.F.; Saiyidain again in 1960 emphasised the need to translate old concepts into meaningful terms for each generation; Gal (1961) stresses the need to evaluate the way in which N.E.F. practices work, with more methodological rigour; J. L. Henderson in 1964 the need to evaluate educational renewal on a world scale.

These statements accept the aim of renewal evaluation as stated in the 1947 document, but they emphasise also that this aim is not a departure from the older aims of the Fellowship: the point is significant for our purpose in this part of our investigation, which is to examine whether the aims showed a movement away from the original concerns with individual development that we have equated with developmental counselling. The continuity is expressed in different ways: thus Gal, for example, in the paper referred to above (1961) argues for more methodological rigour and for the avoidance of dogmatism in evaluating the operation of N.E.F. ideas, but sees a basic continuity; Rugg describes a shift of emphasis

from the child centred education of 1921 to the 'child and culture' centred education of 1955; Lauwerys the need to develop new instruments to aid the humanitarian goals which were always central to the Fellowship and which do not change; in the different approaches of these men is an acceptance of the continuity of interest in the individual as such and how to aid his development.

The idea of a continuity of aims is presented elsewhere in Appendix I even more directly. Beatrice Ensor, in one of her last contributions to the magazine she founded, observed in 1956 that the aims of the Fellowship had not changed in spite of economic and social changes on a big scale; Boyd in the same year (in spite of his critical attitude to group dynamics) stressed the truth of the old ideals of N.E.F. as described at the Weilburg conference; Rawson (1957) saw the whole panorama of the Fellowship in terms of experiments with individual freedom above all through creativity; an editorial in 1958 describes the main concern of the magazine as having "always been creative education ... the development of all an individual's potentialities"; and Elvin (1959) in an examination of New Era in different decades, describes indeed what amounts to an increasing professionalism and caution in its approach, and a greater awareness of the limitations of freedom, but does not suggest any change in the underlying aims.

The closest approach to another position is where writers or delegates to conferences found it difficult to distinguish

clear aims. Yet here also, a general continuity is expressed: Zilliacus (1953: Appendix I) explains the difficulty in formulating and adhering to a specific N.E.F. philosophy in the preference of members for action rather than reflection, but emphasises the importance of the individual in his discussion of the meaning of freedom; although the National sections meeting at Copenhagen found it hard to define purposes and functions of N.E.F., they agreed to support three programmes (the Mental Health Programme, the Parent Education Programme, and the Education for International Understanding Programme), all of which were consistent with interests of the Fellowship in its earliest days; the first two being concerned with individuals' interests directly, and the third, while dealing with that area of the Fellowship's interests which goes beyond those of the specialist counselling movements, actually interpreted International Education as an aspect of mental health also. (Ben Morris picked out the concern with mental health as the 'connecting thread and fundamental aim' of the Fellowship in his review of this meeting. (Appendix I)).

Thus a study of the statements throughout the period under review does not show any evidence either that the post war emphasis on evaluation of innovation was a significant change of aim; or that aims contrary to those which were described in 1947 developed.

## Interim Comments

The evidence surveyed so far points clearly to the conclusion that the restatement of aims in 1947, and the viewpoints that developed between then and 1960, did not indicate any drift of values tending to lessen the importance of the individual and his development, in N.E.F. thought, and this is a partial but somewhat negative answer to our first main question. We now go on to look at the interest in creativity as an aim. In doing so, we enter an area of greater complexity, in which it is necessary not only to examine the Fellowship's development of interest in creativity from the viewpoint of our first question, but also, more or less simultaneously, in relation to the second question (how the interest bore on the concern with individual development, and hence potentially on counselling). To explain the significance of this aim more meaningfully, however, we shall have to look at creativity as an area in its own right over this period, and in particular at the more or less historically parallel development of interest in creativity within the field of psychology. Having done this, we shall then try to relate the overall picture to our main questions in a summary.

(iii) The concern with creativity as an aim: a widening network of relationships

Concern with creativity was, of course, a fundamental aim of the Fellowship and its specific highlighting in the post war period is, in part, a further example of that continuity of aims which we have just described. What however, particularly characterises the interest in creativity in this period is a

gradual integration of the concept, with wider and rather different aspects of the Fellowship's work. Boyd summarised this in 1957 in the article referred to earlier, by linking it with the aim of resolving tensions between the individual and society, through 'bringing people together, not to talk in the usual way of conferences, but to enjoy creative experiences by working at various new arts and crafts in small groups under the guidance of experts'. He goes on to set this movement directly into the mainstream of a trend of activity which culminated in a study of the mental health of children:

"the next stage (my italics) came when U.N.E.S.C.O. invited the Fellowship to provide guiding papers with a view to holding a conference on Education and the Mental Health of Children". It will be recalled that in an otherwise highly critical letter, J. B. Annand said of this part of Boyd's interpretation "I do not think a better statement could be made". (J. B. Annand, W.E.F. 1. 8 dated 26 February 1957). An examination of this trend, important for answering the question of how far post war aims were concerned with aiding individual development, thus clearly needs an examination of the development of mental health and creativity, as related concepts.

But, Appendix I suggests a sequence of three foci; rather than the two mentioned above: before 1957 the emphasis is on mental health rather than creativity; in 1957 and 1958 there is more attention to creativity itself; and from 1958 to 1964 a growing interest in creativity and conflict. Acceleration of interest in mental health, as such, dated from 1952 when U.N.E.S.C.O.

requested the Fellowship to prepare working papers for its conference on Education and the Mental Health of Children in Europe (Boyd and Rawson. op. cit. p. 159) New Era noted in January 1954 (Appendix I) the acceptance by the National Sections meeting in Copenhagen, of a Mental Health Programme as one of the main aims for a quinquennial plan of work by the Fellowship, and, as already remarked, of mental health as an aspect of the Education for International Understanding Project. Morris (Appendix I, 1954) saw this as the main connecting thread of the conference. Boeke (1956: Appendix I) stressed mental health as one of 5 main aims for the Fellowship; in the same year Annand saw the rise of mental health as an aim, being related to parent education and world mindedness. The German National Section statement of that year also stressed mental health as an aim to protect the individual against mass forces then emerging. This interest was sustained and promoted by the activities of the Fellowship, especially in the Utrecht conference of 1956. But from the start mental health was seen also as intimately related to creativity. This point is accepted implicitly in Boyd and Rawson's (op. cit. 159 ff.) description of how influential members of the N.E.F. saw the context of mental health: thus Edna Balint, a member of the planning committee of the Conference on Mental Health, stressed the therapeutic value of play; Marjorie Hourd, the value of increasing self awareness through the writing of verse, and prose, and the discussions arising there from; Mary Swainson, the freeing of adolescents from psychological parental dominance, by practical and artistic activities of all kinds, such as the



arts and crafts, drama and music. Writing rather later in New Era (1963, Appendix I) Marjorie Hourd saw all the main activity of N.E.F. as concerned with creativity through conferences from Chichester (in 1951) through Askov and Delhi, where lectures and speeches were secondary to creative groups in painting, modelling and writing. Annand, however, (1956, Appendix I) stresses rather more the importance of mental health as an aim throughout the conference of the same period.

Thus the growth of interest in mental health was itself an aspect of that concern with creativity that had been restated as an aim in 1947. But from 1962 onwards, the emphasis again shifts to include relationships between creativity and conflict. The complete January 1962 issue of New Era was concerned with creative conflict; (Appendix I); E. Rotten in 1964 described the current need of N.E.F. to find a 'moral equivalent to war'; Yehudi Menuhin in the same year described the instinct for war as 'synonymous with the most fundamental life force expressed in the arts, sciences, philosophies and religions'. (Appendix I).

We have thus to understand the meaning of an aim, which became central to almost all the Fellowship's activities at this time, and that combined creativity, mental health, and conflict, rather than with these three separately. To do this we shall have to make some examination of the psychology of creativity, in which research quickened, interestingly enough, over much the same period as the Fellowship's growing interest in the topic. This will also help us to understand the potentially close relationship between creative processes and counselling.

Because of the ease with which overall generalisations occur in this area, it will be more helpful to look at a number of conclusions reached by various psychologists working from different viewpoints and on varied data, rather than to attempt an immediate general summary of such diverse studies.

#### Psychological Approaches to Creativity

There is a vast and growing literature in psychology in this area, much of it dating from after the second world war, but with important work long before that. For example, a well known pioneer study is that of Galton (1870). Binet himself (1909) recognised that measures of intelligence assess only a few of man's thinking abilities. New Era was almost dominated by the great figure of Carl Jung in the 1920's, largely as we have seen, through the influence of his thought on Beatrice Ensor, who intuitively understood the importance of his thesis of archetypes on the stimulation of creativity and the consequent growth of individuality. Jung, however, was not alone in recognising that creative forces contain a 'dark' and potentially destructive power, and that the operation of creativity in individuals is associated with processes of conflict both between the potentially constructive and destructive aspects of the creative forces, as such, and the individual's ability to control them. P. E. Vernon, a major figure in the modern literature on creativity, cites Dryden's famous remark that 'great wits are sure to madness near allied' (Vernon, 1970) and points to Lombroso's belief in 1891 that genius was a manifestation of the diseased mind accompanied by many signs of pathology; and to Kretschmer's

view in 1931 that genius contained a psychopathic element; and he notes that it is common to find psychotic and severe neurotic tendencies in the men of genius in the past, pointing to the presence of eccentricity, rebellion and emotional instability as frequent characteristics among them, although often balanced by 'extreme devotion' to their artistic or scientific work'.

Much recent attention has focused on creativity as a process, working more widely below the level of genius, and as a potential and frequent occurrence in normal life; and major contributions have been made by such figures as Anne Roe, J. P. Guilford, J. W. Getzels and P. W. Jackson, M. S. Wallach and N. Kogan, D. W. MacKinnon, Elliott Jacques and L. Hudson. Many of these studies have explicitly or implicitly emphasised characteristics which are essentially examples of conflict, or rebelliousness, or even of potential destructiveness. Thus J. P. Guilford (1959) in an analysis of psychological traits of creativity, describes originality in terms of the ability to make remote and improbable relationships between items of knowledge, rejecting conventional relationships.

Getzels and Jackson (1963) separated two groups on the basis of high intelligence and high potential creativity respectively, and found evidence that the 'creative' group were less liked by teachers; valued a sense of humour more than other groups; and favoured personal qualities having no relationship to those seen by teachers as leading to adult success; tended in their phantasies to show more humour, playfulness, incongruity, unexpectedness and violence; tended to mention

more and more unusual, career aspirations than others; and generally, according to their authors, to prefer a risk taking strategy to life.

Wallach and Kogan (1965) while critical of the separation of 'creativity' and 'high intelligence' made by Getzels and Jackson, nevertheless emphasise the essential 'playfulness' of creative work, which requires an underlying permissiveness, "a situation in which the individual does not feel that what he does will have a bearing on his self worth in the eyes of others", i.e. a non-conformist, potentially rebellious position; but that this is also associated with "elements of obsseiveness present in the kind of associative freedom that leads to high creativity status. They conclude that creativity may well involve " a tolerance for, and understanding of, sadness and pain".

Again, Anne Roe, (1957) in one of several studies on the origins of occupational preference among successful careers, describes a combination of helpful and harmful parental influences in early childhood which in turn develop complex patterns of needs that determine the wide range of occupational outcomes; among sixty four eminent United States scientists, she found that loss of a parent by death or divorce; and serious illness, physical handicap, family conflicts and other disturbances had all variously played important roles in the evolution of their careers (Roe, 1952). Again, D. W. MacKinnon (1962) investigated the personality correlates of creativity among a group of American architects. Using a

classificatory system based partly on that of Carl Jung, he found that creative architects tended to reject conventional associations between 'sense data', i.e. existing facts, in preference for establishing a link between such data and non-existent but potential data, perceived intuitively. The intuitive processes here emphasised were found to be grossly different from those of an American control group, who mainly relied on rational associations between sense data. They also tended to score at a pathological level (by American standards) on a psychological measure of masculinity/femininity. The overall scores of many of the architects showed 'rather clear evidence of psychopathology, but also evidence of adequate control mechanisms'. High levels of commitment to work, and rejection of conventional constraints were also found as characteristics.

Liam Hudson, summarising both the existing knowledge and his own research, suggested the following combination of characteristics as central to creativity: persistence, self confidence, predatoriness (an ability to 'end well', to score from a winning position, to select intuitively the best of a group of apparently equally promising opportunities); crisis seeking, rebellion and sexuality; and a moderately but not excessively high score on measured intelligence.

#### Differences of emphasis in the description of creativity

Thus evidence from the independent field of psychological inquiry into creativity at this time gives a tentative explanation of meaningful relationships between creativity

mental health, and conflict. However, this picture, drawn mainly from empirical psychological research, is not on its own adequate to explain the concept of creativity as expressed by leading figures in the Fellowship. Rawson, for example, (1957: Appendix I) speaks of creativity as related to religion through experiences of mysticism and love; a theme which he develops at greater length in Chapter 10 of The Story of the New Education as being of central importance in the contribution of the Fellowship to education:-

"The New Education has therefore rightly become convinced that it is the artistic vision of the world that now needs cultivating; without it the inner man lies untouched and unawakened, and man's wholeness is destroyed; we have gone so far in our exclusive attention to the intellect that we have forgotten that it is only an instrument, and that even in the discoveries of science there is an element of imagination without which no hypothesis is possible". (Boyd and Rawson, op. cit. 1965, pp. 160-170).

Again in a symposium of three major articles in 1956, (Appendix II) Hemming, Henderson and Milner separately related creativity to themes that included the achievement of wholeness, the development of love, the development of a personal identity and the release of energy (see Ben Morris's summary of these papers, 1956, Appendix II). The importance of powerful repressed energies as springs of either creative or destructive processes is again emphasised by Henderson in 1962, in a summary to a symposium on conflict in New Era.

The cluster of ideas that associate experience of love, mysticism, religion and 'wholeness' on the one hand, with the release of creative energy on the other, exemplified in the articles referred to above, was of course, one important fundamental principle in the Fellowship, and as we have seen, through the influence of such ideas on Beatrice Ensor, tended to dominate the overall approach of the N.E.F. to many of its interests in the 1920's. In the renewed emphasis upon creativity that we are now describing, these themes, or important aspects of them, tend once more to emerge. The theme of 'wholeness' underlay basic thinking about the Utrecht conference on Mental Health in 1956, as the record of its planning is revealed in a number of documents (W.E.F. Archives, Sect. 1, 36, documents 106, 128, 130, 138, 144, 149, 154, spanning the period June 1952 - February 1956). The question of what mental health meant, was raised in the committee meeting of the Executive Board of N.E.F. at an early stage, in February 1954 (document 130 as above) and according to the minutes, provoked "a long and detailed discussion", ending with agreement to the suggestion of Mary Swainson that it meant essentially, the well being of the whole organism. The emphasis on 'wholeness' is found again in Document 139 (as above) in the Dutch Executive Committee's dislike of the separation between home, school and society implied in an early draft of arrangements for discussion groups at the conference. An emphasis upon 'wholeness' pervades in particular the plenary speeches at Utrecht, where it is seen by various speakers (Roger Gal; A. H. El Koussy; Margaret Mead; John Bowlby) as central to their different themes

(W.E.F. Archives, Sect. III, 215). The association of ideas of 'wholeness' with religious values is separately emphasised in the same year by Rugg (Appendix I). The general relevance of these lines of thought to much earlier ideals of the Fellowship was emphasised by Boyd, about the same time, in the paper mentioned earlier (1956: Appendix I) where he described the main current task of the Fellowship as being to find ways of applying the old ideals, still central, but partly lost sight of during the period of what we have called 'the challenge'.

We, therefore, see an apparent difference of emphasis, between creativity as described in the field of empirical psychological research during this period, and creativity as described and implied in the Fellowship. This becomes more striking when we turn from experimental investigations of creativity to published introspective descriptions of individual creative geniuses, which are very much closer to the concept of creativity expressed by the Fellowship, including descriptions of conflict, problem definition and attack and the operation of unconscious processes, as being the artefacts of emotional pressures, sometimes intense, struggling towards conscious expression, and achieving it in association with subjective experience of 'wholeness', aesthetic pleasure, and often mysticism and religious awareness. The mathematician Poincare describes this movement towards wholeness very clearly when, accepting the role of unconscious activity as being to scan very many potential models for solving a mathematical problem, he asks why only a very few of the models 'pass through' into



consciousness, and concludes, that those which do, are the ones that "directly or indirectly, affect most profoundly our emotional sensibility" in the sense that they convey a feeling of mathematical beauty "the harmony of numbers and forms, of geometric elegance, the true aesthetic feeling that all mathematicians know". (B. Ghiselin, 1952, pp. 33 - 42).

Underlying emotional pressures driving towards harmonic expression are vividly described by Stephen Spender, when, writing about the creation of a poem, he speaks of awareness of a "rythm, a dance, a fury, which is as yet empty of words". (Ghiselin, op. cit. 1952, p. 124). The authoress Dorothy Canfield likewise says:

"The beginning of a story is then for me in more than usual sensitiveness to emotion. I get simultaneously a strong thrill of intense feeling, and an intense desire to pass it on to other people. I have no idea whence this tide comes, or where it goes, but when it begins to rise in my heart, I know that a story is hovering in the offing. "Flint and Fire" (the title of a story) thus hovered vaguely in a shimmer of general emotional tensivity, and thus abruptly crystallised itself about a chance phrase and the cadence of the voice which pronounced it". (Ghiselin, op. cit. 1952, p. 169).

The relationship of creative emotional experiences to mystical states, experiences of 'wholeness' and of religious awareness is commonplace in the literature, as Happold, for example, illustrates (op. cit. 19 ) in his symposium and discussion of mysticism.

Thus the subjective concomitants of creative experience among outstandingly important creative people align themselves with those accepted in the Fellowship, and add to the Fellowship's viewpoints the suggestion that the pattern of experiences associated with those of creativity is rooted in a heightened state of excitement, whose onset may be unpredictable, and whose duration is uncertain. It is this emphasis on the emotional correlates of creativity that differentiate the Fellowship's concept, and that of the self accounts by creative men and women, from the concept that emerges from empirical studies. Thus Burt, for example, (1962) described the conclusions of Getzels and Jackson's work in America, as showing that creativity was essentially an extension of general intelligence; he notes as "a complication" the "appreciable correlation with temperamental factors" but does not give it significance. He appears to accept a static description of emotional states, seeing the creative child as "active, alert and exploratory". Likewise Getzels and Jackson while stressing the temperamental differences between creative and other groups, do not emphasise any ideas that associate creativity with altered states of awareness, or unpredictable emotional occasions. Guilford, whose address to the American Psychological Association in 1950 is often taken as marking the beginning of post war interest in creativity in the field of psychology, wrote (1959) of creativity as associated with a pattern of different ways of thinking; Cattell and Butcher (1968) likewise paint an empirical picture of a creative personality, rather than a dynamic creative process concluding:

"it would almost seem as if the differences between science, art, and literature are differences between particular skills and interests only, and that the fundamental characteristics of the creative, original person is a type of personality".

Although the authors recognise "a greater susceptibility to nervous disorder" among artists than among scientific geniuses, they do not see states of tension as central to creative processes, although they recognise a statically defined "trait" of "ergic tension" as relevant.

At the present time it is not possible to say with any certainty whether the experimental researchers are exploring a different 'kind' of creativity from that of the Fellowship, but there seems no reason to think that this is so.

Experimental procedures cannot easily measure, with any internal consistency, variables whose occurrence and duration are unpredictable and uncertain, such as the emotional states described by Dorothy Canfield and by many other creative people; consequently attention has centred on more stable personality correlates, producing a more analytical description, which may be incomplete, but which, as Hudson's summary indicates, does include perspectives through which creative functions bear upon both intellectual and emotional functions in individuals.

This apparent digression into the field of creativity is relevant to our purposes in these ways:

(a) It illustrates that the resurgence of interest in creativity in the 1950's and onwards in the Fellowship was not an isolated phenomenon, but occurred in parallel with a similar resurgence in the field of psychology: Parnes, for example,

notes that in 1950, out of 121,000 titles indexed in Psychological Abstracts from its inception, only 186 were definitely related to creativity, whereas by 1958 there were 30 research studies, with 30 new ones developing in the next 18 months.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that the interest in creativity in the Fellowship quickened earlier than in professional psychology. Although Guilford gave the first paper to influence thought along these lines in 1950, Vernon (op. cit. 1970 p.9) cites 11 symposia and summaries on creativity published between 1959 and 1967, and says that it was essentially, the advent of Sputnik in 1957 that shocked the American public into questioning the assumptions about creativity which had formerly equated it with high I.Q. A similar view is taken by Razik (1967).

(b) That the differences in emphasis between creativity as explored in experimental psychology and as described in the Fellowship indicate that in this resurgence the field of experimental psychology was not supplying the main source of information to the Fellowship, which appeared to interpret creativity in very similar terms to that accepted at its start in 1921;

(c) It suggests that the Fellowship might see the application of creativity to counselling, where it was obviously potentially relevant, in a somewhat different light from that of others drawing their information from the area of experimental psychology. To this we now turn.

### Applications of creativity to counselling.

In order to explore point (c) above more fully, it will be helpful to summarise the main components of a creative process as seen by the experimental psychologists on the one hand and the Fellowship on the other. This will allow us to set the movement in N.E.F. thought and writing into the broader context of which it forms part.

The field of experimental psychology supplies the following suggestions:

1. That creative behaviour is mainly learned.
2. That it is associated with satisfaction of a personal kind and not with goals of cooperation or competition (Parnes, S. J. 1963; Rogers, C. R. 1954; Osborne, A. F. 1953; Cattell, R. B. and Butcher, H.J. 1968).
3. That it avoids passing judgement on new situations immediately. This is also described in other terms, such as 'avoidance of rigidity', 'tolerance of ambiguity', 'openness' and 'avoidance of closure'. It is widely recognised as of central importance, and accepted by most of the main writers, including J. P. Guilford, J. W. Getzels, P. W. Jackson, S. J. Parnes, C. R. Rogers, E. P. Torrance, M. A. Wallach and N. Kogan, D. W. MacKinnon, in the works referred to by these authors in this chapter.
4. That the ability to define problems relevant to an issue is part of the process described earlier by Guilford. This has been emphasised by many of the other workers referred to above. Recognition that the definition of problems and the emergence of new ideas of a constructive

kind occur in the later rather than in the earlier stages of 'open' process of thought. (S. J. Parnes; Wallach and Kogan). This is consistent with the perceived importance of deferred judgement mentioned above.

5. That the creative situation is essentially one of play, in a climate of psychological safety (C. R. Rogers; Wallach and Kogan; E. P. Torrance).
6. That a patron is often essential to maintain the climate of safety; to protect the creative (and therefore non-conforming) individual from destructive criticism from his peers in the early stages of the creative process; as a mediator between the creative person and his peers (and family); as a sounding board for the creative person to test his ideas against safety; and as a person who can help the individual to understand his divergence. This view has been developed particularly by E. P. Torrance (op. cit.) and is, in general, supported by C. R. Rogers and S. J. Parnes (op. cit.) Torrance is clearly describing conditions that favour both the development of creativity in any kind of person, and the protection and enhancement of creativity in a creative personality. He supports his case by pointing to the importance of the patron figure in the lives of many creative geniuses in history.

Introspective descriptions of creative processes by men and women of public acclaim are numerous, and symposia exist, that of B. Ghiselin (op. cit. 1952) being particularly complete, containing first hand descriptions by D. H. Lawrence, Henry

Moore, Jean Cocteau, Wordsworth, A. E. Houseman, W. B. Yeats, Kipling, Nietzsche, Carl Jung, Albert Einstein, Coleridge and various others. Although these accounts all vary in detail, there is sufficient common ground to establish a loose general pattern:

- (a) The creative process involves, and often starts with, a period of disturbance or excitement: the quotations given earlier from Spender and Canfield illustrate this. Many others exist.
- (b) There is an alternation of periods of intense intellectual effort (often attended by failure) and periods of boredom, or neglect, or depression, all marked by an absence of apparent motivation.
- (c) Such periods of low motivation are often abruptly broken by an insight into the problem of such force as to seem as illumination; sometimes accompanied by, or in the form of, a symbolic representation of a solution. The insight is occasionally false.
- (d) Stages of productive work sometimes seem to develop without apparent intellectual effort, giving the worker an impression of receiving dictation, or of watching a spectacle unfold.

Similar patterns are described in Hudson (op. cit. 1966 pp. 135-142), where he reviews the creative work of Rilke and Kepler.

The whole process bears striking resemblance to an exaggeration of the normal basic work processes as described by E. Jacques (1970) who suggests an interplay of conscious

and unconscious forces, associated with planning and reality - testing operations, "mourning" for intermittent failures, and renewed planning for further reality testing; which implies that the processes, described by unusually successful creative men and women, may not be far different from those of 'ordinary' people. We have already seen that the Fellowship valued as of first importance the subjective concomitants of the great creative processes, which it saw as central to the New Education, for universal application.

We have seen that the conclusions about creativity from experimental psychology produced suggestions for counselling; we now turn to Appendix II to see how the interest in creativity was related to guidance within the Fellowship.

Perceived relationships between creativity  
and counselling concepts (a) in N.E.F. writing, and (b)  
specialist counselling writing

First, among the various articles in New Era that touched on guidance between 1946 and 1954 there is little mention of creativity. Many of the articles reviewed in the Appendix deal with organisational or specialist guidance topics. Rather wider discussions of relationships between guidance and mental health appear in November 1954, in an unsigned report on the International Study Centre of Applied Psychology, and in Hickling's Report on the annual conference of the National Association of Mental Health. Jacoby in September 1955, moves closer to a specific relationship with creativity, suggesting that handwriting as a personal creative product,



stemming from a fusion of conscious and unconscious processes, could be used in guidance. But a much clearer set of statements came the following January (1956) in the already mentioned symposium of three papers, where J. Hemming, J. Henderson and M. Milner argued the case for a teaching approach on a basis that related, respectively, Adlerian, Jungian and Freudian perspectives to major principles of creativity. In Ben Morris's summary of the main themes, he lists emphasis on love in human development; the development of individual identity; knowledge and acceptance of self; release of energy in a creative form; and the achievement of wholeness. This grouping, with its emphasis on wholeness, and release of energy and love, is closer to the descriptions of creativity as given in the introspective accounts than to the experimental studies, although it is not inconsistent with suggestions of the latter. The role of the teacher is also seen (though not described as such) in terms of developmental counselling, on the basis of the criteria we have used to define counselling: thus the 'development of individual identity' is consistent with interest in the individual; the importance of love in human development is consistent with our description of empathy; the 'release of energy in a creative form' agrees with the emphasis on activity as a component of counselling; the development of individuality and the achievement of wholeness are concordant with concern with long term goals associated with the development of values, again a basic principle on counselling. Missing from the comparison is a specific equivalent, in the authors' concepts

of creative education, to the concern with problems which is common to most counselling thought. However it will be recalled, from our discussion of this in Chapter II, that in the history of the counselling movement, concern with problems shows itself, at least in part, as a process of diminishing historical importance, and that it is least evident in developmental counselling, which is the latest form of counselling to emerge in the time sequence. Also missing from the three authors' accounts is any idea that specialists are necessary for such work - but a difference between the approach to many routine aspects of a teacher's work (and life) and the essence of a creative approach is implied in the recommendations by Henderson and by Milner, that teachers need to engage in specific character development. Milner actually proposes vacation courses to tap the sources of creative imagination in each one of them. Morris, in his summary, also recognises the need for specialist training of teachers to release the springs of creativity in their own lives, but warns against the "fatally easy" tendency to intellectualise such training.

Articles relating the role of the teacher to individual development, and using themes related to creativity, continued occasionally to appear during the following years. A. B. Davie (1957) emphasised the role of written work in schools as an approach to personal problems and recognised the importance of unexpressed unconscious emotional pressures. Again,

Ben Morris (1958) interprets the supreme aim of education in terms of individual development. His additional comments (Appendix II) describe a guidance role for the teacher very close to that of the 'patron' as defined by Torrance.

However, the most complete description of a relationship between creativity and counselling in the New Era during this post war period occurs in the long article by Maria Wens in the same year, 1958 (Appendix II). This article is interesting in that it combines the application of ideas consistent with those emphasised in the experimental work on creativity, reviewed above, with others emphasised in the Fellowship's approaches, and relates both to the role of the counsellor (the whole second half of the paper being headed 'guidance through modelling'). Thus the climate of psychological safety defined by Torrance and others is implicit in two provisos in Wens: (a) The need for a teacher who, while technically skilled as an artist, is essentially a counsellor, whose first role is to aid the development of the child and his self understanding, as this is revealed through modelling activities; and (b) the need for the processes modelling and counselling to unfold in an education context - a school - where art is taken seriously. This point is given added emphasis in a post script by Seonaid Robertson, who takes up Wens's point that the organisation of the school needs to be structured so that this kind of teaching can be taken seriously, and adds to it by pointing to the need for a supportive community of teachers, pupils and administrators. Another consistency is

the belief by Wens that creative activity can be learned. She sees an improvement in aesthetic expression as accompanying a successful process of expressing and, through the help of the teacher/counsellor, integrating, the problems of the modeller through his work. The idea from experimental psychological studies, that creativity is concerned essentially with the satisfaction of personal needs rather than with reaching cooperative or competitive goals, also runs throughout the article, which emphasises the gradual emergence of creative work from an 'inner' rather than an 'outer' centred approach. Again, she describes the creative situation in terms of plays in as far as the objects to be made can be chosen by the child, and there are no external criteria. The area of permissiveness is thus widened much more than in, for example, Montessori methods, where freedom is contained within a closer limit. Finally, the role of the teacher is defined in terms which agree closely both with Parnes' concept of a 'patron' and with the concept of a counsellor as we have defined it: thus the importance of individual development through the integration of personal problems is seen as more important than the production of an aesthetically satisfying object of art (but the two are gradually integrated, in Wens' thesis); empathy, in terms of a close personal relationship between teacher and pupil, is stressed throughout; the principle of activity by the 'client' is maintained through the pupil's modelling, which expresses and integrates his problems in a process of personal development; the resolution of problems is also a main goal: not through taling alone, which is the

conventional counselling approach, but through hands in the medium of clay - an advantage, in Wens' view, for children lacking ease with words, or suffering from emotional blockages which this kind of activity bypasses. Finally, there is a concern with long term goals. This is partly seen in terms of ultimate conformity with moral attitudes of the teacher, and to this extent Wens appears not to align herself so closely with the approach of Rogerian counsellors, and possibly to oppose some of the emphasis upon 'openness' also stressed in the experimental work on creativity; this is to some extent balanced by her emphasis on the need for the teacher to be both trained in psychology, and intuitive, as well as broadly permissive.

To this extent then Wens' ideas are consistent with the main recommendations about the development of creativity from experimental studies. But they go further in relating creative purposes and achievement more definitely to the presence of emotional pain, often at an unconscious level; and in discussing its release through modelling, propose an intricate relationship between pain, the creative process of modelling, the values of the counsellor, the relationship between the counsellor and the pupil, and the ultimate achievement of beauty: "The most important factor for us to stress is the special relationship which, in the creative situation, grows between pupil and teacher ... (one which) ... seems to us to be in large measure analogous to the transfer known in classical psychotherapy. From the moment when modelling ... has really caught the boy ... he seems to be committed to the adult in a direct, peculiarly strong way ... as they discuss again and again certain corrections, the adult, given that he

has enough insight, will inevitably be discussing problems and traumata of which the child was unaware or which he has hidden painstakingly. In this way a relation of confidence grows; it is accepted by the child as highly important in his life ... as a result of this confidence, the child will give up certain inner resistances, and will reach outlawed domains of striving and feeling. Thanks to this his real behaviour will improve noticeably and become more harmonious - the child starts to identify with the ideals of the adult, and a real educative process takes place."

The idea of an emotional root to creative activity, as being central to it, is, as we have seen, a major difference of emphasis between the descriptions of creativity by the experimental psychologists and the introspective accounts of highly successful creative men and women, and it is, as we have also seen, more consistent with the values expressed throughout the history of the Fellowship. Wens' article thus represents a very detailed exposition of the potential relationship between some of the central goals of N.E.F., and central goals of counselling, in the common matrix of creativity; and further suggests specific methods by which both sets of goals might be reached. These include

- (a) The importance of the community in which the processes unfold;
- (b) The importance of the interpersonal relationship between teacher and pupil;
- (c) An intricate association between the processes of teaching and counselling;

- (d) The relevance of the pre-condition for creativity as described by psychological research;
- (e) The importance of an emotional charge both for creative work and the associated counselling processes.

A rather similar pattern of processes is implicit in P. Williams' description of the enhancement of personal relationships by the ritual creation of a mealie-cob doll in Xosa culture (1963, Appendix II).

The association between creativity, counselling, and personal development, which in these articles are carried to the extent that one is almost an aspect of the other, can also be found in the counselling field itself. Thus Carl Rogers (op. cit. 1954):-

"There is no fundamental difference in the creative process as it is evidenced in painting a picture, composing a symphony, devising new instruments of killing, developing a scientific theory, discovering new procedures in human relationships, or creating new formings of one's own personality as in psychotherapy. (Indeed it is my own experience in this last field, rather than in one of the arts, that has given me special interest in creativity and its facilitation. Intimate knowledge of the way the individual remoulds himself in the therapeutic relationship, with originality and effective skill, gives one confidence in the creative potential of all individuals)".

Again, N. Hobbs (1958), writing about desirable qualities in a counsellor, describes a personality which is consistent with that which emerges both from the experimental and introspective analyses:-

"Our least promising candidate for training might be a person who has dutifully plodded through undergraduate majors in psychology and education. And our most exciting candidates might be people with very odd backgrounds, or people whose non-conforming tendencies, particularly in the realm of ideas, have gotten them into trouble elsewhere".

Likewise, Tyler (1961) warns against rigidity in the personality of the candidate for specialist counselling training, defining it in terms clearly related to concepts relevant in creativity: unacceptable qualities in counsellors include an inability to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty, the need to be sure of using the right technique, and in expecting a client to respond in specified ways. She implies that conformists display this defect more often than non-conformists. The influence of this viewpoint in the evolution of specialist counselling in Britain has been shown in a study by Vaughan (op. cit. 1970 pp 141-142) who compared in detail the selection procedures and criteria for entry to the first advanced one year diploma courses in counselling and guidance at the Institutes of Education of Reading, Keele, and Exeter Universities in 1966, concluding :

"without exception a quality looked for among candidates is flexibility, shown in different ways, as in the ability to talk to people who are specialists in various subjects and to ask the right sort of questions ... there seems to be fair agreement to avoid the prosaic, rigid minded sort of person condemned by such writers as Hobbs and Tyler".



Yet in spite of these ideas, specialist counsellors did not, during the whole of the period under review, or in the remaining years of the 1960's, develop approaches along the lines of Wens, to any important extent. This can be seen from a review of papers in counselling, in North America, influential enough to have been reprinted, (McGowan and Schmidt 1962) or selected by a panel of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (Van Hoose and Pietrofesa, 1970) or chosen for their diversity (Hart and Tomlinson, 1970). These contain a combined total of over 100 contributions, including papers by such leading figures as Donald Super, D. A. Arbuckle, Carl Rogers, E. G. Williamson, L. Tyler, Gilbert Wrenn, Ruth Strang, and Arthur Traxler. In none of them is a specific creative process involving the use of materials in a threefold pattern of personal development, aesthetic expression, and a personal relationship with a counsellor, highlighted. Nor, as we saw in Appendix I, Chapter I, is such a concept current among British descriptions of counselling.

Support for Maria Wens' views was, however, found in the Fellowship itself during this period. The use of various forms of creative work of a technical or semi-technical kind as a matrix for personal development was experimentally tested at the Chichester Conference of the N.E.F. in 1951. In this group setting the role of the counsellor appeared to become diffused to the group as a whole. The outcome, as described by Zilliagus, is consistent with the complex integration of counselling, personal development, and creativity (as later detailed by Wens):

"During this Conference community feeling grew more strongly than at any other conference I have attended. To me this rising of a feeling that transcends individuals but links them together, that seems to be outside us and yet is also inside us, is something of a miracle. During these days many of us changed more rapidly and more fundamentally perhaps than is usual at any N.E.F. conference". (Boyd and Rawson, op. cit. 1965, p. 145).

The method was found sufficiently interesting to be retried at conferences of the English Section at Coventry, and by the New South Wales Section at Frensham; in the next international conference at Askov in Denmark in 1953, and, more in line with the creative processes in counselling as described by Rogers in the quotation earlier, at the Utrecht conference of 1956, on a psychoanalytical basis (where the group leaders were specifically called 'counsellors').

Thus during the 1950's there developed an approach to counselling in the N.E.F. with an emphasis rather broader than that found previously in professional counselling fields: in that (a) the work of counselling was seen as part of a broader creative process involving personal development in the context of an evolving technical artistry; and (b) the possibility was explored that these processes could unfold in group settings where the group replaced the individual counsellor.

The N.E.F. did not however, relate these findings directly to counselling but rather to attitude change, and the resolution of conflict, which as we have seen, became a major

issue in this complex of ideas during the beginning of the 1960's. We shall not explore this movement in any detail, because it carries the application of creativity into those areas of interest, in the Fellowship's work, which lie rather beyond the field of counselling. The application of such ideas as tolerance of ambiguity, (in the form of studying and using conflict of inter-group or international interests), as a basis for defining problems in a creative way, rather than trying to reduce conflict (see as the older approach), is stressed in an editorial for January 1962; and its application in politics, schools and industry is discussed in articles immediately following, by Langdon, Sharp and Brown respectively. The attempt to broaden the application of principles basically deriving from psychology, in an interventionist approach, was, as we saw in Chapter II, a very basic trend in the Fellowship, informing the many efforts throughout the 1920's to apply N.E.F. principles in public education. There is some parallel to these ideas in specialist counselling, it is true. We saw in Chapter I that counselling as a concept in North America gradually moved into an increasing awareness of social responsibility, as it matured in perception of its educational relevance. But political applications of modern specialist counselling theory, in particular, have not so far developed. Once again, the educational and international context of the Fellowship's work encouraged these extended perspectives to the related application of ideas central to creativity and counselling.

The attitude of the Fellowship towards the development of the specialist guidance movement in the post war period

Our review so far has suggested, in answer to the two main questions of this chapter, that the main aims of the Fellowship, as defined in 1947 and elaborated and applied in the succeeding years, did not involve a move away from the importance of aiding individual development as a central Fellowship interest; that this interest was furthered by a growing involvement with new approaches to creativity in technical and group work; that this movement interpreted a counselling equivalent role as a central component of creative work; and that creativity was seen as rooted in concepts which involved and partly subsumed many wider reaches of Fellowship interests, including the concern with mental health and to some extent, world peace and international education.

In this matrix, the functions of counselling are often seen as requiring some kind of specialist training, but not to the degree that suggests a specialist activity in its own right. If anything, the importance of counselling as a central part of a creative process emphasising 'wholeness' seems to have implied an intricate relationship between teaching and counselling, rather than the separation of a specialist counselling role. This is clear in the articles by Hemming, Henderson, Milner, Davie and Ben Morris, referred to, and is described openly and in detail by Maria Wens. We now, therefore, turn once again as in previous chapters to look at the overall

attitude of the Fellowship to the parallel movements in specialist counselling, in relation to educational aims. This completes our answer to the second question of the present chapter.

The main evidence comes from Appendix II. A brief glance through the Appendix shows that throughout the post war period interest in specialist guidance, guidance techniques and guidance as a function of teaching, remained fairly continuous, most years producing a small crop of papers. Consistent with this interest, was an acceptance of the basic principles that underlie counselling functions both in its specialist form and in teaching. An exception is the reported speech of K. L. Shrimali in 1959 who does not appear to accept the principle of emphasis on individual development. Gal (1961) also argues for the acceptance of what amounts to a reductive system-orientated approach based on his interpretation of psychology, which appears to limit the possibilities for individual expression, although he adds somewhat enigmatically, the statement that "our action as teachers must remain at the service of a fundamental autonomy". There is no further evidence of any movement away from the principles underlying counselling.

The established specialist areas of guidance and counselling receive some attention, but less so than in the pre-war period described in Chapter IV. Two descriptions of Child Guidance services occur in 1946; (Friedlauder and Jacobs). Reifen in 1947 describes vocational guidance as a specialist activity without any real attempt to relate it to teaching. A

review of Glassey's guide to keeping school records in 1951 accepts and supports the importance of the educational psychologist; and emphasises the need for the teacher to establish links with him; as does Darroch in the same year. Tibble, in 1959, seems to argue a case for the specialist counsellor in his statement that "we need ... in all schools some people to bridge the gap between the class teacher and the clinic", although he does not go as far as recommending specific specialists; Barron in 1961 recommends Young People's Consultation Centres staffed by specialists, although their relationship to schools is not clearly discussed; Mons, the following year, emphasises the potential contribution of psychiatrists, in guidance, and the need for closer communication between them and teachers; finally Rowley and McBride in 1963 advance the American concept of specialist counselling as practised in some New York schools. This makes a total of nine articles, which emphasise the specialist contribution to counselling, although none of them argue against a counselling function in teaching. To them might be added Prins' paper (1946) although it is not clear that he is describing a completely non-teaching role for his specially trained teachers. There are also several articles which describe specific casework in guidance techniques, without specifically making a case for or against the specialist counsellor (Barron, 1949); Broughton; Hourd; and Gunsburg, 1951); the descriptions of problems by the Youth Employment Service; and the Public Schools Appointment Board in 1952. (Although it might reasonably be argued that

these two are implicitly advertising their services as specialists) and Phyllis, (1953).

On the other hand, there is an important group of articles which argue in favour of specialist functions of guidance being retained by teachers. Some of these relate the teaching function to creativity (such as the group by Hemming, Henderson, Milner and Morris and others discussed above) but others do not. Thus Humphrey (1951) specifically argues for specialist advisers in secondary schools who are also teachers; Hutchinson (1951) defines a special problem area of entry to school, to be handled by teachers; Ben Morris (1952) expresses a distrust for some empirical psychologists while recognising the importance of psychology as part of a wider context of experience, including religious experience, in teachers. His approach throughout emphasises the importance of 'wholeness' and while he makes no explicit statements, he appears not to favour functional specialisation. Pinset however (1953) advocates a highly reductive approach to educational problems, requiring specialist training beyond that of teachers at the time of his article, but sees education in terms of guidance and the teachers themselves as the specialists. Bloom (1953) also argues a case for teachers to undertake the specialist area of educational guidance. Hutten (1958) specifically argues against specialisation on the basis of extending the specialist knowledge of the teacher.

To these articles, arguing specifically for teachers to undertake specialist functions of guidance, we should add a further group

in which specialist functions of guidance are discussed, but the arguments are not carried to the point of recommending specialists. Thus by implication, many of them seem to accept teachers as the people responsible for action. Schonell (1946) for example, specifically describing the contribution of educational psychology to teaching, makes no recommendation for specialisation of function within the teaching profession, either for vocational guidance or counselling. H. A. T. Child (1951) in an article which seems geared towards a case for specialist counsellors, pointing to the difficulties of communication between teacher and psychologists, the need for scientific assessment of emotional needs of children by teachers, the need for more research by 'trained workers with a scientific background', and the importance of the official recognition of the status of 'maladjusted children' does not propose specialist counsellors as a solution; Schuster (1952) representing the needs of industry, does not suggest vocational guidance specialists in schools; nor does Cora Tenhen (1954) discussing the transition from school to work from another perspective. Weaver (1956) sees the small residential group approach, rather than that of the individual specialist, as appropriate for helping maladjusted children; likewise the use of groups to help individuals with problems is advocated in the review of Fromm's Sane Society in the same year. W. D. Wall (1957) does not propose specialists in discussing the relationship between guidance, security, motivation and learning, and Ben Morris (1958) again seems to reject the specialist approach to guidance which he continues to describe in terms of the teachers' role.



Caroline Nicholson (1958) attacks the assumption that psychotherapy should only take place in the consulting room, and more specifically the idea that any conflict of interests exists necessarily, between the teaching and the psychotherapeutic approach. Her argument against authoratative approaches and in favour of exploration indirectly supports one of the maxims of a creative approach as defined both by the experimental psychologists and, from its start, by the Fellowship. Specialists are not suggested by Dockar-Drysdale (1960) in discussing maladjustment, nor by Hicklin (1961) discussing case histories of difficult children, nor by Lewis (1961) or Royston-Evans (1961) writing in the same area. In 1961 the case for teachers with specialist post experience qualifications (but not necessarily acting as specialists) is argued in a review of Cleagh's Teaching the Slow Learner in the Secondary School. Other articles implicitly associating the specially trained teacher with specialist functions that are not dissociated with teaching include Caspari (1962) Nicholson (1962) and Shields (1964 a and b).

If we take this group; the previous group specifically advocating teachers to undertake the specialist functions of guidance; and the important group surveyed in detail in the previous section, where counselling functions were intricately related to the matrix of creativity, teaching and self development, then we have an impressive mass of opinion pointing to the diffusion of specialist counselling functions through the role of the teacher rather than that of the specialist counsellor. Even if we turn to the "opposing" viewpoint, represented by the nine articles supporting

specialists, none of them reject the idea of teachers as counsellor. The most they do is to support the case for specialists working in association with teachers; Tibblé's article (1959) for example, could even be taken as implicitly arguing a case in favour of a combined teaching/counselling role.

The evidence from its main publication, New Era, then shows that while the Fellowship saw a place for specialist guidance activity as supportative to education, it saw the main educational aspects of counselling as being diffused through, and in intimate relationship with, a teaching role. This conclusion is consistent with the picture which has emerged in previous chapters. But it is not complete, and we now turn to examine what evidence on these points is available from the archives.

At the beginning of the post war period in 1946, working parties called 'commissions' were set up in the Paris conference. One of these was on 'orientation and selection'.\*

It recommended :

- (i) That educational guidance should begin at ages 11 or 12.
- (ii) Methods used in the British army for selection of officers could be useful in schools
- (iii) Psychological assistance is comparable to medical and social assistance.

These suggestions appeal for an ingressive approach, rather than the close egressive relationship between guidance and

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\* 'Orientation', i.e. 'guidance'. Interpreters commonly make the mistake of direct transliteration, in this word. 'Orientation professionnelle' for example, should normally be translated as 'vocational guidance'.

teaching which we have just been reviewing. Its distance from the perceived work of the teacher is heightened by the following sentence :

"The report on orientation selection was valuable, but is necessarily too technical to lend itself to summarisation". (W.E.F. e, 202: unsigned report on The European Congress : undated).

Members of the Commission themselves seem to have felt the existence of a division of opinion about the 'right' approach to counselling. They noted the differences of organisation between Britain, in which vocational guidance was normally in the hands of teachers; in Belgium by 'one of the teaching staff specially trained'; and in France by someone who took no part in the teaching. Nevertheless, they concluded: "there should be a child psychologist in every school, and though some teachers had expressed fear as to his influence, it was pointed out that this sense of fear was really dependent on the teachers' training. Some members had suggested that the school doctor should be the psychologist, but the general view was that this was undesirable". (point 17 of the manuscript, op. sup.)

As we have already seen, in our review of New Era, this view point did not, in the main, attract much support. In Lauwerys' correspondence to librarians, described near the start of this chapter, enclosures suggesting the application of the 1947 statement of N.E.F. principles, take a different, more egressive outlook, emphasising the need for greater care in the selection and training of teachers, especially in child

psychology and "the science and art of guiding and teaching children and youth" (W.E.F. 1, 25, enclosures to J. Lauwerys' letter to Chief Librarians dates 28 June 1948). In the same statement, other aspects of school organisation are described, in which the continuation of old N.E.F. principles is emphasised: learning is to proceed from a child centred origin; activity methods are to replace rote learning; learning is to develop from individual centres of interest. The applications described here do, in fact, foreshadow closely the later reforms in Swedish education. In another study Vaughan (op. cit. 1975, pp. 68-85) has emphasised that the creation of a highly pupil-centred comprehensive system there, was not associated with the growth of specialist counselling services because these functions were being diffused through the new approach to learning, and the teaching functions encouraged by these reforms. The example illustrates the essentially egressive approach of thought at the centre of the Fellowship\*, towards the relationship of teaching and counselling in the 1940's. Again, the emphasis on creativity in the statement of applications, is very clear, covering the range of work from that with the hands (wood, clay etc.) to 'ideational' (music, poetry etc.). Together with the emphasis

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\* The statement of aims drawn up at Cirencester in 1947 was submitted for comment to members of the Executive Board and International Council. One of the requests was for advice on how to implement the aims for the guidance of teachers (W.E.F. 35(a) Document 79, October 1947, Appendix I). The document here examined incorporates such principles of implementation, and is dated sufficiently ahead (October 1948) to have included the opinions asked for.

on driving forces for learning coming from within, an absence of repression to that necessary for safety, and, in disturbance, treatment of the cause rather than the symptom, there emerges a pattern remarkably close to that advocated, in different ways by N.E.F. in 1921, and consistent with that seen as desirable for creativity by psychologists working, in the main, after 1950, as we have seen.

The development of projects in mental health, and in particular the Utrecht conference of 1956, went some considerable way in that decade towards establishing the image of N.E.F. as having specialist interests in a field very much overlapping that of specialist counselling; and of others with closely related interests. We have already noted that mental health was seen by the Executive Board in an inclusive way, referring to the well being of the whole organism (W.E.F. 1, 36, Document 130, 1. 2. 54). The emphasis on wholeness was shortly repeated in the alteration of the English title from 'Mental Health' to 'Constructive Education and Mental Health in the Home, School and Community' (W.E.F. 1, 36, Document 144, 3. 6. 1955). Recognition of the conference by international organisations closely connected with counselling work, including the World Federation for Mental Health and the International Union for Child Welfare, is recorded (W.E.F. 1, 36, Document 156, 26 April 1956). Following the conference, the association of W.E.F. with various facets of guidance and counselling, by various specialist organisations, continued. The International Catholic Child Bureau invited the N.E.F. to be represented at

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their conference in 1959 on the theme 'The Child and His Future in the World of Work'. (W.E.F., 1, 36, Document 182, 6 January 1959). A month later Hans Hoxter invited the N.E.F. to send a representative to the International Conference on vocational guidance at Margate. The invitation was accepted, and Brian Haslem was nominated to attend (W.E.F. 1, 36, Document 184, 24 February 1959). This conference was significant as being one of a series, still continuing, held in different countries biannually, and attended by leading authorities in specialist counselling throughout the world. Haslem reported to the Executive Board in June 1959, noting "with pleasure" the conference's awareness of the need for a recognition at all times, of the pupil's 'vocational readiness' and its realisation that much more needed to be done by employers and trade unions to ease and guide the initiation of young people into work on leaving school. The Committee expressed itself as 'much interested' in the report. (W.E.F. 1, 36, Document 193, 10 June 1959). However, there is no evidence of any definite move to associate N.E.F. more closely with specialist counselling movements of this kind, in the archive records then.

We can thus sum up the evidence from the archives as supporting that from New Era: while the development of specialist counselling services is seen, still, as in previous decades, as relevant to N.E.F. interests, it is not seen as central to them, in the sense that the principles of counselling diffused through teaching in an egressive form are seen as central.

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## CONCLUSION

The long post war period surveyed in this chapter shows a continuation of expressive aims, in Millham's use of the term, consistent with the basic principles of the Fellowship, which remained unchanged. The tendency towards political statements which in Chapter IV we saw appearing at the height of 'the challenge', is much less evident after the war. Amid the great diversity of its interests, represented by the many specific projects with which it was concerned, the decade of the 1950's in particular showed a growing interest in creativity, seen as a positive composite approach to the problems of mental health, conflict, teaching and guidance. We examined this trend in detail, both in its own right as a specific trend in the Fellowship at this time, and as part of a wider interest, developing from Guilford's paper in 1950, and particularly after 1957, in North American psychological research. We saw that while the approach of the Fellowship was not inconsistent with that advocated by experimental psychologists in North America and to some extent also in Britain, N.E.F. did emphasise rather more its emotional and mystical aspects.

There is a general absence of references in N.E.F. records to American psychological research, in creativity during this period. In the first half of the 1950's that could partly be explained by the somewhat earlier escalation of this area of interest in N.E.F., but it is less easy to account for after 1960. The evidence suggests that both fields were, to a significant extent, developing separately, with the N.E.F.

movement closely aligned to its long previous interest in this area. Thus it is particularly interesting to note that both in the American research, and the somewhat different set of explorations carried out in N.E.F. conferences, and in the ideas expressed in New Era, we find similar recognition of the importance of a counsellor figure. The intricate association of counselling functions with those of teaching, in a creative context, was in agreement with the overall attitude of the Fellowship towards counselling, as it has emerged in previous chapters. The mass of opinion which we surveyed throughout the post war period in New Era, continued to support this viewpoint, with specialist counselling still seen as a relevant but separate activity rather on the edges of education. Many specialists areas of guidance, including vocational guidance and psychotherapy, were occasionally described as lying within the province of teaching, although there was a fairly consistent recognition that teachers needed further specialist training to discharge these functions adequately. The evidence from the Archives throughout the post war period supports these conclusions, in spite of a suggestion from the Paris conference in 1946 for an ingressive, specialist approach to counselling. This did not receive significant support, and ideas relating mental health to 'wholeness' and to an egressive approach to counselling as a central aspect of teaching, remained more influential in the central thought of the Fellowship as revealed through its Archives.



APPENDIX I (CHAPTER V)ARTICLES AND COMMENTARIES IN NEW ERA, 1946-1964  
INCLUSIVE RELATING TO THE AIMS\* OF THE MOVEMENT

\*Under 'aims' are included:

- (i) Individual contributions by individuals specifically on N.E.F. Aims
- (ii) Expressions of group views (e.g. those of national sections of the movement) on N.E.F. Aims
- (iii) Articles of a more general nature on educational aims but contributed by major figures in the Fellowship.

Contributions by other individuals on aims in education in general are not included unless they aroused subsequent discussion published in New Era or recorded in the Archives.

Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
27, 1946	214-217	Zilliagus, L. (Chairman N.E.F.)	Report of the inaugural meeting of the National Education Association of America, attempting to unite the teachers of the world. The report is critical in general, both of the naivety of many proposals that ignored political and demographic differences between countries and of the blindness of many Americans to discrimination within the teaching profession. Shows greater awareness in N.E.F. leadership of such realities, than in pre-war writing.
28, 1947	146-147	Not stated	A draft description of the aims of the New Education Fellowship reformulated during the preceding Cirencester conference. An extract from it emphasises: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) The N.E.F. has in the past aimed at               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The development of the individual child; and the child-centred school</li> <li>(b) The understanding of his environment; and</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Volume and date	Page Ref.	Author	Topic and Comments
28, 1947			hence the world-minded teacher
			(2) Changes in policy and action are needed today because of the war's effects.
			(3) The main need is to check a drift towards a third world war by seeking remedies in education.
			The extract uses the personal pronoun and was issued by Zilliacus, the Chairman, as a memorandum to members.
33, 1952 July/ August	151-152	Editorial introducing the July/ August issue	<p>The wide membership of N.E.F. from its start emphasised. Three reasons given:</p> <p>a) Self education one of its goals: not a propaganda vehicle for "any particular ideas or methods" but for "educators to educate one another".</p> <p>b) Membership always was wider than that of teachers alone, as "education is one of those aspects of life that goes on continuously from cradle to grave."</p> <p>c) An "unshaken belief" that people of personal integrity who believe in the value of human personality can understand one another and work in harmony.</p> <p>Three principles are stressed:</p> <p>1) Progress depends on an open mind and maintenance of contact with those of differing viewpoints.</p> <p>2) Governing body formed from those who have something personal to offer: a "sense of the horizon": a growing consciousness of the persistence of change.</p> <p>3) Has relied always on the power of attraction, not of force. "Its strength has lain in its persistence.</p>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
33, 1952	173-187	Unstated	<p>The New Education Fellowship Diary 1920-1952. Traces the history of the Fellowship under the headings :</p> <p>ORIGINS  EXPANSION (1925-1928)  RECOGNITION (1929-1931)  SET BACK (1932-1939)  SURVIVAL (1939-1945)  RESURGENCE (1945-1952)</p> <p>Sees its main function as re-examination of new problems and knowledge in education; and the balancing of world technological advance by human maturity achieved through education.</p>
34, 1953	165-168	ZILLIACUS L (Chairman N.E.F. Conference, Askov 1953)	<p>On the philosophy of the New Education. Notes that previous attempts to formulate a philosophy have not had a lasting influences. Believes members are more interested in action than reflection. Details some main areas of concern, and closes on a discussion of freedom: "We have come to see that freedom (of the individual) is possible only through a living relationship with others."</p>
35, 1954 January	6-12	Unstated	<p>Diary of meeting of National Sections of N.E.F. at Copenhagen, July 1953, to discuss common areas of agreement and propose quinquennial plans to the International Council. The discussions showed concern about the public image of N.E.F.: the slow rate of growth, and the ill-defined purposes and functions of the movement. <u>A Mental Health Programme and the Parent Education Programme</u> (including teacher training) were supported; <u>Education for International Understanding</u> was seen as an aspect of mental health, and a British proposal about a</p>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF.	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
35,1954	6-12	Unstated	<p><u>Case History Project</u> was set aside.</p> <p>(Mental Health seen as including relationships among and between children, parents and teachers).</p>
35,1954 January	12-15	MORRIS B	<p>Comment by Chairman of above meeting on its outcome. Notes that members found it difficult to define the philosophy of the N.E.F. Believes that this may be rejection of dogmatism:-</p> <p>"One theme however kept continuously reappearing at this meeting - mental health. It was the connecting thread and conceived as a fundamental aim of both intellectual and emotional education."</p> <p>In speaking of the New Education Fellowship he adds:</p> <p>"We agreed .. that "new" meant renewal - a renewal of ourselves and of education, and that the primary function of the Fellowship was for the purpose of such renewal".</p>
37,1956	60-61	ENSOR B	<p>Changes since 1921 have not fundamentally altered the aims of N.E.F. 3 main points are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) The Fellowship over-emphasised the need for self-expression in early years, but the effect was generally useful in breaking up rigid teaching systems.</li> <li>2) Economic changes are leading to the decline of private schools and therefore N.E.F. needs to concentrate more on state schools.</li> <li>3) "Children are more and more surrounded by external devices so that they are always going outward, everlastingly distracted by the external world". Need to develop what lies within rather.</li> </ol>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF.	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS												
37, 1956	51-56	RUGG H	<p>Contrasts in culture and education 1921-1955. Discussing the Weilburg Conference of 1955 in a leading article, he outlines the main differences in principles 1921-1955 thus:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1921</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1955</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Child-centred education</td> <td>Child and culture centred education</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-the-child</td> <td>Freedom through self-imposed control</td> </tr> <tr> <td>A curriculum of separate subjects</td> <td>General education</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Rebellion and improvisation</td> <td>Critical design based on therapy. Need to develop:           <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) A theory of civilisation and culture.</li> <li>2) Behaviour theory, from social and psychological sciences of today.</li> <li>3) A theory of aesthetics derived from expressional revolution.</li> <li>4) A theory of religious expertise and moral behaviour</li> </ol> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Intuitive understanding</td> <td>Scientific bio-social psychology</td> </tr> </table> <p>Rugg is much concerned with the extremely rapid changes in western and world culture and sees the above as a means of establishing a balance between the needs of the individual and the rapid external changes. He does not see that the changes themselves</p>	1921	1955	Child-centred education	Child and culture centred education	Free-the-child	Freedom through self-imposed control	A curriculum of separate subjects	General education	Rebellion and improvisation	Critical design based on therapy. Need to develop: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) A theory of civilisation and culture.</li> <li>2) Behaviour theory, from social and psychological sciences of today.</li> <li>3) A theory of aesthetics derived from expressional revolution.</li> <li>4) A theory of religious expertise and moral behaviour</li> </ol>	Intuitive understanding	Scientific bio-social psychology
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Intuitive understanding	Scientific bio-social psychology														

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF.	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
			<p>may be too vast for the teacher to meet: "if the doubting Thomases protest that this is far too great a load to impose on teachers, the Conference made clear that nothing short of it (will do for) the goal (of our founders) in 1921."</p>
37,1956	57-58	BOEKE K	<p>In the form of a letter to the Weilburg Conference, he asks what are the tasks for N.E.F. today, following the setting-up of UNESCO? He sees 5 :-</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) "Counteracting the natural tendencies of man to dominate, manage and compel: by increasing the possibilities of full development and self-control of the children.</li> <li>2) Education for world citizenship.</li> <li>3) Personal devotion to meeting emerging world problems.</li> <li>4) Practical application of new educational principles.</li> <li>5) To act as an international centre for the mental health movement.</li> </ol>
37,1956	61-64	BOYD W	<p>Reflections on the New Education. He makes these points:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) The Weilburg speakers of the old school have not changed their ideals from 1921. It suggests their truth.</li> <li>2) Many of the ideas of the 1920's-30's are now in practice especially in the USA. Thus a new approach to the old ideals is needed.</li> <li>3) Many of the applications are incomplete. The main next task of the N.E.F. will be to study how methods can be developed to apply the principles.</li> </ol>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
			This was a concern in the 1920's, but was partly lost sight of in the 1930's as the rise of Fascism "shifted interest from the child to society among new educators and gradually the concern about methods dwindled."
37, 1956	67-70	Unstated	E.N.E.F. Annual Report for 1955. Shows concern with the question of whether there is a need today for the N.E.F. and affirms its concern with the quality of education.
37, 1956	199-204	ANNAND J B (International Secretary N.E.F.)	<p>HQ Report of N.E.F. 1955-56</p> <p>1) Notes that in 1953 concern for mental health was to be promoted; the Utrecht Conference of 1956 achieves this as well as the 2 related aims of parent education and world-mindedness.</p> <p>2) Notes the post-war growth of nationalism to mobilise national energies for reconstruction. This has tended to isolate national sections. He sees the future international role of N.E.F. as in group-work in techniques of inter-personal relationships that can be applied in schools. (Report presented to the international council of N.E.F. at its meeting at Utrecht in Holland 1956),</p>
37, 1956	204-205	SAIYADAIN K G International President	Letter to Utrecht Conference. Stresses need for N.E.F. to aim at the qualitative rather than quantitative approach to education by highlighting basic issues of an intangible nature, and assessing the value of 'growing points' in education in relation to N.E.F. ideals. Teachers should

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
			<p>strive for human understanding and peace on the basis of a change of attitude among all. These ideals must not be compromised for the sake of numbers.</p>
37,1956	223-229	GAL R  Secretary of N.E.F. French Section	<p>Review of the New Education, Past, Present and Future. Critically examines perceived errors of generalisation and exclusion in the principles of early educators, and how they sought to apply them. Aims should be therefore:-</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To try and harmonise the efforts of the pioneers; to clarify principles that are at the root of some of the caricatures of them that exist in the new education.</li> <li>2) Renunciation of "partial and limited affirmations and try to see the educative work as a whole". (Avoidance of techniques based on partial examination only of child's environment).</li> <li>3) More integration of psychology and sociology.</li> <li>4) Concentrate on teacher education as a main growth point.</li> </ol>
37,1956	230-234	Not stated	<p>Principles and Aims of N.E.F. as seen by German and Italian sections, and a comment by H Rugg on them. The Italian statement stressed the need for a balanced development between the individual and society; activity methods were favoured. The German statement stressed the destructive forces of mass society and the vital need for individuals to be helped to preserve mental health in such conditions. Creative activity is favoured in schools and</p>



VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
			<p>N.E.F. meetings, and the use of psychological and other findings to help keep man the master of his civilization. Rugg interprets these statements as meaning a need for a new school curriculum, a study of creative processes and new teacher education.</p>
36,1957	16-19	<p>LAUWERYS J L  Chairman of the Executive Board of the N.E.F.</p>	<p>Conclusions on 9th world conference of N.E.F. (1956: Utrecht). Defines "Fellowship" in terms of "The kind of relationship that we have with a human being that we love, whether he be man or woman". He also emphasises that freedom was the main value of the society the founders hoped for:-</p> <p>"a value which they would have put higher than almost any other"</p> <p>"Faith, fellowship and freedom are three guiding lines which inspired those who guided the Fellowship".</p> <p>The perceived need is to develop new instruments to move towards those goals which remain in the future.</p>
36,1957	63-69	RAWSON W	<p>Religion and the New Education. The development of N.E.F. seen in terms of experiments with freedom: of the child; and of the adult; and of creativity as an expression of this. Creativity is then related to experiences of mysticism and love, and to the need for a religious approach to life by all.</p>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
36,1957	199-200	Editorial	"Among the chief interests of members of N.E.F. are relationships in school, growth (of children and adults) and the importance of viewing the educational process as a whole".
39,1958	197	Editorial	"The main concern of New Era has always been creative education .. the development of all an individual's potentialities".
40,1959	21-27	ELVIN L	<p>Reviews changes in the Fellowship and in <u>New Era</u> over 40 years.</p> <p>Notes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) A change in tone in <u>New Era</u> from exhortation to explanation: "it is much more professional, and nearer to the teacher and the classroom".</li> <li>2) The social and educational acceptance of many of N.E.F.'s earlier goals especially for young children.</li> <li>3) A change from emphasis on self-government to self-direction.</li> <li>4) A continuing emphasis on education for freedom but with a greater understanding of its limitations.</li> </ol> <p>Recommendations:-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Welcomes the increasing concern with adolescents (as do the contents of New Era for 1959).</li> <li>- Cautions the need to recall the "subtle interplay between education and the existing norms of different societies".</li> </ul>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
41, 1960	67-70	SAIYIDAIN K G President N.E.F.	The main aim of N.E.F. is to translate old concepts such as co-operation and love into meaningful terms for each generation. Otherwise they become "shibboleths of self-deception".
42, 1961	21-27 and 41-47	GAL R	<p>Articles on "where does the New Education Stand?" As in 1956 he argues for more methodological rigour in assessing the way in which practices and ideas in N.E.F. thought work; for pressure to get better buildings for teachers; clearer application of experimental findings in curricula and administration. Three sources of basic error in N.E.F..thought have been:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) The early massive assertions and negations.</li> <li>2) Blind reaction - eg the early massive child-centred movement against the older adult centredness: <p>"the movement of a pendulum never ceases to come finally to rest at the point from which it started, and so annuls its own effectiveness"</p> </li> <li>3) Dogmatism, arising from creative innovation: there are no final solutions. Need to proceed by trial and error, as Decroly suggested - this is the main spirit of N.E.F., he believes.</li> </ol>
43, 1962 January	1-2, and the whole of the January issue	Various, including Editorials	The issue deals with the creative use of conflict: the editorial emphasises that the constructive use of conflict is a creative act. This is examined in subsequent articles on creative conflict in school, politics and industrial democracy. The whole represents the first serious attempt in <u>New Era</u> to bring the Fellowship's concern with creativity to

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
			bear on its interests.
44, 1963 January	51-59	HOUD N	The last 12 years of N.E.F. seen as mainly concerned with creativity through conferences from Chichester (1951) through Askov, Utrecht and Delhi, where lectures and speeches were secondary to creative groups in painting, modelling, writing etc.
45, 1964 January	2	HENDERSON J L	The necessity for seeing the process of educational renewal and its evaluation on a world scale is stressed, as his subject for monthly editorials in <u>New Era</u> for 1964.
45, 1964 January	4 - 8	ROTTEN E et alia	A discussion with two young teachers on the current needs of N.E.F. which she interprets as being to find "a moral equivalent to war" by creative solutions of psychological conflict .
45, 1964 January	9	MENUHIN, Yehudi	The instinct for war "is synonymous with the most fundamental life-force expressed in the arts, sciences, philosophies and religions. "
45, 1964	156	WATES B	(In correspondence) a plea for more attention to specific issues by N.E.F. rather than general issues. Suggests individual pamphlets on topics such as the Public Schools and on the New Mathematics. The letter is supported by a postscript from J B Annand (secretary of N.E.F.) who relates it to ongoing discussion of E.N.E.F. aims.

APPENDIX II (CHAPTER V)

ARTICLES AND COMMENTARIES IN NEW ERA, 1946-1964  
INCLUSIVE, RELATING TO GUIDANCE \*

\* Under "guidance" is included:

- (i) Contributions discussing a one-to-one relationship as described in Chapter I.
- (ii) The work of specialist guidance agencies (eg National Institute of Industrial Psychology).
- (iii) Specialist topics:
  - a) On the concept of guidance, or
  - b) On one of its sub-divisions
    - as educational guidance
    - vocational guidance
    - personal guidance/counselling.

This includes descriptions of research work in guidance by individuals or agencies such as the National Foundation for Educational Research (N.F.E.R.).

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
27, 1946 April	98-101	PRINS D H	A proposal for a single orientation year between primary and secondary education. Emphasis is laid on the need for psychological testing, and of special training for the teachers concerned. "A very gifted teacher should read for a degree in psychology, and, having finished his study, should return to the school he temporarily left, in order to render, as an educational psychologist, the services (we) so greatly need." On this basis pupils to be graded into groups by ability. Although referring to Dutch schools, the author starts by emphasising that he had deliberately chosen, on N.E.F. invitation, a topic of international importance.

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
27, 1946 June	143-147	SCHONELL F J	In a detailed article on the contribution of educational psychology to education and its future development, <u>no mention</u> is made of concepts of vocational guidance or counselling as a specialist activity. The emphasis is on selection of pupils and classification of problems.
27, 1946 July	170-174	FRIEDLANDER K	Some descriptive notes on the organisation of the West Sussex Child Guidance Service.
27, 1946 November	243-246	JACOBS L & PHELPS D	An amplification of Friedlander's article (op.sup).
28, 1947	174-177	REIFEN D	A scheme of vocational guidance in Tel-Aviv. The article is an objective description of the organisation of vocational guidance there, on a test-centred, specialist basis. No attempt is made to relate the findings to developments elsewhere, or to Britain. No mention of the paper occurs in editorial comment OR in the following issue of NEW ERA.
29, 1948	101-103	NASHBURNE C	The child as an individual. Conformity v. variations and self-expression. There may be a myth of freedom in progressive methods which require a less rigid conformity than before but over a bigger area of the child's life. We do <u>not</u> want a well-rounded individual but a well-developed one. The child must be given a chance, in a given environment, to determine his own goals. Trial and error, using the apparent happiness of the child as our metre, (over a long term); specialists are <u>not</u> proposed for this work.

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
30,1949	10-14	BARRON A T	Case studies of boys in two progressive special schools. Possible wider applications not explored.
32,1951 January	6 - 7	BROUGHTON W	Three case studies of the effects of activity methods in infant school on psycho/social development.
32,1951 January	8-12	HOURD Marjorie	Suggestion as an unrecognised technique in aiding the individual development of children.
32,1951 January	16	Review	Review of <u>The Teachers' Guide to the Keeping of School Records</u> . (Glassey, W). The book is praised for aiding individual guidance and liaison with the educational psychologist by teachers.
32,1951 March	53-59	CHILD H A T	'Emotional Education and the School of the Future'. Child argues that more attention is now being given to emotional education as a result of the rise of Child Guidance Services and the official recognition of the status of 'maladjusted' children. He advocates reduction of class size, more scientific assessment of emotional needs by teachers and the support of social psychologists and sociologists in research on children's group life. More research on individual needs of children by 'trained workers with a scientific background' is advocated. Although he notes the difficulties of communication between teachers and specialist psychologists he does <u>not</u> propose specialist counsellors as a solution.

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
32,1951 May	97-101	HUMPHREY G W	Secondary schools should have special advisers, who are also teachers in charge of up to 12 pupils each from ages 11-15. The school head should be the adviser to these over age 15. Advisers should meet pupils <u>regularly</u> on a set basis several times a week. Guidance of children is seen (individually) as towards adjustment to school situations, but (collectively) the small group are free to choose their own topics of interest. "The adviser requires no special knowledge or training but he does need patience and enthusiasm".
32,1951 June	131-134	DARROCH J	By an educational psychologist at the Davidson Clinic, Edinburgh. Stressing the need for cooperation between clinic and school, describes 4 illustrative case-histories.
32,1951	151-156	GUNZBURG H C	Pioneer work in a colony for mental defectives. Although largely concerned with describing the organisation of the colony, five individual case-histories are singled out for attention.
32,1951 Sept/ Oct	165-169	HUTCHINSON A L	Problems of entry to school are discussed, and seen as the province of teachers. Specialist teachers for this work are not proposed.
33,1952	69-76	MORRIS B	Education and individuality. "As I see it personal choice in learning, be it of method or of content, can only operate effectively within a common core of studies, ultimately derived from and reflecting the cultural resources of our adult civilization. It is in this region that we see the



VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
33,1952	69-76	MORRIS B	importance of the concept of guidance in education. Guidance is the technique of mediating between the needs of the child and the needs of society. It is the essence of education for individuality." Does not propose specialists for guidance although he emphasises he is writing as a psychologist : fears the application of science without love: "behind the tough empiricist cowers a frightened child". Implies the use of teachers for guidance functions and supports religious approaches to the achievement of individuality through social service.
33,1952	95-100	Sir George SCHUSTER	What does industry expect from the schools? Deals in generalisations with need for cooperation in society. But recognises the rate of economic and social change. Does not make any serious attempt to analyse the concept of work. Does not examine or advocate specialist vocational guidance roles in schools .
33,1952	101-106	Various	5 brief statements by businessmen about interaction between school and industry. These are pragmatic, descriptive and do not examine basic issues.
33,1952	107-110	BRIDGER H	Psychoanalytic examination of the problems of transition from school to work. Contains a direct refutation of implications by previous authors in this issue that early job-changes are bad.

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
33,1952	111-115	LCC SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON THE Y.E.S.	Extracts from this Report, describing the work of the Y.E.S. in London, problems of guidance, and a study of job-changes.
33,1952	114-115	LYON H (Director, Public Schools Appointments Board)	A description of the interview procedure used by this organisation, using subjective methods of assessment.
33,1952	117-121	HEMMING J	How the needs of industry involve the school. Suggests that industry <u>now</u> needs and uses enlightened approaches to human life, and therefore merits attention from educationalists. Examines the psychological value of the concept of work.
34,1953	130-134	PINSET A	In a review of a statement of policy of N.F.E.R. the author notes that education is specifically defined as guidance: "Guidance, in this context, must not be confused with vocational guidance, or with clinical child guidance - it is .. (for the teacher) .. a process of making a curriculum and school organisation into a medium for promoting optimum growth and development of <u>individual pupils</u> " (my italics). Highly structured sets of research questions for this end are elaborated on a test-centred basis, and the author concludes that attention should be centred on the transition from primary to secondary schooling. The emphasis on an implicit form of developmental counselling is oddly at variance with the proposals to define new and precise structures into which pupils will be slotted; and with his statement that "formerly,

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
34, 1953 November	130-134	PINSET A	<p>education was a process of submitting pupils ... to the authority of a logically structured academic subject or set of subjects".</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The use of specialists to administer tests in school guidance is not mentioned, although the 'selection, training and further education of teachers' is listed at the end of a group of 'major problems of educational guidance'.</li> <li>- Relationships with other guidance agencies, eg N.I.I.P. and the Child Guidance Clinics, are not discussed.</li> </ul>
34, 1953 November	169-173	MARY SWAINSON	Recognises that achievement in educational and vocational guidance depends on the quality of human relationships and discusses the psychological climates that favour this and achievement generally.
34, 1953 November	174-177	BLOOM A A	Article by a secondary modern school-head on the selection of specialist subjects by children on a free basis limited by guidance from a form teacher. Sampling of lessons and projects is advocated and described.
34, 1953 November	178-183	PHYLLIS BROYD (Y.E.S. Officer)	Vocational guidance is described in a residential course, run in East Ham to help young school girl leavers to understand themselves and their attitude to work. Case histories are elaborated.
35, 1954 May	87-93	CORA TENEN	The problems of transition from school to work illustrated by case-history material. Solutions by guidance are seen as helpful but partial, difficulties arising from value -

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
35,1954 May	87-93	CORA TENEN	differences between school and work. Specialist counsellors are not proposed or implied.
35,1954 November	196	Unstated	Note on the "International Study Centre of Applied Psychology" whose declared aims are to apply to the general promotion of mental health discoveries in depth psychology used in treating mental stress. Seeks to unite psychologists, social workers, educationalists and others.
38,1955 March	51-53	Unstated	Case histories of individual school failures translated from the French (p 41 of this issue for source details).
38,1955	83-85	HICKLIN M	Report on the 1955 Annual Conference of the National Association for Mental Health (NAMH). The complex and huge problems underlying preventative mental health were discussed. Cultural isolation of individuals was highlighted as a topic of importance and the work of individual specialists such as doctors discussed in this light.
36,1955 Sept/ Oct	149-153	MARIANNE JACOBY	Use of graphology in guidance, with individual case histories.
37,1956 January	7-17	HEMMING J	In a general article dealing with educational aims from an Adlerian viewpoint. Certain aims common to education and developmental counselling are singled out for attention (see Morris, B. below).

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
37,1956 January	18-28	HENDERSON J L	In a general article dealing with educational aims from a Jungian viewpoint; certain aims common to education and developmental counselling are singled out for attention (see Morris, B. below). Specialists are not proposed, but teachers are encouraged to engage in personal character development.
37,1956 January	29-41	MILNER, MARIA	The application of Freudian principles to character development rather than the cure of neurotic symptoms only is argued. Certain aims common to education and counselling are implied (see Morris, B. below). Specialists are not proposed, but teachers are encouraged to take vacation courses "in which they can be helped to experience the astounding qualities of the untapped capacities of the creative imagination in each one of them". (p. 41)
37,1956 January	42-49	MORRIS B	In a review of Hemming, Henderson and Milner (opera supra) Morris defines as their central common themes:- <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) The fundamental role of love in human development.</li> <li>2) Need to establish the individual pupil's personal identity</li> <li>3) Knowledge and acceptance of oneself</li> <li>4) The release of creative energy</li> <li>5) The achievement of wholeness.</li> </ol> Morris accepts that while specialist guidance for teachers to realise these ends in themselves may be possible, "it is fatally easy to turn an intellectual grasp of the findings of depth psychology into a technique for evading

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
37,1956 January	42-49	MORRIS B	any of its personal implications. Each must choose his own way". ie specialists for such major guidance aims are not proposed, but teachers should attempt self-development along such lines in order to guide pupils.
37,1956 March	88-90	CARLEBACH J	Advice to houseparents of a Jewish orphanage on handling deprived children, on an individual basis.
37,1956 May	138-140	WEAVER A	In a paper dealing with the maladjusted child, he advocates as essential, the development of small autonomous residential units using methods 'tried out and elaborated in progressive schools since the turn of the century'. The school must be small enough to allow "full developing personal relationships" among individuals.
37,1956 July/Aug	184-185	Review	In a review of E Fromms <u>The Sane Society</u> Nancy Sherrard stresses the emphasis on the needs of the individual rather than the group and the use of groups to meet individual needs.
37,1956 Sept/Oct	188-189	WESSELINGS J H	Speaking at the Utrecht conference (on 'Constructive Education and Mental Health in Home, School and Community') he says "It is now considered that to promote individual development and harmonious unfolding of the personality is the first duty of all education ... the founders of N.E.F. seem to me to have contributed a great deal towards the acceptance of these new ideas".

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
38,1957	5-11	WALL W D	The relationship of guidance to security, motivation and learning. A report on some findings of the Utrecht conference. Specialists are not proposed.
38,1957	36-39	JORDAN D	An article stressing the need by teachers for self-evaluation.
38,1957	99-103	CHILD H A T	In a discussion on lessening anxiety through the comprehensive school, the role of specialist counsellors is not introduced.
38,1957	140-145	DAVIE A B	Self expression in schools, in written work, is related to the expression of personal problems and some effort is made to suggest courses of action by teachers on an individual basis. "Teachers .. ought not to ignore the ferment which exists below the surface".
39,1958	53-60	MORRIS B	In an article on Freud, Education is seen as personal development, in the context of good teacher/pupil relationships:  "The supreme aim (of education) is with personal development .... Freud's ideas suggest that the secret (of interested learning) is an inner freedom possible only in a setting of personal relationships .. the essence of which is the teacher's capacity for unconditional acceptance of the child as he is".  Morris thus sees guidance as an integral part of the teacher's role. No mention is made of specialist counselling roles.

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
39,1958	101-125	WENS, MARIA	<p>In a long article on the use of modelling as a remedial activity for children, helping them to establish their own identity, a major section is headed 'guidance through modelling' (pp 115-124).</p> <p>a) Using clay for the first expression of "the intense moments of Common experience" later to be given intellectual expression;</p> <p>b) By relating the creative work to a permissive school atmosphere.</p> <p>Special stress is laid on the "special relationship, which, in the creative relationship, grows between pupil and teacher .. analagous to the transfer in classical psycho-therapy. As they discuss again and again certain corrections, the adult, given that he has enough insight, will be discussing problems and traumata of which the child was unaware or has hidden. (As the relationship grows) the child starts to identify in a wholesome way with the attitudes, and moral behaviour and even the ideals of the adult ... The person who has to guide the child must be a mature adult with whom the child can make a real relationship and so develop. Psychological guidance is absolutely necessary to people who intend to use these means of expression with children (as well as technical skill and psychological intuition)".</p> <p>- In a postscript by Seonaid Robertson the importance of the social climate of the school is stressed - the</p>



VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
39,1958	101-125	WENS, MARIA	method only works "where the community has a respect for artistic creation". She further stresses the vital need for special psychological training for those going on to teach art, and the dangers of superficial art teacher training.
39,1958	133-138	HUTTEN J	In a case history discussion of the difficult child in the home, she concludes that "as teachers learn more about the kinds of things that are helpful in cases like these, <u>Recourse to the specialist will become unnecessary</u> " (my italics).
39,1958	153-160	NICHOLSON CAROLINE	A teacher discusses with case histories psychotherapeutic approaches to children in schools. She criticises the current assumption that psychotherapy should only take place in the consulting room, or that a conflict of interests exists necessarily between the teaching and therapeutic approach. Argues against authoratative attitudes towards such roles and in favour of exploration - she questions the validity of accepted assumptions about the transference relationship.
40-1959	198-204	TIBBLE J W	In discussing the complexities of the concept of "adjustment" he argues for "an urgent need for a much larger provision of facilities both on the preventive and remedial levels ... not only more special schools and clinics, but more provision within all schools both for diagnosis and treatment. We need .. in all schools some people to bridge the gap between the class teacher and the clinic". Our society is seen as

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
40, 1959	198-204	TIBBLE J W	<p>promoting a "highly developed individualism and autonomy" requiring special educational provision.</p> <p>He does not carry his argument to recommending specific specialists.</p>
40, 1959	204-212	KENWORTHY L	<p>Report of the E.N.E.F. working party on the communication between adults and adolescents indicating</p> <p>a) A need for pooling of information about such communication</p> <p>b) Need for preventative guidance (not described in these words):</p> <p>"the greatest immediate need is for appropriate action in secondary schools, where adolescents may be helped with their problems before they get too big for them".</p>
41, 1960	74-77	K L SHRIMALI (Minister of Education, Government of India)	<p>In a broad paper on educational aims, he attacks the concept of the child centred school and by implication supports directive guidance:</p> <p>"The theory underlying the child centred school is the product of the age of individualism and laissez-faire which has passed away ..."</p>
41, 1960	169-176	DOCKAR- DRYSDALE B E	<p>In an article on selection to a school for maladjusted children, she shows the wider guidance aspects of the problems of the individual child. Specialists are not suggested in this article which stays close to the problems discussed.</p>

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
42,1961	41-47	GAL R	In a concluding essay on the position of the 'New Education' he argues that the individualisation of education should only go a certain way and no more: "for psychologists have shown us that children move more or less, and sooner or later, through the common stages of interest or activity: and that it is possible to influence common interests through the social conditioning of the school. But of course our action as teachers must always remain at the service of a fundamental autonomy".
42,1961	59-62	Review by R BARRON	R Barron reviewing <u>Throw Away Thy Rod</u> (W D Wills) stresses the need for careful individual guidance of children committed to residential care, and of the need for liaison between specialists and teachers.
42,1961	73-76	HICKLIN M	Referring to the 1956 symposium (Hemming, Henderson, Milner op. sup.) the author describes 3 case histories (one involving work with the relation between a child neurosis and vocational choice) through which she stresses the need for such an approach, in order to infer general principles for teaching. "It may be helpful if we look upon the three processes - of teaching, helping and growing - as if they were three dimensions rather than three separate aspects of development".
42,1961	108-110	LEWIS E	On teaching the maladjusted: "teaching the maladjusted is a one-to-one situation ... the function of the teacher is to establish a feeling of confidence until he is able to thrust forward".

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
42,1961	114-118	ROYSTON-EVANS J	Retarded and maladjusted children are to be helped by an individual approach emphasising adjustment to the 'total learning situation'. The use of psychological tests in this is described, and it is assumed that the remedial teacher has taken a specialist study of his subject. "The child is helped by receiving personal help in a professional way".
42,1961	169-171	BARRON A T	Outlining central difficulties of adolescents, mentions and recommends Young Peoples' Consultation Centres, staffed by specialists (psychoanalysts) as part of a solution. Their relationship to schools is not discussed.
42,1961	185-6	Review by E LEWIS	of <u>Teaching the Slow Learner in the Secondary School</u> ed. M F Cleagh. The need for individual attention with strong rapport is emphasised. The value of specialist qualifications in this work is implied by the qualifications of the contributors (all holders of specialist diplomas).
43,1962	37-40	MONS W E R	Article by a psychiatrist on art therapy, suggesting ways in which art can aid guidance and stressing the need for a closer communication between teachers and psychiatrist.
43,1962	41-42	ELDRIDGE G	An article stimulated by Langdon (op.sup.1962) dealing with creative conflict in the adolescents, by a headmistress of a secondary modern school. A plea is made for the reinterpretation of certain disciplinary problems in school on a guidance basis, using the concept of conflict and the need for deeper levels of communication on an inter-personal basis.

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
43,1962	78-81	CASPARI Irene (Principal psychologist Tavistock Clinic)	Problems of school consultation (between pupil, class or head teacher, and educational psychologist). Teachers should follow a psycho-analytical approach to themselves to discover their personal problem areas that hinder communication.
43,1962	107-108	ASHWELL V C	Article by a remedial teacher advocating a process of "observation" of pupils by teachers to help develop a "more intimate" human relationship to help children with problems.
43,1962	120-122	AITKENHEAD J	A lengthy review written in terms of respect and praise for A S Neill's views as expressed in <u>Summerhill A Radical Approach to Education</u> .
43,1962	172-177	NICHOLSON C	Teaching reinterpreted as therapy, by a psycho-analyst-cum-teacher. Case studies quoted. Psychoanalytic approach.
43,1962	189-230	Various	An issue of <u>New Era</u> almost entirely occupied with reporting a UNESCO sponsored study of relationships between adolescents and adults. Results are discussed in both group and individual terms, and in a summary, J W Tibble emphasises the search for identity "the struggle to feel real" that emerges, and the need for more "two way communication" between adults and adolescents".
44,1963	134-144	RICHARDSON Elizabeth	Describes at length the formation and reactions of a client centred group in a teacher training situation. Although the emphasis is on group processes, the reactions of individual members are examined with a view to using this tutorial system to aid

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
44,1963	134-144	RICHARDSON E.	self-understanding.
44,1963	147	HENDERSON J L	Reviews <u>Contact with Jung</u> (ed. M Fordham) sympathetically and emphasises the educational relevance of Jung's work, in aiding the individual development of children.
44,1963	223-226	ROWLEY, Virginia and McBRIDE Julia	In a description of the early identification and prevention programme in New York schools, emphasis is laid on individual counselling and guidance, using a guidance team with a full-time counsellor as a member.  There is emphasis on problem-centred and preventative guidance. Conclusion, after citing statistics to support its work, is :-  "a higher degree of success in developing individual potential and in correcting learning and emotional problems, requires the initiation of concerted efforts at the earliest level in the educational process".
44,1963	244-247	WILLIAMS Peggie	A careful description of the enhancement of personal relationships and (by implication) of an individual's life by the ritual creation of a mealie-cob doll in Xosa culture. The value of primitive practices of this kind is stressed as a lost art.
45,1964	136-144	BLACKIE J  (Chief Inspector of the Ministry of Education)	In an article on authority in education he attacks the child-centred approach of A S Neill arguing that such methods only work where:  "the immense authority of a great personality .. transcends theories and methods"  Authority, in various forms, is

VOLUME AND DATE	PAGE REF.	AUTHOR	TOPIC AND COMMENTS
45, 1964	136-144	BLACKIE J	essential in all teacher/pupil relationships. But it is authority of the gardner, not the social leader (the point is argued etymologically, in the derivation of education "from the verb EDUCARE = to cause a seed to grow" and not EDUCERE = "to lead or draw out").
45, 1964	144-148 (a) and	SHIELDS R	(a) Argues for a more specific diagnostic technique by teachers "so that they can apply their skills specifically and accurately to the needs and abilities of the individual child".
	170-172 (b)		(b) Launches an appeal for a more specifically therapeutic approach to maladjusted children by teachers:  "by a new and close association between your kind of skill and the therapist's kind of skill a unified and informed team may be able to treat with greater success the complicated problems of the emotionally disturbed child".

## CHAPTER V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The third group includes secondary sources, and other sources not listed above. These are given below.

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CHAPTER VITHE PERIOD FROM 1965 - 1970

## INTRODUCTION

The period now to be reviewed begins in 1965, and extends across a short span of years into the current scene. As already mentioned, its selection is arbitrary in the sense that no important changes developed in the Fellowship at that time, and it is isolated for a different reason : because it allows a detailed study of the reaction within the Fellowship to the emergence of specialist counselling in Britain, in its most modern forms. In many respects, indeed, the whole period is part of the present. The personalities important in many of the events to be described are still actively involved in their work; the specialist counselling movements in their modern expressions, which emerged in British Education suddenly in 1965, are still developing and changing, and the response to them within British Education and within society as a whole in Britain, is still fluid. "Whoso treadeth history too close upon the heel, it may haply kick out his teeth", wrote Raleigh, and care is needed therefore, in defining goals for this period. In particular, the period seems too short, and too recent, to justify any continuous examination of the movement of aims, in their bearing upon counselling. Certainly no major alteration of direction can be seen. The name of the movement was changed in 1966 from New Education Fellowship to World Education

Fellowship, but for our purposes that is not significant.

There are several reasons for thinking so. First, the interest in the development of the individual child and his problems, with its associated complex of principles which have been equated in this thesis with those of counselling, continued to be expressed both before and after the change, as we shall see; secondly, the Fellowship rapidly took up an exploration of the significance of the new movement in specialist counselling, and within one year of the change of name, published a complete issue of New Era devoted to specialist counselling, and thereafter continued this interest; indeed in a handwritten comment, unsigned but clearly written by a central administrator of W.E.F. in December 1971, occurs the viewpoint "the E.N.E.F. is regarded as the great authority on counselling in the U.K." (W.E.F. Archives, section I, 1. NA (A). M/S note pinned to correspondence to A. Weaver, dated 21. 12. 1971). The basis of the comment was the work carried out by E.N.E.F. in specialist counselling between 1967 and 1970, which we shall review. Thirdly, there is no evidence to suggest that the interest in international education carried in the new name, itself implied any alteration of interest in the individual as such. But there is some evidence that the new emphasis incorporated the child centred values and was itself an extension of them. This viewpoint has already been argued in Chapter IV, in reviewing the expansion of the 1920's. It is significant that the new name was originally suggested by J. Hemming and was proposed by J. Henderson at the meeting of the International Council in

August 1966 (W.E.F. Archives Sect. I, 40, N.A. Document No. 288, p. 2), two men publicly committed to principles closely aligned with those of developmental counselling. Yvonne Moyse, the General Secretary of the W.E.F., also saw no change in the basic principles of the Fellowship, expressing the situation vividly in a letter to Beatrice Ensor thus:

"If you sat here surrounded, as I am, with all kinds of magazines from all over the world, all advocating the inner development of the child ... it would be clear that the basic principles of the N.E.F. are so well accepted as to be commonplace ... if we repeat these principles we are merely carrying coals to Newcastle, but from the many conversations I had privately with various section representatives, I know that behind the present statement, the principles are there" (W.E.F. Archives, I, 1. N.A. (A) Y. Moyse to B. Ensor, 30 August 1966).

It is also significant that in a letter to the Deputy Director of U.N.E.S.C.O. in June 1969, she described the investigation of student unrest by W.E.F. as being an inquiry that partly grew out of the previous W.E.F. work on specialist counselling. This is an example of a perceived relationship between a child- or individual-centred interest and a world centred interest, since the phenomena of student unrest at that time had major international ramifications and implications. (W.E.F. Archives, V, 293, Y Moyse to M.S. Adisenshiah, dated 19th June 1969).

Looking at the change of name in a longer historical perspective,

it can be seen as consistent with an important stream of thought and belief in the Fellowship, in which individual development is intimately related to movements on a vast external field. N.E.F. grew out of the Theosophical Society, in which was accepted an ancient hermetic doctrine, that man is a reflection, in miniature, of the universe itself, a microcosm of a macrocosm. Although the Fellowship and New Era studiously avoided becoming agents for propaganda for Theosophy (an initial instance of the consistent refusal in the movement to become one with any single viewpoint) New Era itself was initially aimed at a Theosophical readership, as Ensor herself recalled, (W.E.F. Archives I, 1. NA (A) B. Ensor to M. D. Lawson, dated 26 January 1971) and as we have seen in previous chapters, the movement was later supported by many people who accepted a mystical relationship between the individual and the universe, including Jung, Tagore, Rugg, Ben Morris, Henderson and others. Thus the evolution of a world movement from a child centred movement can, from this viewpoint, be seen as the consistent development of a single theme. A final instance of the relationship between ideas of 'wholeness', the essential unity of all things, and individual development, is to be found in the particular interpretation given to creativity by the Fellowship as reviewed in Chapter V, and its application to counselling. We shall return to this theme later in the present chapter.

If however, less can be said about aims in the present chapter, rather more can be said about guidance, now more frequently

referred to as counselling, but still often not described in Fellowship writing, under either term, and to be defined by specific emphasis, by a writer, on the importance of our cluster of five priorities which include the commonalities of counselling both in its specialist forms and in its diffused form as a part of teaching. Our survey of the relationship of these values to N.E.F. viewpoints from 1920 to 1964 has suggested several perspectives applicable to the period after January 1965:

- (1) The perspective from which counselling was seen as a major function of teaching, its proponents very rarely using either the term "counselling" or "guidance" to describe it, and seeing the processes as inseparable from those of teaching, thus expressing the counselling functions in a developmental form. As described in previous chapters, this tended to be the approach favoured by the majority in the Fellowship. We have referred to it as the diffused or 'egressive' aspect of counselling.
- (2) The perspective from which specialist counselling services were seen as essential to, but rather separate from the process of teaching, and existing mainly as branches of other professions reaching out towards the schools. In this light child guidance services were seen as applications of psychology to the welfare of children with specific and obvious problems, as the school dental services were specific applications of dentistry. This viewpoint, as shown in Chapter IV, tended to develop particularly during the 1930's with the rise of specialist child guidance agencies and the increasing use of a technology based on



psychological testing. We have referred to it as the specialist or "ingressive" aspect of counselling.

- (3) A "creativity and counselling" perspective. Throughout the history of the Fellowship, psychology had previously been a major influence; and new movements in that field, clearly relevant to education, had rapidly been taken up by N.E.F. writers. Stewart (op. cit. 1968) specifically isolated psychology as a main influence in the progressive movement as a whole; in this thesis its influence has been shown as generally supporting the child centred principles of individual development: through the Jungian emphasis in the 1920's; and in the late 1920's and early 1930's through the rise of the child-study movement, individual developmental psychology and psychological testing. Thus the Jungian interpretation seemed, especially to Beatrice Ensor, to offer a framework to hold together many of the different value systems expressed in early days: the child-centred teachers with their various viewpoints about educational reform; the mystics, dreamers, poets and artists; the internationalists. The narrower developmental focus of empirical studies in the 1930's supported N.E.F. interest in the specialist child guidance movements, against the centrifugal forces of mounting economic and political crises during the period of 'the challenge', then also powerfully working in N.E.F. But, as argued in Chapter V, the development of an important area of research in creativity, during the

period 1950 - 1960, in American psychological research, an area which by definition might have been expected to appeal at once to the Fellowship, did not seem to be represented in the renewed Fellowship study of creativity at least before 1965; even although creativity was being presented in the Fellowship during the 1950's as the matrix within which studies of conflict, mental health, and personal development were to be understood. This perspective seems to demand an inquiry into the question of how far, if at all, the rise of specialist counselling helped to integrate the apparently separate and different studies of creativity previously made in the Fellowship and in American psychological research. This question becomes even more relevant in view of the finding, explored in Chapter V, that both Fellowship thinking and psychological research seemed separately to accept the need for a counsellor (in terms of a teacher, guru, guide or counsellor) as an aid to creative processes.

- (4) Finally, a perspective of openness; of attention to any new theme or area of interest in the Fellowship records and writing which seems to bear on counselling in any of its forms. Throughout the work it has been necessary to vary the emphasis from one period to another in order to describe the changing influences in the educational aspects of the counselling movement in the Fellowship. An 'open' perspective implies the need to continue to examine new trends as objectively as possible. But a limitation is again the shortness of the period under

study and its nearness in time. Thus the economic and social difficulties of the later 1970's are beginning to cause the whole decade of the 1960's and especially the later 1960's, to seem to shine with its own light, coloured with a revolt of part of the younger generations; the student riots of 1968, and the strains of 'we shall overcome'. It is however much too close in time to define and examine the interaction of wide social and political trends in the 1960's with those of education and counselling, as was done for the more clearly defined background influences of the 1920's and the period of 'the challenge' in the 1930's. A possible exception to this is in the close relationship which seems to exist between the rise of secondary comprehensive schools in Britain and the rise of specialist counselling services in education. Vaughan (op. cit. 1975) has brought forward initial descriptive evidence from studies in Sweden, Belgium, Romania and Bulgaria, to suggest that this relationship is not peculiar to educational reorganisation in Britain, but is related more generally to patterns of educational reform in different national states; the effects of which have been to delay the age at which pupils specialise in certain courses of study, and to increase the range of educational opportunity.

These perspectives offer suggestions for the main questions of this chapter:-

- (1) What was the response of the Fellowship in Britain to the emergence of specialist counselling and its rapid spread

in education, and how did the relationship between the diffused, 'egressive' concepts of counselling and the specialist, 'ingressive', aspects, develop? These are two questions, in fact, but they obviously overlap.

- 2) What viewpoints continued to be expressed in creativity in Fellowship circles, and how far were they seen as relevant to the rising field of specialist counselling?
- 3) Did any other influences appear, to shape the attitudes to counselling either in its egressive or ingressive aspects?

These questions subsume the perspectives discussed above, and continue our enquiry along the lines relevant to those of previous chapters.

Evidence in answering them comes mainly from the Archives records as before, and the New Era records, which contain the fullest reports of the Fellowship's interest in the specialist counselling movement in Britain. As the period is short, however, we shall be less concerned with the delimitation of long term trends, and more with examining responses to a specific set of events concentrated within approximately five years from 1965. This seems to require a free range across the literature, since even isolated comments in articles and notices not specifically related to counselling may contribute to the overall pattern. Therefore no attempt will be made to isolate and draw up appendices of the main articles relating to counselling in one or other of its forms, as hitherto. It may be useful to note here, that while comments and more complete articles relevant to counselling in its specialist

aspects are, as usual, to be found scattered throughout New Era during the period after 1964, the first comments on the post-1965 rise of specialist school counselling occur in issue No. 9 of New Era for 1967, which is almost completely given over to it; and thereafter throughout 1968 and 1969, and 1970 there are important scattered articles and reports; the clearest statement in New Era specifically of developmental counselling as a specialist activity necessarily related to education, in the sense emphasised in this thesis, is found in issue 5 of New Era for 1968 (Dinkmeyer, D) where the statement occurs "if the long range goals of educational programmes are ever to be achieved, they must be founded upon a solid developmental guidance programme".

#### The Response to the rise of specialist counselling

##### Summary of the rise of the specialist counselling trend in Britain, 1965 - 1970

The rise of the specialist school counselling movement was reviewed in Chapter I. Very briefly to restate the salient points, from three one year full time courses established in the Institutes of Education of Reading, Keele and Exeter Universities in 1965 and 1966, counselling training courses rapidly spread during the following decade. By 1970 the term 'counselling' was being widely associated both within and beyond the field of education, with the idea of a newly emerging specialist activity; training courses had developed widely or were being planned in colleges of education, polytechnics and elsewhere, and while no substantial survey

for the close of the decade exists comparable to that of Lancashire and Martin (op. cit. 1975), the position was moving towards the widespread provision described by those authors for the mid 1970's: full time one year training courses in operation at 11 universities in England, Wales and Scotland, three other university part time courses; one year full time courses in counselling or closely related fields, such as pastoral care, at 14 polytechnics and colleges of education over the same area and many other shorter or part time courses. The start of the new decade of the 1970's also saw the emergence of a new movement designed to unite those interested in, or engaged in counselling, in occupational fields as diverse as teaching, medicine and legal practice. This organisation, The Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling (S.C.A.C.) which held its first meetings in 1971 under the auspices of the National Council for Social Service, developed in 1977 into the British Association for Counselling (B.A.C.) as a registered charity. Thus the period 1965 - 1970 can be seen as the initial fermentation of a process which, as far as the limited historical perspective allows examination, has continued to develop and shown clear indications of becoming institutionalised.

Initial lack of involvement by the Fellowship in promoting specialist counselling.

The Fellowship does not appear to have been involved in any aspect of the initial planning which led to this outburst of activity. No prediction of it occurs in the Archive material

or in New Era during the preceding decade. This is itself interesting in view of the long attention which the Fellowship gave, to the development of the related specialist child guidance field; to the fact that the use of specialist counsellors in schools was predicted by Beatrice Ensor herself as long ago as 1925 (in B. Ensor 1925) under the title of "advisers"; and that the earliest known use of the term "counsellors" in its modern sense in any British publication, occurs in New Era in July 1926, as described in Chapter III.

This lack of involvement is indicated from other facts. The very energetic secretary of W.E.F., Yvonne Moyse, when concerned about the arrangements for a joint conference between the Fellowship and the International Round Table of Educational Counselling and Vocational Guidance timed for 1970, knew very little about the organisation with which she was dealing: this is clear in her correspondence with H. Biscompte in February 1969, where she asked for details about its organisation, contained in Biscompte's reply, which gave a short history of it. (W.E.F. Archives, Sect. I. 16. NA. Y. Moyse to H. Biscompte, 2. 2. 1969; H. Biscompte to Y. Moyse, 5.2.1969). The correspondence also illuminates her need to seek outside England for details of an international organisation, which, like W.E.F., had its headquarters in England. Thus by implication, little immediate information was available from central Fellowship figures about the organisation, for her assistance.\*

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The extensive and varied correspondence of Y. Moyse in the Archives (esp. W.E.F. Sect. I. 16 NA; 1.1. NA(A) and (B)) reveal an energetic and forceful personality who could be expected to seek answers to problems with speed and attack. Her letter to Adiseshiah (W.E.F. Archives, Sect V 293 dated 19.6.1969) shows that she had a clear understanding of the activities of the Fellowship in the area of specialist counselling at that time).

Again, in 1967 a fact finding letter was sent out by W.E.F. to ask local authorities in the United Kingdom about what research they were doing in counselling, indicating that little was known about this in Fellowship circles. The results were published (Editorial, New Era 1967).

The lack of involvement in the planning or advocacy of specialist counselling can however be seen as consistent with the general trend in the Fellowship not to separate counselling functions from teaching functions, while still giving the former very great importance as being part of the basic, 'steady core' of Fellowship principles. In chapter V it was shown that this well established viewpoint continued to dominate N.E.F. perspectives throughout the post war period of the 1940's and 1950's and earlier 1960's. A survey of New Era for the years 1965, 1966 and the first half of 1967, shows a continuation of this attitude. There is no mention of specialist counselling as a coming innovation in education in any of the issues of New Era for 1965 before or after October (the date on which the first full time counselling courses started at the Institutes of Education of Keel and Reading Universities). In the verbatim record of a young teachers' discussion group upon principles of teaching, actually entitled 'A Kind of Guidance', published in New Era in successive issues during the first half of 1965, and comprising the only title on guidance for that period, the topic is developed as a non-specialist concept associated with successful teaching and as a critical examination of teacher training, and initial teacher experience. In a report of a memorandum to the



Central Advisory Council for Education, (New Era, Jan. 1965) a developmental approach to children is proposed by E.N.E.F. which also contains a restatement of the old N.E.F. principles of respect for the individual, the avoidance of coercive methods, the recognition of the importance of the personal relationship between the teacher and the pupil; and an attack on practices such as the "eleven-plus" selection examination as hostile to these. The memorandum also comments in detail on more positive recommendations: the need for a transitional period between primary and secondary education, in order to ensure continuity in the educational process; the need to identify the personal inadequacies of individual pupils at an early stage; and the implications for the training of teachers. These are all topics central to specialist counselling interests: indeed Vaughan (op. cit. 1975) has identified the transitional period from primary to secondary education, and the early years of adolescent education in several European systems as those into which the specialist counselling efforts of the respective systems are concentrated (often known as the "cycle d'orientation", and particularly evident, for example, in the development of specialist counselling and educational reform in the Belgian State Education system). Yet in drawing attention to the importance of this transitional period, and to the need for continuity within it, no suggestion is made in the document that specialists should be engaged. Likewise the recommendation for specialist help in identifying early instances of children with problems does not go beyond the need for liaison with school psychologists. The recommendations for teacher training

emphasise, indeed, the need for intermittent in-service re-training throughout teachers' careers, but do not suggest specialisation in counselling as one of them. Finally, in discussing the relationship between home, school and community, no suggestions are made for the use of school social workers, although such specialists had been established, (for example in Glasgow and in Oxfordshire, in such work by that date) and at least one college of education (Edge Hill, Lancs.) was in 1965 running combined training for teaching and social work. (Vaughan, op. cit. 1970, pp. 83 - 88).

This report has been examined in some detail because its authors were speaking for E.N.E.F. itself, because they had available to them the responses of a questionnaire they had sent out to E.N.E.F. members (which they admit produced a rather complex picture); because in a discussion of several areas central also to the educational interests of the forthcoming specialist counsellors, no such specialisation was proposed; and because the report defines a central viewpoint of the Fellowship in Britain at the start of our survey in 1965, the year when specialist school counsellors first began to be trained in British Institutes of Education. On the other hand, the report does not indicate any aversion to specialist counselling concepts: one of its main architects, R. King, was later to chair an important W.E.F. conference on specialist counselling.

A careful examination of the residual content of 1965 New Era shows likewise, an absence of any sense of change of climate;

indeed material presenting counselling interests does not emphasise the teachers' role. Thus there are several articles which continue to express the old, central values of the Fellowship without closely relating the ideas expressed to the actual work of teachers or specialists. Of these, the most representative of N.E.F. central opinion is probably the last editorial of Margaret Myers on the occasion of her resignation. (New Era, Aug. 1965).

In it she maintains that New Era (and by implication the Fellowship in Britain) should avoid becoming a specialised publication, but maintain its broader horizons. She accepts the inner centred drive of the child towards his own individualisation, and she describes any achievement from such inner centred positions as an act of creation. Her statement is an epitome of the history of the Fellowship's aims as described in previous chapters, involving an acceptance of the validity of the first statement of principles, and of that continuous refusal of the Fellowship to become aligned with any one viewpoint which we have tracked through successive decades. Other articles, by Lindsay, Shields, Watson, and Wallbridge likewise repeat or update child centred or developmental theories which have previously been shown as supporting the counselling role of the teacher, but without relating them closely to counselling functions. Thus Lindsay presents the Jungian argument against the depersonalisation of art in modern society; the negative aspects of television, and the need for a more spontaneous, intuitive response at a more local level, to the problems and challenge of life. He sees the recapturing of the spirit of childhood as essential.

Shields likewise, but from a Freudian basis, presents an inner centred description of the conflicts of adolescence. Neither of these authors develop the role of the teacher or other mediator between the individual and his self actualisation, although casual references to parents and teachers, in the articles, indicate that such roles are accepted. Watson actually argues against philosophies of self realisation in a paper which also argues against the imposition on the individual of the external values of television and academic standards. He admits to doing so, however, from the perspective of old age, and of approaching dissolution, "which leads one to feel not apart from but a part of the realm of nature including human society". Thus his viewpoint is not essentially dissimilar from that of the mystics, described earlier, who see no essential conflict between self realisation and the loss of self in a greater universal system. Wallbridge, in a review of J. Holt's How Children Fail, urges the need continually to maintain pressure against the institutionalising forces of education which work particularly against the old child centred values of the Fellowship, but does not discuss the teachers' role in this in any detail.

There is no material in the remaining matter of New Era for 1965 which in any way argues against the child centred viewpoint of these articles.

The broadly enquiring, uncommitted atmosphere of 1965 New Era continues into 1966 with little change. Specialists are still seen in occasional articles or references as having distinct

roles on the edges of normal education: (Barron,(1966); Hemming (1966); Franklin (1966);). The functions of teaching are, as in the past, often associated with counselling functions: but counselling for personal development is occasionally given a very diffuse basis. In a working paper for the 1966 Chichester Conference published in New Era, W. Rawson (Rawson, 1966) sees the process of "self fulfilment" as requiring the mediation of the whole social intercourse of the individual: he carries diffusion of counselling functions to an extreme where it becomes one aspect of the work of a caring community. Hemming, in the article just mentioned, in the main sees teachers as discharging guidance functions for most children. Cousins (Cousins, 1966) reviewing Hudson's Contrary Imaginations late that year expresses a distrust of much educational psychology, complex statistics and unduly precise psychological theorising. Reviewing the Chichester Conference of August, R. King described both vocational guidance and counselling as aspects of a form teacher's work (King, 1966). A rare instance of the actual word 'counsellor' occurs in a December article by Catherine Fletcher (Fletcher, 1966) where it is used in a religious sense, to define someone who has developed a deep inner-centred system of values, and reality, and whose function will be to help others to do so.

Nothing in the residue of papers and notices for 1966 New Era contains material of significant relevance to the development of the specialist counselling movement.

Likewise, in the issues for the first half of 1967 there is little of interest. A positive report by E. Bernstein (Bernstein, E. 1967) on a follow-up of Summerhill pupils, leads him to ask if this approach (which as previously argued involves a major suffusion of client centred counselling and teaching) could be applied in state schools; a review of Maclean's Child Guidance and the School (which describes the functions and evolution of the school psychological service) later in the year is critical of the dull factual description of this specialist work. The first eight issues of this year deal rather with a diversity of topics - team teaching; international education; the Plowden Report; teacher training; immigration; prison reform. Until the September issue there is no significant matter bearing on counselling in any of its forms.

This preliminary survey does not indicate that within the Fellowship in Britain there was any significant pressure to introduce specialist counselling to state schools, or even experimentally, in private schools; and, (from the absence of any indications in the Archive Records) that the Fellowship was not involved with the initiation of counsellor training in the universities. The approach to counselling functions just surveyed on the eve of the rise of specialist counselling, indicates an unchanged continuation of that egressive concept in which help with individual development and its associated problems is seen as inseparably diffused through the roles of parent, teacher and the organised or semi-organised group.

The evidence from New Era at this time then, gives little reason to think that on its own, the Fellowship would have

developed a movement for the introduction of specialist counselling, or indeed, in the foreseeable future, in view of its long acceptance of the egressive approach, while, having had specialist approaches suggested and not taken up, at various times in its history.

The first major response : the Horizontal Handbook of 1967.

Issue No. 9 of New Era for 1967, entirely devoted to specialist counselling and marking the start of a serious involvement in that area by the Fellowship, is therefore interesting not only for the light it throws on our first question, about the response of W.E.F. to the rise of specialist counselling; but because it shows the speed with which the Fellowship could respond to educational innovation, and its continuing openness to new ideas, even to those where the general run of W.E.F. opinion had long been rather different. The presentation of this substantial issue reveals that the topic was being taken seriously, and had been carefully planned. There are fifteen separate statements about counselling. These include three expressions of personal opinions, one book review, six descriptions of specialist counselling in individual schools, one report of a working party on counselling, two descriptions of specialist counselling on a regional scale (in Fife and in Oxfordshire respectively), and a digest of replies to a W.E.F. survey of the response to specialist counselling in 51 local authorities throughout England, Wales Scotland and Northern Ireland. An attempt had also been made to survey the regional provision in Edinburgh, which is commented on briefly.

This issue of New Era for November 1967 became known as the "Horizontal Handbook" and is referred to as such in E.N.E.F. annual reports of the time, and elsewhere in the Archives.

The significance of a collection of information of this kind must be seen in its context. Information on the specialist counselling field in Britain was then generally very scattered. As described in Chapter I, the theory and practice of the three British University counselling courses had been imported almost completely from North American sources; there was no British specialist publication acting as a forum to collect descriptions and opinion about counselling; and although small scale experiments were being started in many places, with one exception no collected descriptions had been made, apart from soundings by the Careers Research Advisory Centre and the National Union of Teachers as described in Chapter I. The exception was the Schools Council Survey of Counselling in Schools (Schools Council 1967) which is reviewed in this issue of New Era. Consequently a collection as diverse as this constitutes, on its own, a significant contribution to the description of specialist counselling in Britain in 1967.

The opening editorial for the issue was contributed by C. J. Gill, who as first course tutor to the counselling Diploma course at Keele University, and as a former H.M.I., was one of the most important figures in specialist counselling in Britain, able to see the new development against a broad backdrop of educational organisation and need in the state secondary school system, and to anticipate some of the likely



areas of doubt and possible rejection. His editorial presents the case for specialist counselling for the first time to the Fellowship, and needs therefore some close attention. Gill began by recognising the importance of the egressive aspects of counselling in the teachers' traditional role in Britain, referring to the qualities of warmth, rapport and understanding which made for confidence and communication between teacher and pupil, and to the organisation of schools in form systems, year groups, or tutorial groups which gave pupils the opportunity for individual help. But in spite of this, schools had remained subject centred; the trend towards grouping pupils in ability sets and the increasing range of choice of subjects was eroding the form system and making the achievement of teaching and pastoral care more difficult; the tendency, he claimed, was for pastoral care and discipline to be dealt with more frequently apart from the teaching group. As the concern for individuals deepened it would be a short step to appoint members of staff whose main responsibility would be in the area of welfare, not in specialist subject teaching. He then went on to point to the recommendations of the recent Plowden and Newsom Reports in both of which specialist social workers had been recommended; to the forthcoming rise in comprehensive schools, which together with the increasing opportunities in higher education and background technological change, would make vocational guidance a more difficult and specialist subject than before; to the need for guidance staff to have more time and space in which to work; and to the need for training for those members of staff who had special responsibility for helping boys and girls with personal problems.

He then described, briefly, the kind of work done on the training courses of the three universities, and stressed that all of them were concerned with the counselling of individuals as a whole; and with all pupils, not just those with difficult problems. He described counselling as being concerned also with the answering of those ultimate questions of self identity raised in adolescence; to the absolute need for a close, non-verbal understanding between counsellor and pupil for success in discussing such issues, and to the ability to help counsellors to understand themselves better, which training courses provided. He closed by once again returning counselling to its place in a school setting; to the need for counselling teams, to questions of confidentiality of pupil's statements and above all to the need for the support of non-specialist staff.

It can be readily seen that this presented a specialist guidance role to the Fellowship, in a new light. The new specialist role was for all pupils, was not narrowed to specific technical or semi-technical problems, such as the earlier child guidance services mainly handled; dealt with those metaphysical questions of self actualisation which were of basic and enduring interest in the Fellowship; recognised both explicitly and implicitly those values which we have traced as central and unchanging in N.E.F. history: respect for the individual; a concern with rapport; emphasis on pupil activity, avoidance of coercion; concern with long term ends; giving the individual an importance equal to or greater than, the subject-centred approach of the schools. Finally, Gill presented his case in lucid English, thus disarming fears about

the creation of a new field of suspect technology.

Gill's picture was supported in the main by the other accounts given in this issue. Stuart (Stuart 1967) outlining official approaches to counselling in Lincoln, described the specialist counsellor in terms of a teacher who could act as a catalyst for change in a specialist role, rather than as a specific professional in the American sense; Thomas (Thomas 1967) summarising the results of a working party of teachers and others on personal relationships, envisaged schools building up teams of teachers "willing and able to do school counselling", with a fluid training programme and plans. G. Roberts (Roberts 1967) a member of a County Council committee on counselling, also saw the role as being one that emerged naturally from teaching. A headmaster (J. Sharp, 1967) saw counselling as an outgrowth of a reformed housemaster's role, and not specialised except in the field of careers guidance; a Reading trained counsellor (L. Walker, 1967) likewise described specialist counselling as arising from a teaching role, and noted that specialist posts had sometimes (in his view, unfortunately) to be combined with teaching roles. All these accounts presented a role suitable for teachers, preferably with additional training, and some of them (e.g. Thomas op. cit. sup.) tended to dissolve its edges into those of teaching itself. Only one account tended to emphasise rather more ingressive aspects. Jones (A. Jones, 1967) separated the roles of counsellor and teacher completely at her school; accepted the need to refer difficult cases to medical supervision; distinguished sharply between personal and vocational guidance; and generally described a rather system orientated and

structured approach, accepting the value of a proliferation of specialists, without recognising dangers other than those of professional interest and administrative delay. One other account (Naden, J. 1967) lamented the waste of a specialist training which had not been appreciated by the head of school to which the counsellor returned, and who saw a counsellor as a general "odd job man".

But the overall impression created by this survey is of counselling as an area of specialisation justified by changing educational structures and changing, more complex educational and occupational demands and needs. The counsellor is thus a specialist of necessity, rather than because his work is seen as fundamentally different from teaching. The ingressive aspects of counselling - in which, for example, specialisation might be defended because it was claimed that the counsellor needed, and had technical competence in, a range of skills different from those of the teacher - are very little in evidence as Gill's paper indicated. Also the other papers and reports describe (rightly) a scene of experimentation, both with concepts and structures. The Editorial introduction to the W.E.F. survey of local authorities' work on counselling, mentioned earlier, emphasises this also:

"We rejoice that fact finding has produced so lively a composite, horizontal picture. We start from a departmental working paper and work on through university and L.E.A. courses and plans, we see working parties, experiment in many areas, work in many types of school and in youth employment. There is richness in this variety". (Editorial, New Era, Nov. 1967).

To summarise, counselling is here presented as:

- (a) An activity founded upon teaching, and intimately related to it.
- (b) As consistent with a major and basic pattern of values in the relationship between teacher and pupil in N.E.F. philosophy, of the kind traced throughout this thesis.
- (c) As a new area of specialisation demanded mainly by circumstances, rather than by new technical skills.
- (d) As an area of new educational experimentation (in itself sufficient justification for serious consideration by the Fellowship).

The context of the Horizontal Handbook, in Fellowship activities in Britain in 1966 and 1967.

The records of New Era itself do not adequately explain the sudden emergence of the interest in specialist counselling and one must therefore look into the background activities, particularly of E.N.E.F. to set the Horizontal Handbook into its context. Chapter V described how a deepening interest in mental health developed during the 1950's alongside, and as an aspect of, the new interest in creativity. A continuation of this interest was present in the international conference at Chichester held in 1966, which took as one of its main themes, the topic of "personal fulfilment" considered in parallel with three other themes, "human destiny", "the roots of morality", and "the age of technology". From this conference derived an E.N.E.F. conference at Brighton in 1967. (Annual Report of E.N.E.F., (1969), para. 2. W.E.F. Archives, Sect. II 91, NA).

The feeling in the British Fellowship at this time was being

strongly influenced by the rise of audio visual aids and programmed learning techniques, particularly by their implications for pupil teacher relationships (E.N.E.F. Annual Report, (1968))p.1. W.E.F. Archives, Sect. II, 91, NA)), and the Brighton conference was led up to, through a series of winter meetings on audio visual aids, programmed learning and language laboratories (Wallbridge, J. to Members, W.E.F. Archives Sect. II, 91, NA dated 17.3.1967). At Brighton, E.N.E.F. approached these topics in relation to the parallel theme of 'Care and Community in Tomorrow's Schools'. Hence a close relationship was established with two of the main themes of the previous Chichester conference: "personal relationships" and "the age of technology". This relationship is expressly emphasised in the records (E.N.E.F. Annual Report 1968, op. cit.) which state that members at Brighton were particularly concerned whether personal fulfilment and educational technology were mutually compatible. They examined this under the three headings:

- (a) changes in relationships - pupil with pupil, pupil with teacher, teacher with teacher;
- (b) relationships in curricular content; and
- (c) changes in the instructional function of the teacher.

We have traced these trends in detail because they were seen in the Fellowship as the immediate associates and antecedents of the interest in specialist counselling. The E.N.E.F. Annual Report for 1968 (op. cit.) specifically describes an accent in Brighton on the "pastoral" function of the teacher, and continues: "this (the pastoral function) tuned in well with the preparations in which we were involved for the seventh

International Congress on Mental Health in London in August". Thus, as emphasised in Chapter V, the close relationship between counselling and mental health was also recognised. The report continues: "The timely initiative of the New Era in compiling a Horizontal Handbook on Counselling indicated a particular development of our programme in this field and determined the topic of the working party on counselling in secondary schools held ... at Easter 1968" (E.N.E.F. Annual Report, 1968 (op. cit.) p. 1). The importance of the two conferences at Chichester and Brighton is again emphasised in the E.N.E.F. Annual Report for 1969 (W.E.F. Archives Sect. II, 91, NA). Here reference is also made to a specific working party on the role of the school counsellor, which is stated as having derived from the themes of "personal fulfilment" at Chichester, and "care in community" at Brighton. The Horizontal Handbook is described as having brought this topic "into prominence". This working party took place at a conference at the Institute of Education in London, at Easter 1968, as already mentioned.

The E.N.E.F. working party on counselling, Easter, 1968.

The reports of this working party were published in various issues of New Era in 1968. Its setting in the context of New Era publications on counselling was one of continuity. The Horizontal Handbook of November 1967 had been followed by a scattered group of articles : D. Collins, in December 1967, on counselling young adults; J. Halton in the same issue on youth tutors in Kent; R. Shields in January on the

concepts of guidance and counselling; D. H. Simpson in February on counselling as a role for teachers in Tasmania; and R. Kaback in May on counselling in the U.S.A. The working party met over 17th and 18th April 1968 and was concerned with four themes: the definition of counselling; the place of the counsellor in the schools' provision for care and guidance; in the spectrum of mental health services; and its functions in practice. (Editorial, New Era, V. 49, 1968). Its chairman was R. King, himself the chairman of the E.N.E.F. In a foreword to the meeting, published in New Era, he repeated the justification of the specialist role in counselling, in terms of expediency: the later leaving age, the larger schools, reorganisation, the teenage sub-culture, the loss of old stabilities, the varied pressures on schools of a society in flux. How, however, for the first time, two critical points are raised: he mentions the resistance of some teachers to the new specialisation and strikes indirectly at the too-ready acceptance of American theory and practice by the universities:

"There is no ready-made theory and practice which we can take over from elsewhere. Institutional practices cannot be transplanted root and branch from one cultural and educational setting to another. The English school is not a tabula rasa awaiting the counsellor's inscriptions and prescriptions. Let us be clear that the job is not to be done by the adoption of a new nomenclature, and before we get on the bandwagon it would be prudent to know which way it is going" (King, R. 1968).



Forty two people attended the Easter Conference itself (New Era, V. 48, (1967) p. 147), only fifteen of them teachers, and most of the others from further education or educational administration; and nine being specifically represented from the field of psychology or counselling. The reports in New Era give prominence to speeches by H.J.F. Taylor, K. Portman, D. M. Antony, F. H. Roberts, I. Caspari, and in particular to the summing up by the chairman, R. King. Except for Portman, these articles tended to support the specialist, but egressive aspects of the new counselling role. Taylor supported the role of a non-teaching counsellor, but specifically excluded from the role of personal counselling the test-centred counsellor or psychometrician, and the vocational specialist with a specific body of technical information. The role of the counsellor is thus placed closer to that of the teacher than to that of an outside specialist, such as a school or occupational psychologist. But it is also seen as a problem-centred role, with about one third of the school population (size of school not specified) being catered for on a self-referral basis. The difficulty of getting staff to accept the new specialist role is appreciated. Antony, a student on the Keele counselling course, also supported the specialist counselling concept, as might have been expected, extending it to include the vocational role, and seeing counselling in its developmental aspect, as a service for all pupils:

"Professor Francis P. Robinson, Keele's visiting professor from Ohio State University for the current session, pointed the future of counselling in the high schools and colleges

in the U.S.A. to that of normal individual growth counselling for all. Are our young people so different, I wonder?".

Roberts' paper is principally interesting for two reasons: his highlighting of the salient aspects of a counsellor's work in schools: acceptance of the individual client; ability to listen, to respond with sensitivity (seen as a personal quality), and with interpretation skill (seen as a technical ability); empathy; and trust. These closely parallel the cluster of attributes which are used in this thesis to define the counselling role in teaching. Second, interest lies in his report of the conclusions of a sub-group of the conference, in which the specialist role was not necessarily seen as arising out of a teaching role but as requiring considerable psychological expertise; and skill in integrating it in a school. The sub-group felt that the role should be given more prominence in teacher training courses, which would make new teachers more ready to accept it. K. Portman, on the other hand, head of a boys' secondary (state) school in Clacton, took a different approach, in many ways echoing more closely the traditional wide viewpoints of the old N.E.F. He described teaching as something people wished to get out of, and the growth of new professions around teaching, such as the youth employment service, the school psychological service, the probationary service, as partly catering for this need:

"As soon as a new profession is started with the express purpose of attending to any group of the problems that are faced daily by the teacher then not only are the problems

highlighted, organised and categorised but those dealing with them take on a status superior to that of a teacher ... as these professions have increased in status and as their empires have grown so have grown the demands for more and more information from the schools ... the schools seem to be taking up the position of a holding company on which other subsidiaries feed".

His criticisms seem more objective in the light of his closing remarks, where he admits that the meeting and discussions have persuaded him of the value of a full-time counsellor, but he sees the work as integral with that of a teacher, and as able to be approached through the subject-centred teaching of the school itself (in contrast, we may note, to a main point in Gill's introduction to the 1967 survey of counselling), and advocates specifically a much deeper attention to counselling in the training of all teachers.

Irene Caspari's contribution was short but interesting in that she, like Portman, adopted the stance of standing back and trying to evaluate the meaning of the new specialisation in its educational setting. She asked questions rather than proposing solutions: what was the difference between counselling and psychotherapy? Are counsellors born, or made? (i.e. is the skill intuitive or tractable?). If born, what specific place would training have in a counsellor's career structure? Are teachers not counsellors also? Should we refer to a specialist someone who has given us his trust? Has a teacher not a better opportunity to counsel than a specialist, because he has at his disposal an indirect way (through subjects) of

dealing with problems too painful to be discussed directly? Why is counselling so fashionable at present? Is it an evasion of the need to replace the present 'subject centred' secondary school by 'pupil-centred' institutions? She concluded by favouring the egressive approach to counselling - concentrating on increasing the counselling skills of teaching staff in counselling roles. Irene Caspari was an experienced psychologist and teacher with a long association with the Fellowship.

Raymond King's introductory and concluding speeches as chairman, are reported in one paper (King, 1968). In his introduction, he pointed out that counselling, as a theme, was closely integrated with the Fellowship's current interests, pointing to the previous Horizontal Handbook, the E.N.E.F. recent sequence of conference themes, "New Perspectives in Education", and "Towards Tomorrow's Schools", and the general concentration on mental health as a prelude to the Seventh World Congress on Mental Health to be held in London that August. He then went on to point to the fact that counselling lay extremely close to the basic principles of the Fellowship:

"Moreover, however we define counselling, and however we formulate the principles of the New Education - and we have tried often enough - the two bases they both must share are respect for individual human personality and the conception of education as a process of nurturing *its* growth: hence a concern for the whole person in his social relationships and in his emotional development, and a belief that all children are educable. Thus, on a general interpretation,

the idea of counselling is inherent in the Fellowship's philosophy" (my italics). This quotation is important in the context of the present thesis, since it is the first clear statement of a perceived relationship between the values of the Fellowship and those of specialist counselling approaches. The expressions of concern for the individual, for the long term development of his personality, for emotional and cognitive growth, the implicit rejection of authoritarianism and coercion in the concept of respect for the individual, are in close agreement with the commonalities of the two fields as we have described and examined them. Likewise the perception of counselling as a process concerned essentially with development, like that of education, and not solely or specifically with problem-solving, agrees with the description, in Chapter I, of modern specialist counselling as having evolved into a position close to that of an educational movement. Raymond King spoke as president of E.N.E.F.; his association and knowledge of the Fellowship was long and at a high level: he had previously been vice-chairman and chairman of E.N.E.F. from 1946 - 1950. He was first appointed as a headmaster in 1926, and had a long career in education behind him, including three headships of State schools, and membership of the United Kingdom National Commission for U.N.E.S.C.O. from 1947 - 1963. (New Era. V. 49, (1968) p. 282).

From this opening position, King went on to note that counselling had long been an integral part of the teachers' work, but that the ground had been prepared for a specialist

function by a combination of pressures, and by the deepening educational implications of psychological and sociological research. This did not necessarily mean that counsellors would be accepted as specialists, since teachers themselves had responded to the changing demands of the time, and in many cases complex teamwork had evolved, often comprising an outside specialist such as the Youth Employment Officer or Child Psychologist. Nor could the specialist counsellor be expected to handle the tremendous load of new needs arising in the schools: for continuous guidance for all; the embodiment of personal, educational and vocational guidance in a curricular plan; the communication problems of home, school and community.

In his concluding remarks, King surveyed the main speeches described above, and singled out from them I. Caspari's last question as the central dilemma of specialist counselling: was the vogue of the counsellor an evasion of the fundamental problem of adapting education to the needs of the adolescent? He closed by summarising his own viewpoint as being that modern pressures on the school had reduced its potential as a caring community, creating a need previously absent, which specialist counsellors tried to supply, but as yet without sufficient support from teachers generally; and the viewpoint of the working party as being, that the specialist counsellor had a supplementary role with the care and guidance work of the staff: hot debate had risen around the question of whether the specialist should have teaching duties or not.

Comparison of perspectives in the Horizontal Handbook and the Easter 1968 working party.

These two groups of statements - the 1967 survey and the 1968 working party - can now be compared. The main point of agreement is in the perceived need for specialist counsellors in schools; arising out of the changing circumstances of society, the diminished ability of schools, especially very large schools, to look after the interests of individual pupils adequately; and the complex and diversified pattern of modern educational and occupational opportunity. A second general agreement is that counsellors should be concerned with more than just the immediate problems of children. This is implicit in the agreement among Gill, Stuart, and Sharp in the 1967 group with King, Portman, Antony and Caspari in the 1968 group that counselling should be for all pupils and not just those with problems or that it should be part of the teachers' essential work, (seen as developmental). Jones in 1967, and Roberts in 1968 tend to see counselling as more definitely problem-centred, but this is not the general trend of opinion. Furthermore, as argued in Chapter II, a problem-centred approach does not necessarily exclude a developmental approach in counselling, and there is no clear evidence in the reports that either of these people were opposed to a developmental interpretation of a problem-centred counselling position. Where the 1967 and 1968 reports do vary, is in the prominence given to the acceptability of specialist counsellors by teachers; and in the wider question of the significance of the sudden eruption of this new field in

British education. Gill made little mention of the difficulties of introducing counsellors to schools, beyond noting that the area was in its infancy and that the idea of counsellors had been well received by a local authority in the Keele area; although Nadon specifically complained about the domination of a specialist role in his school by needs of administrative expediency, other contributors in 1967 did not go beyond describing the competence of teachers to carry out some, or most, of a specialists' work. The relationship between the specialist counselling role, and the teachers' role, was, however, a main point of debate at the Easter conference the following year. The significance of counselling as a new phenomenon in education is not seriously debated in 1967: it was introduced as a need arising out of well defined circumstances, by Gill and not analysed in greater depth. In 1968 however, both King and Caspari, and to some extent also Portman, ask the more awkward questions, particularly whether specialist counselling might perhaps be an evasion of the need for wider and deeper reform of the educational system.

Setting both groups of articles together, in the context of Fellowship activities in the late 1960's, they indicate serious recognition of an important area of educational innovation; a clear acceptance that, as far as could be seen, the aims of counselling were consistent with those of the Fellowship, and indeed seemed (in King's words) to express



but  
 its philosophy; / an unwillingness to accept the specialist area uncritically. The searching questions raised by Portman, Caspari and King at Easter 1968, and the debate about the teaching role of the specialist counsellor, in that conference, clearly indicate that the Fellowship was not functioning as an educational bandwagon, even in an area which seemed to express so closely its own ideals. The well-established unwillingness of the Fellowship to commit itself wholly in support of any single viewpoint had once again appeared.

The E.N.E.F. summer conference at Pulborough 1969.

A general continuity of counselling interest emerged again the following year at the E.N.E.F. summer conference held from 22nd to 28th August 1968 at Pulborough. Its title was "Towards the Schools of the Seventies" and four topics, seen as inter-related, were chosen for study by working parties. Of these, "the clarification of the role of the school counsellor" was given first place in the record (E.N.E.F. Annual Report, 1969, W.E.F. Archives, 2. 91. NA), the others being "planning the school and its environment"; "the new middle school" and "the educational validity of student protest". The main points were again published in New Era in November 1969. (King, R. 1969) Initially the working party tried to clarify the roles of the counsellor and teacher; and this tended to lead towards some polarisation of viewpoint, teachers and counsellors tending to defend their own positions. Gradually the group began to see the need to discard labels, but found the problem of clarification too difficult to settle. This is a common experience in discussions on counselling.

The national working party of another organisation in Britain, (The Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling, mentioned earlier in this Chapter) was to find it impossible, in 1976, to define its conclusions under the original proposed heading of 'the concept of counselling'; and instead published them as "Concepts of Counselling" (Vaughan, op. cit. 1976). The report ends by emphasising that the counsellor should aim at having a good understanding of himself, try in his work to give others some insight into their own personalities; and thus to come to a better understanding of others. Thus counselling is seen as more than concerned with the resolution of problems, but rather more in its developmental aspects.

Writing to the Director General of U.N.E.S.C.O. in June 1969, Yvonne Moyses traced the interest of the Fellowship in specialist counselling and specifically stated that the interest in student unrest (which was to be one of the working parties at Pulborough as already noted) had arisen out of the work in specialist counselling (Y. Moyses to M. Adisenshiah, 19.6.1969 *ibid*). This further illustrates the broad view of counselling being taken in the Fellowship, consistent with a developmental rather than a problem-centred approach.

The E.N.E.F. Conference in London, April 2 - 3rd, 1970.

This conference once again brought together a group of people interested in counselling, some of them for the third year running (New Era. V. 51, 1970, p. 110). That fact, and the conference's title "The School Counsellor" : in the Dock and

in the Witness Box" underlines the serious and open-minded approach of the English section of W.E.F. to this specialist innovation. The chairman was James Hemming, whose association with the Fellowship has been noted earlier. New Era (op. cit. sup. p. 110) listed 61 delegates, and, as at the Easter conference two years earlier, scattered across teaching and adjoining occupational areas including administration and training. Eleven "trained and practising school counsellors" and twelve "other counsellors" were present. Although the title had deliberately been chosen to enhance a critical discussion, there were no sensational exchanges. A central concern was with the confidentiality of counsellors' records, and thus with the relationship between the specialist counsellor and the authority structure of the school in which he worked. There was little questioning of the need for specialist counsellors as such, although in reporting the conference, F. H. Roberts (Roberts, F.H. 1970) notes that "the depth of feelings is not revealed by a literal understanding of the verbal exchanges". The possible manipulation of a specialist counsellor by a school head was hinted at in two ways:

- (a) by emphasising the need for a counsellor to ascertain the attitude of a school towards his specialism before accepting a post, and
- (b) by noting the tendency of some heads to "groom" or "appoint"\* untrained counsellors while trained ones remained unemployed in that capacity.

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\* Footnote: quotation marks occur thus in the original New Era report (op. cit. sup).

However in general the specialist role of the counsellor was accepted, and in his closing remarks James Hemming emphasised a need to press for an expansion of the field. He noted however the difficulty of making final statements in a constantly changing situation. Touching on the roles of the specialist counsellor and the teacher-as-counsellor, Hemming justified the specialist role by an analogy with the school nurse:

"previously when a child was hurt the teacher gave first-aid; now that a nurse is present, he is still capable and available to render such service, but he is glad to have her in attendance".

The statement suggests that Hemming saw the teacher/counsellor separation at that time at least partly in terms of specific skills.

As reported, this conference, like that at Pulborough in 1969, gives an impression of generally evaluating individual problems and contexts of counselling, rather than critically examining the concept, in spite of the title. The more basic questions on specialist counselling in relation to teaching seem to have been asked at the earlier conference of E.N.E.F. in 1968, as examined earlier.

W.E.F. involvement with international interests in specialist counselling, 1968 - 1969.

A survey of the response of the Fellowship to the rise of specialist counselling would not be complete without an examination of its involvement in the international movement

in specialist counselling. There were at this time two international movements specifically interested in the specialist counselling field, the Association Internationale d'Orientation Professionnelle, founded in Brussels in the 1950's and the International Round Table of Educational Counselling and Vocational Guidance (I.R.T.E.C.V.G.) which had, according to H. Biscompte in a letter to Y. Moyse (BiscompteH. to Y. Moyse, 5.2.1969, W.E.F. Archives I, 16 NA) broken away from the former organisation in 1958<sup>\*</sup>, on the issue of how far vocational guidance should, or should not, be subordinate to educational guidance. Biscompte notes that I.R.T.E.C.V.G. tended, rather than developing a formal structure, to bring together leading specialists in vocational guidance and counselling from different countries in bi-annual conferences. An important point was that these were selected by invitation, which was not the policy of the Fellowship in organising its international conferences. As recorded in Chapter V, there had been interest in I.R.T.E.C.V.G. at an earlier stage, and an observer had reported favourably on the Margate conference. On 6th May 1968 Y. Moyse wrote to H. Hoxter (the Hon. Secretary of I.R.T.E.C.V.G.), emphasising the interest of the Fellowship in counselling, and requesting reports on the third I.R.T.E.C.V.G. conference which had just taken place (Moyse, Y. to Hoxter, H.

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\* Footnote: According to D. Super, then a member of the Council of the International Association of Vocational Guidance, the date of this break was in 1959. (Personal communication, Cambridge, 1978).

6.5. 1968, W.E.F. Archives I, 16 NA). On 8th May Mr Hoxter replied, suggesting that W.E.F. and his organisation should combine in two international inter-disciplinary conferences, possibly in Florida in 1969 and in Dublin in 1970. (Hoxter, H. to Moyse, Y. 8.5. 1968, W.E.F. Archives, I, 16 NA). The response in the Fellowship was swift, indicating further the deep interest in counselling which had now developed: on 26th May Miss Moyse replied, saying that his letter had been received "with great interest and pleasure by my Executive Board and Guiding Committee", (Moyse, Y. to Hoxter, H. 26.5. 1968, W.E.F. Archives I, 16 NA), and accepting the idea of a joint international conference in Dublin in 1970. Unfortunately the arrangements became clouded with administrative and other difficulties, including a change of venue from Dublin to the much more expensive location of Utrecht; the different policies of the two bodies in attracting delegates; and what seemed, in the eyes of W.E.F., a lost opportunity to bring together a confrontation of international experts of I.R.T.E.C.V.G. with practical workers in the field (to have been represented by the W.E.F. delegates). (Moyse, Y. to Hoxter, H. 20.3.1969. W.E.F. Archives I. 16, NA). Consequently the Fellowship withdrew its cooperation. The negotiations are interesting because apart from being a further indication of how seriously W.E.F. now took the specialist counselling movement, they throw further light on the priorities in counselling as seen in the Fellowship at that time. Thus, in a preliminary meeting between representatives of both organisations in June 1968, a suggested title was agreed as "counselling, care, and communication in education", and of four suggested themes,

three being the counselling of children at the primary stage of education; in schools for the physically handicapped; and of young adults in further and technical education; the fourth theme, "the selection and training of counsellors" was singled out by the W.E.F. delegates as of first importance. (Memorandum 6.6. 1968. W.E.F. Archives I. 16, NA). Reasons for this choice are not stated, but it is commonly recognised that discussions on selection and training for counselling involve, as major themes, both conceptual questions, and the basic question, raised already by Irene Caspari at the Easter conference of 1968, of how far successful counselling is the result of intuition, or the application of skills that can be taught.

Concluding discussion in answer to question one.

There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to suggest that the Fellowship would, on its own, have developed a serious interest in specialist counselling at this time. The deeply established association of counselling functions with teaching functions was continued into 1965 and 1966 in New Era. The discussions on personal fulfilment at Chichester in 1966, which the Fellowship saw as an important antecedent of the later interest in specialist counselling, did not in fact give specific emphasis to that field. This can be seen in R. King's summary (King, R. 1966) in New Era. He emphasises how closely personal fulfilment was seen as related to many other aspects of individual life: to social involvement, and to moral issues

in particular. Other issues raised under the heading of self-fulfilment were education for democracy in schools, coeducation and international education. The theme of specialist guidance and counselling is briefly mentioned once in this context, and not as a major issue. The other main precedent, the Brighton E.N.E.F. conference during the summer of 1967, was mainly concerned with what New Era called 'educational hardware'. However, the point is made that J. Hemming's talk on 'Care and Community in Tomorrow's Schools' was received with acclamation at this conference, and this was seen in New Era as showing an interest to be met by the November issue (the Horizontal Handbook on counselling) (New Era editorial footnote, V. 48, 1967, p. 158). We note, therefore, the emergence of a new topic - educational technology - which will be examined later on in the Chapter in its bearing on counselling interests in the Fellowship. But it is not possible to say that this new topic, on its own, would have provoked a specific movement for specialist counselling in E.N.E.F., especially when it is recalled that by the summer of 1967 the university courses on counselling were well established, interest was growing on a national scale, and the Fellowship had, as a response to this, already gone far in collecting material for the Horizontal Handbook.

The initial response to the sudden emergence of specialist counselling was generally very favourable, was undertaken seriously; and in fact especially through the 1967 'Handbook' contributed to the national knowledge of the field at this time. The first question in this Chapter asks also for an answer on



how the specialist ingressive and egressive concepts interrelated. Our survey illustrates the difficulty found in most studies of counselling, of trying to describe the subject with specific labels. Specialist counselling was not presented to the Fellowship as a wholly ingressive novelty: its close relationships with teaching, and with teachers, were carefully stressed, as we have seen. It was presented as specialist only by expediency, which dictated a need for specialists; the need for specialist training was described, but not its technicalities: it is not possible, for example, to discover the approach to technical skills such as psychological testing, and interview technique, as they are discussed in specialist counselling literature, through a study of the articles and reports in New Era between 1967 and 1970. As might be expected, Fellowship members insisted further, from an early stage, in relating specialist counselling to the wider issues in education. This was mainly implicit at Chichester and Brighton, and very explicit at the Easter conference of 1968 in London, when the innovation was subjected to some searching and partly critical questions. While this process, of initial acceptance of an innovation followed fairly swiftly by questioning of it in terms of older N.E.F. values, was traditional, it would probably be a mistake to over-emphasise it here as a unique Fellowship trend. The reason for saying so is that there was no wholesale acceptance of the specialist counsellor in British schools at this time, and much resistance to the idea, in spite of the rapid escalation of interest which also occurred; and some of the

areas of debate at the Easter conference of 1968 and at the later Pulborough conference, such as the question of whether specialist counsellors should be teachers, or not, were also being argued outside the Fellowship. Chapter I shows how the imgrressive/egressive debate was later reflected in the British counselling literature that emerged, during the next decade. A broad summary of this part of question one, might then be: the Fellowship accepted specialist counselling as a necessary specialist ability in terms of its demands that space and time be made available for it; but rapidly began relating it the needs of the teacher, the child and the community in terms of traditional Fellowship values and perspectives; in doing so the egressive aspects, of counselling as a function of education, tended to be emphasised, and also counselling as an aid to the long-term development of the individual and the community, rather than as a therapeutic tool to solve immediate personal problems. In parallel with this, practical problems such as the relationship between teachers and specialist counsellors, were examined, as at the London conference of 1970.

Specialist counselling in the context  
of studies of creativity after 1964.

The significance of pragmatic issues in the presentation  
of specialist counselling in 1967.

This section approaches an answer to the second question in this Chapter. Specialist counselling emerged in the British

universities as an outgrowth of various fields of psychology, including occupational psychology, the different schools of psychotherapy, developmental studies, the test-centred movement in psychology, and counselling psychology itself, as these had all developed during the present century in North America. That in British universities the subject was initially seen as rooted in psychology and not for example in the adjacent field of sociology, was established by the author in interviews with J. Gill at Keele, D. Juniper at Reading, and H. Lytton at Exeter in January 1966.\* Thus it shared the same general academic and professional area of reference in which empirical studies of creativity also developed, and as illustrated in Chapter V, the Rogerian school of counselling recognised an essential relationship between the two. But this is not evident in the presentation of specialist counselling in New Era between 1967 and 1970, as reviewed in this Chapter. The emphasis by Gill and others in 1967 was on the problem areas caused by educational and social change, in which specialist counselling could help; on administrative problems of integrating the new specialist role into schools; on professional relationships between teachers and counsellors. This emphasis began to shift in Easter 1968 towards more fundamental questions about concepts, the meaning of specialist counselling, and its relevance to educational aims particularly in terms of Fellowship values, yet specific relationships with previous Fellowship studies of creativity were not emphasised.

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\*Footnote: J. Gill and H. Lytton were the first course tutors of the counselling courses at Keele and Exeter Universities respectively. D. Juniper had a major concern with the counselling course at Reading.

Nor were such relationships emphasised at the later E.N.E.F. conferences on counselling in 1969 and 1970. But there is some reason to think that this pattern is consistent with the gradual development of any new field of interest in British education, according to a process which we looked at in Chapter I, in which discussions about conceptual relationships do not emerge in the early stages. Edmund King, for example (1967) has argued persuasively that the basic British philosophy is one of empiricism, often called "muddling through", in which new ventures must, in the first place, justify themselves by small-scale success with specific problems, before any larger development is possible :

"Historically speaking, the empiricism of the British has been a progressive movement ... It has encouraged a willingness to experiment, and a readiness to tolerate other people's experiments. So British political and educational ideas have not been proclaimed as manifestos ... they have tended to be short-term, practical experiments awaiting a pragmatic justification or doomed to rejection if they do not work out".  
(King, R. 1967)

The rise of the provision of elementary education in England and Wales before 1870 can be seen as an example of this pattern of growth from the bottom upwards, from small-scale experiments towards nation-wide movements culminating in parliamentary discussions and the first national legalisation; but under a continual barrage of criticism in which the new movement must be seen at all stages to justify itself in practice.

In such a pattern the initial questions asked and evaluated would be pragmatic, and concerned with immediate and short-term goals rather than long-term goals: with problem-centred rather than developmental aims. The review of creativity in Chapter V indicates that creativity was related, in Fellowship thinking, with developmental, long-term goals rather than the immediate solution of problems. Thus, in a situation where, as in the Horizontal Handbook of 1967, counselling was presented and discussed in its pragmatic aspects, an immediate relationship with creativity would not be apparent. The discussions at Easter 1968 and at Pulborough in 1969 moved more towards a consideration of long-term goals, but did not yet emphasise creativity in the context of specialist counselling. In London at the E.N.E.F. conference of 1970, pragmatic issues were again emphasised. Other evidence suggests that at this time specialist counselling in Britain was very largely problem-centred and pragmatic in its approach: the background to this has already been explored in detail in Chapter I \*. It is therefore necessary to turn to an examination of the continuing Fellowship interest in creativity itself, to see whether mention is made of counselling, either directly by reference to the specialist field, or indirectly, by recognition of the cluster of values which have been associated with counselling in its diffused, egressive aspects, in this thesis.

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\* Footnote : Under the heading: "The problem-centred aspects of counselling."

The approach to studies of creativity in New Era from 1965-1970

There is a scattering of articles and reviews about creativity throughout the New Era during these years, starting with the second issue for 1965 which concentrated on the personal developmental possibilities in music. This is followed by an article by Myers which introduces readers to some of the American concepts of creativity. (R.E. Myers 1965). Other articles on creativity are by Lindsay, Harris and Farnworth (later that year), also some of the reports of the Askov conference of August 1965 on "Science and the Arts in Education" are relevant, including that of Sandro Key-Aberg and David Bridges. Liam Hudson's work on creativity is reviewed later in 1966. (New Era V. 47 (1966) p. 166). Creativity is again discussed in 1967 in an editorial; and in R. King's reflections on the Brighton workshop. The main article on creativity in 1968 is by Ben Morris, selected from a lecture given at Goldsmiths College; but Wason in the same year wrote an article relevant to the questions of this Chapter (Wason, M. 1968). Cropley's book on Creativity (a Canadian examination of modern research) is reviewed that year; and modern research is again included in an article by Brackenbury (Brackenbury, A. 1968). In 1969 parts of an article by Inward; and articles by Weaver and Jones discuss creativity. Finally in 1970 occurs an article most unusually openly discussing Theosophy from the viewpoint of a Theosophist and involving a mention of empirical research on creativity, knowledge about which was now gradually drifting into some New Era writing.

Only one article in this literature makes direct reference to the specialist counselling field. R. E. Myers (a member of the staff of the University of Oregon), in an article discussing the relationships between pragmatism and individual creativity in 1965, refers somewhat critically to "the counselor", whom he describes along with the clergyman and pediatrician as agents of conformity. In the same context he attacks the emphasis on measurement in (American) studies of creativity, and clearly implies that, in America, specialist counselling and creativity research often miss the creative needs of the individual. Yet he refers approvingly to the work of J. P. Guilford, Carl Rogers, and F. Barron (see Chapter V) in describing the ideal form of the creative individual, and introduces readers briefly to the names of Torrance, Parnes and others. This is the first article in New Era to include any extensive mention of the American research on creativity which we reviewed in the previous Chapter. His article included a bibliography of nine titles in the American literature on creativity. The only other reference possibly to empirical work in creativity, in 1965, is in Farnworth's article on the study of art in colleges of education, where he refers very briefly to the psychology of perception "and creativity" as necessary components of a training course.

In 1966 Liam Hudson's book Contrary Imaginations was favourably reviewed. This book introduced many people in Britain, for

the first time, to concepts and findings from the American empirical studies on creativity; and examined critically some of their application to Britain schoolboys. It is referred to as a work of importance by Brackenbury in his paper (op. cit. sup) in 1968, and in 1969 by Weaver (op. cit. sup). The reviewer started with the sentence "This is a book not to miss" and closed by accepting Hudson's outspoken criticisms : that much of educational psychology is trivial; that complex statistics are to be distrusted; and a rejection of psychological theorising that is unduly rigorous or precise.

Margaret Wason in 1968 relates Getzels' work (reviewed in Chapter V) to the creative teaching of science, emphasising the need for greater concentration on problem-creating, rather than problem solving. The concept of specialist counsellors is not mentioned. A review of Cropley's book Creativity later in 1968 suggests that the reviewer knew little about the American empirical work on creativity described in the book: thus it is stated "convergent children, it is suggested, are on the whole, preferred by teachers" giving the reader the impression that this view originated with Cropley whereas, as shown in Chapter V, its origins lay in American research, notably by Getzels and Jackson. The review also over simplifies tests of creativity by describing them as "divergent or open-thinking". The review concludes: "potential readers (of Cropley) might care also to have a look at Krishnamurti's Education and the Significance of Life."

In 1969 Weaver refers with some criticism, to a passage in



Hudson's Contrary Imaginations; in 1970 R. Sinha, a Theosophist, cautions against the use of "tests of creativity" if used to segregate and divide children, but sees a positive use for them to guide towards establishing suitable conditions in all schools. The article does not go on to discuss such tests in any more detail and does not advocate the use of specialist counsellors to aid creative processes.

This review of articles on creativity in New Era from 1965-1970 shows how separate the fields of specialist counselling, and creativity as understood in British Fellowship thinking, still remained. It shows also the beginnings of wider knowledge about the American research, together with some criticism of it; these findings are consistent with those from our earlier examination of how far studies of creativity were seen as relevant in specialist counselling, and reinforce the suggestion that the two fields were not seen as related during this period. In this picture the article by Myers (op. cit. sup.) stands out as rather different since he did discuss creativity and counselling in one context, but without stressing the value of counselling. Myers however was writing from an American background and experience.

We see therefore that direct relationships between creativity and the specialist counselling field are few. What can be said about the indirect or potential relationship between W.E.F. writing in creativity and counselling between 1965 and 1970? In other words, what recognition occurs of the

counsellor-figure (however defined) as an agent in aiding creative processes? This requires an examination of the role given to the teacher in the New Era literature.

Generally speaking, in the writing on creativity in New Era over the period, little specific discussion of the role of the teacher is made, although as we shall see in more detail shortly, that does not necessarily mean a rejection of the part a teacher should play. A few references, like straws in the wind, seem to blow in one direction. Wason (op. cit.) recalls discovering the advantages of an open, or semi-structured teaching situation, in which children were given a "discovery corner" of a classroom for experiments, mainly with scientific work. The role of the educator is here reduced to providing a "rich and provocative" environment. Seonaid Robertson (1968) argues a case for setting up "non-schools" including "space to run, things to climb and kick ... a place to make noise without disturbing other people". The nearest equivalent is seen as an adventure playground. Although the role of the teacher is not discussed in detail, the clear implication is for one of a greatly reduced presence. A. Brackenbury (op. cit.), discussing the educational system at the Yehudi Menuhin School of Music, argues likewise for a "free" system of education, but balanced by a rigorous pursuit of excellence in one area: "creativity defined as excellence in the art of music must be balanced by creativity in the sense of unhampered growth in the other arts of living". This article is singled out for comment in the editorial for that issue of New Era as being "very important" and where, very unusually, a passing relationship with counselling is seen:

"no amount of counselling can offer our pupils happiness in the immediate sense of getting the friends they want, but excellence in one art alongside unhampered growth in the other arts of living can offer a richness in personal fulfilment that has in it that 'indelible something' that comes from the whole race." (New Era, 1968. p. 176).

In 1969 Inward (op. cit.) writing on emotional aspects of reading ability, prescribes a situation of reduced control by teachers, which allow disturbed children to express their phantasies in creative work. This group of articles then, suggest a very reduced directive role for the teacher attempting to work in the field of creativity.

However, in discussing a colloquium held at Dartington Hall School, Weaver (op. cit. 1969) describes a positive role even for anarchy as a principle of education, and emphasises the significance of the teacher's presence not in itself, but in the opportunities for forming personal relationships with the children in a free situation. He argues that this principle, deriving from the thought of Herbert Read, had a considerable impact on the group of progressive schools founded in the late 1930's and early war years, including Wennington, Monkton Wyld, and Kilquity. He also argues that in this approach, based on Read's influence, is implicit a concept of creativity different from that stemming from tests of creativity: "Moreover Read's view of creativity as a process arising from the fusion of conscious and unconscious parts of the mind was very different from the divergent type of thinking which

Isobel Cabot describes merely as 'the ability to generate or produce with some criterion of relevance many cognitive associates'.

The quotation further illustrates the lack of contact between work in creativity in American empirical research in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and that which developed in N.E.F. thought about the same time, which was emphasised in Chapter V. Weaver now turns his argument against one of Liam Hudson's assertions (Hudson, op. cit. sup.) that to love and to work are mutually exclusive, pointing out that Hudson did not refer anywhere in his work to Herbert Read. The separate evolution of two streams of thought about creativity, which we have examined, is thus shown to have been carried into some British thinking on creativity outside that of the Fellowship. Weaver's thesis, in this paper, is that love and work must, and can, be reconciled: the process, as he sees it, requires both an open, unstructured setting, and a developing friendship between teacher and pupil, both of which enhance creativity. Thus Weaver emphasises implicitly, an egressive counselling function as one of two essential roots of creative teaching. A closely related argument is developed in greater depth and detail by Morris (op. cit. 1968). This contribution was specially chosen for printing in New Era from a public lecture, and thus can be said to be representative, to some extent, of central British W.E.F. thought; it was singled out for special approval in the editorial of the March 1968 issue in which it appeared as the leading paper.

Morris accepts Read's viewpoint fully, and describes him as a major influence in his own life. Creative education is defined as a joyful process of personal development, first advocated by Rousseau. It is mediated : i.e. characterised by relationships of trust, friendship and love between young and old. The teacher is thus a mediator, and the ascription accords closely both with Read's ideas, and with the description in this thesis, of counselling in its egressive forms. The concept of mediation was spelt out by Morris in greater detail in 1955, in the Yearbook of Education (op. cit.). There he speaks of the 'burgeoning adult' in the child, and the essential lingering child in the adult, and of the exchange possible in the area of common ground created by the relationship of these two and their essentially similar needs as human beings. The mediation possible, is effected by a process of interpretation, in which the adult plays a major (and partly directive) role, using intellectual processes of knowledge and provision ('contrivance') and emotional processes of concern and detachment ('relationship'). Morris emphasises, both explicitly and implicitly, the need for a balance in all of this, to prevent it degenerating into over-involvement, or dictatorship, and thus appears to be following a concept of freedom close to that described by McCallister in 1931 (see Chapter II) to whom, in fact, he refers at the start of his paper. Morris speaks of the teacher's need to accept the child as he is; to promote a sense of the wonder and mystery of life; to keep in touch with his own creativity through

an open-ness that accepts and uses pain:

" ... a tolerance of conflict and the use of conflict to create a new synthesis, a new whole-ness ... a new truth about ones<sup>'</sup> conception of the world ..."

His acceptance of the child as he is, the avoidance of coercion, the emphasis on empathy, the concern with personal development, all accord closely with the attributes of counselling as they have been defined in this thesis. But his emphasis on the ability to respond emotionally to both the bright and dark aspects of life: in particular to use such experiences both for personal growth and as an essential to aid creative processes in children through an interpersonal relationship, show an approach to teaching which is at once that of counselling, and of counselling informed by creativity as the Fellowship defined it, rather than as defined by empirical research.

The alignment with a concept of creativity different from that derived through empirical psychology is explicit in another passage:

"Nowadays, of course, you may say that 'creativity' is all the rage, especially among psychologists. Yet note the great effort put into attempts to measure it and to predict its development, compared with the efforts directed to attempting to discover the conditions which nourish it".

He continues by objecting to the scientific drive towards classification, limitation and control, and restates his conviction that all children are naturally creative.

Summary of the evidence examined relevant  
to question two

A review of articles and comments on specialist counselling and creativity drawn from New Era between 1965 and 1970 shows that creativity was not seen as related generally to specialist counselling even though some of the American empirical research was now being recognised and discussed. The reason probably lay in the emphasis on pragmatic issues (related to short-term aims) which counselling, as a new movement in British education, necessarily had to emphasise, in keeping with a need, described by E. King, for new ventures in British society to justify themselves from small beginnings. The complementary literature on creativity itself, dealing with long-term goals, likewise does not show the specialist counselling field as yet relevant.

Teaching roles tend to be down played in N.E.F. articles on creativity during this period. Thus in such articles, the egressive aspects of counselling also receive little attention. But there is considerable emphasis on openness, in which the role of the teacher is either undefined or reduced. The two notable exceptions to this are the articles by Weaver, and, more significantly by Morris. Both of them accept the need for an 'open' or 'free' situation in schools, but with reference to Herbert Read's ideas, emphasise the need for a teacher whose functions are described as essential; and in line with what we have described as counselling in its egressive aspect. Morris in particular goes on to develop a description of creativity which accords closely with that of N.E.F. thought,

(as described in Chapter V) rejects an over emphasis on the test-centred approach, and points to a requirement for creative teachers to maintain and use emotional sensitivity in their own lives. The survey also offers further evidence supporting the validity of the distinction made in Chapter V, of two streams of thought about creativity that were now developing independently; and also suggests a certain hostility between them, expressed by Morris, Weaver, the review of Cropley's work, and to some extent by that of Myers, and R. Sinha in 1970.

Other potential influences upon attitudes  
to counselling : educational technology

### Introduction.

There is some discussion during this period from 1965 - 1970 of the implications for pupil-teacher relationships in the rising field of educational technology. It will be recalled that one of the main themes of the W.E.F. conference at Chichester in 1966 was 'the age of technology'. From this derived an E.N.E.F. conference at Brighton in 1967, which concentrated on the problems and implications of educational technology and which in turn led to an E.N.E.F. working party on planning the school and its environment. (Annual Report of E.N.E.F. for 1969. W.E.F. Archives, Sect. II, 91 NA). Largely from this progression derived various statements and articles in New Era which we must examine.

Reactions to the rise of educational technology were varied. The E.N.E.F. Annual Report for 1969 stresses the need to keep



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in contact with 'growing points' of education, both for expressive and for organisational ends: in keeping with the aims of the Fellowship and because such participation increased membership. But there was also resistance, particularly to the growing influence of technology. Thus Jean Lindsay (1965) writing before the Chichester conference, stresses the need for inner-centredness, expression of emotions in art, and of life itself as a form of art, or ritual, which she sees as vital, and as threatened by technology:

"however much information and amusement we derive from hours spent in the absorption of radio and television programmes, or at the feet of orator or preacher, we are nevertheless half starved, because the real food for mind and soul comes from within. It is fatally easy to succumb to mass produced culture".

It is clear that Jean Lindsay is here treading a well-worn Fellowship path, and expressing central traditional values of the movement. She is also clearly relating creativity to art, and describing it as the path to personal development. Thus the conflict can be stated more clearly:

- (a) The Fellowship had a central commitment to follow and participate in new developments in education, including technology.
- (b) It also had a central commitment to aid the creative development of the individual, which as Lindsay indicated, could be seen as opposed by some aspects of technology.

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As we have seen in W.E.F. writing, the teacher was valued, in his egressive counselling functions, as an important agent of the creative process. By implication, radio and T.V. could be placed among those other, older enemies of individual creative development, the (directive or persuasive) orators and preachers, as in the quotation just made. With this background in mind, let us now examine the statements and opinions that followed.

The expression of opinion on educational technology.

The Chichester conference of 1966 was introduced by four "Working Papers" which provided its basis. Number 3, was titled "Automation, its use and abuse". It was provided by H. Entwistle, then lecturer in education at Manchester University. In it he introduces and partly explores themes which several years later he elaborated in book form (Entwistle, H. 1970) : that automation creates redundancy rather than leisure; thus raising questions about how education should approach the prospect of many vocational changes in the future lives of people; other educational questions arise from the freeing of men from drudgery by automation. Entwistle could at various points have developed his argument into a consideration of the appropriate role of the teacher in such a changed economic and social context, but does not do so.\*

The main value of the Chichester conference for our purposes

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\* Some of the implications of Entwistle's ideas are discussed in their educational aspects by Vaughan (1973) and in their implications for vocational guidance in Vaughan (op. cit. 1975, pp 17 ff.).

seems to have been in stimulating the more concentrated questioning about automation that occurred at Brighton in 1967. J. Danser in particular wrote highly critically of programmed learning techniques, as opposed to principles of creative education. By implication, as in Jean Lindsay's article, the 'creative teacher' is seen as ranged against automation.

"Learning techniques have been torn away from the creative learning process in which the whole person is involved, and given a facitious existence of their own".

He goes on to argue that knowledge is inseparable from its context, and that its fragmentation into 'programmes', and the unhuman presentation of the material, are necessarily had. Certainly, he presents teaching machinery in a light which would have secured its condemnation by the authors of the original N.E.F. principles at Calais in 1921. Pointing to the essentially authoritarian instructional method, he emphasises how the face of that rider may be hidden by the fascination of the "technological horse" - which manufacturers would embellish for reasons of financial profit. Curiously enough his warning was illustrated by an editorial to New Era later that year (p. 213):

"(The students) have had great fun and have made most original use of tape-recorders, projectors, cine, amateur radio, stage lighting, making slides for slide projector ... if people are attuned to complicated mechanical aids, they can help them find wisdom".

Thus two different viewpoints are expressed :

- (a) That teaching machines structure learning excessively, fragment it, produce unadaptable authoritarian learning situations, and above all, dehumanise it;
- (b) That the use of such machines to produce a programme is creative, for the producers.

In the same issue of New Era, from which the editorial quoted, is taken, N. Tibble is reported as having argued that educational technology might simply enhance the traditional tendencies to fragment learning and reward it by extrinsic incentives, leading to a separation of learning from personality and emotional life.

The need for a major role by teachers in ensuing successful use of T.V. and language laboratories is emphasised in separate articles reported in New Era also in 1967 (pp. 219-221, and 223-224). The wider issues raised earlier are not however touched on. These occur in statements about fear of television as 'encouraging passivity, if not positively to enslave viewers' expressed by H. Pratt, commenting on the Brighton conference, (Pratt, H. New Era *ibid.* p. 228 - 229) and in a somewhat reluctant acceptance of teaching aids, where it frees the teachers for counselling functions, for which Pratt advocates training.

Reflecting on the Brighton meeting, R. King remarked, with a dry humour, that "to some of us, ... the change of name to W.E.F. - dropping the 'New', came just in time to save us from being identified with the 'New Education : teaching machines'." (R. King, in New Era, 1967, p. 230). He singled out J. Danser

(c.v.) as the leader of this viewpoint, and emphasised that it was important not to discuss new developments, however repugnant some aspects of them might seem, without studying them closely: otherwise one might fall into the trap of a tradition bound philosophy. Possible ways in which the new technologies might assist the promotion of W.E.F. principles could be seen : the restructuring of the classroom situation, reducing the need to "please the teacher" by giving "good" answers; the use of teaching machines to clarify personal goals; the reduction of streaming. King was however harder put to show how the new technological aids would enhance creativity, and only touched on this important area towards the close of his article, where even in his attempt to present a positive statement, he was reduced to a separation of two areas of learning:

"Creativity (heading). Space permits only a glance at this aspect of learning. Can the whole process of learning be fresh and creative? Is it not also a matter of forming habits and gaining mastery by familiarisation, practice, repetition, and routine? Can one be creative in a void? Is it possible to relieve the teacher of 'lower order' activities, in order to bring to 'higher order' activities a fresher zest and creativity on his own part?"

Danser replied to this criticism in a long letter (in New Era V. 49, Jan. 1968, pp. 45-46). His main points were :

- 1) That he had accepted the use of teaching machines in limited circumstances, such as getting over some difficult point or principle in a scientific subject.

- 2) That he greatly feared the extension of their use into any other areas where it was important not to restrict the range of thought and imagination of the pupil to a single path, or to damage the inter-personal relationships in which such freedom developed.
- 3) That even in scientific subjects he distrusted them because they ignored the essentially experimental nature of any science.

Danser's views were echoed in 1970 by M. Roberts, who attacked the application of learning theory \* to verbal teaching techniques, on the grounds that it was education to conform to stereotyped concepts, and destructive of creativity:

"Naturally when these children are tested in this limited measurable field in which they have been drilled they will perform at a higher level than those who have had a more active, varied and creative type of education. But on what basis will (they) develop their powers of reflective thinking, which is closely related to their own action/learning and spontaneous speech? ... What opportunity will there be for the development of the creative power of the mind to produce such poetry as Irene wrote at six years in her New Zealand school:

"The blue heron stands in the early world looking  
like a freezing blue cloud in the morning" ? "

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\* 'learning theory' : a term used in psychology for the extension of approaches ultimately founded on the principles of Pavlov and the behaviourist schools; and containing methods of behaviour change, including changes in attitudes and cognitive processes. Teaching machines employ learning theory principles.

## Comments on the response to educational technology.

Under the heading of educational technology W.E.F. opinion in New Era explored topics as diverse as television and teaching machines during the period under review. Direct links with specialist counselling were not generally made. The response was generally, but not completely, hostile. The area was examined mainly from the viewpoint of principles which apparently had changed little, if at all, from those expressed at Calais in 1921: and the important questions asked were about how far teaching machines in particular affected the opportunities for creative development of the pupil, and pupil-teacher relationships. Creative opportunities were seen for those producing programmes with such equipment, and for the pupils; particularly by King, in the modification of the classroom situation which transferred routine and directive functions of learning from the teacher to the machines, thus opening a wider field for the kind of pupil-teacher interaction which W.E.F. principles valued, and which expressed developmental counselling functions in an egressive form. This view was not however generally accepted, and M. Roberts carried her objections into an attack on the underlying psychological principles of learning theory itself, which informed the programmed learning approach. Two conclusions seem evident:

(a) In this literature the Fellowship showed a continuation of a long established principle of giving a hearing to apparently significant innovation, even when seemingly at variance with its main philosophy. This has been seen

many times in our review : in Ensor's tolerance for the use of psychology tests in the 1920's, for example, and in the publication of two articles in the 1930's by professed fascists (Von Durckheim and Codignola : see Chapter IV). Continuing review of educational innovation was defined as a main aim in 1947 as examined in Chapter V. Such a platform was in no sense from the viewpoint of "Let's give the man a fair trial before we hang him". As we have seen from Chapter II onwards, the range of viewpoints in the movement was itself too broad to permit such attitudes: thus principles as diverse as those of A. S. Neill and Montessori enjoyed a long currency in W.E.F. thought, and the test-centred movement itself contributed significantly to the preservation of child-centred interest throughout the 1930's, as examined in Chapter IV.

(b) The rather hostile judgements surveyed can be explained by programmed learning being initially seen as potentially or actually contravening two of the basic principles common to the Fellowship and to developmental counselling : (1) The principle of activity : although in fact pupils are active in manipulating the machine, the machine was seen as having already predetermined the ends to be reached; thus the pupil was not seen as free to explore a new country, or as Danser put it "to move securely over open ground". (2) The principle of a close interpersonal relationship (represented also in the concept of empathy). This was the area in which Danser and R. King disagreed. It can also be argued that underlying these objections is a deeper implication: that programmed learning was initially rejected because it seemed to trespass



upon an essential condition of creativity, the creation of that area of common ground between the child and the adult in which their humanities were enlarged by a mutual communication, at once formal and intuitive. We have at different times examined this ground intensively from various perspectives in both psychology and education, showing it to be present in Wens' description of creativity and guidance; in the empirical findings of Wallach and Kogan on creativity; in their applications to teaching by Torrance and Parnes; in the thought of Carl Rogers, Gilbert Wrenn and A. S. Neill and more broadly in counselling theory generally; in Weaver's marriage of love and work; and in Morris's subtle description of mediation. Programmed learning thus seemed, implicitly, to threaten a fundamental principle of creative education in a way which specialist counselling did not do: for in the latter, the interpersonal relationship in its various aspects of respect for the individual, avoidance of coercion, empathy, and activity was commonly accepted. While both areas (of specialist counselling and programmed learning) were therefore evaluated critically, what is strikingly apparent is the difference between the W.E.F. non-committed or hostile reaction to educational technology, and the very swift involvement with specialist counselling which this chapter has revealed in detail.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has brought forward evidence to suggest that the Fellowship in Britain was not, on its own, moving towards promotion of specialist counselling, but that it reacted positively to it shortly after its emergence from other sources. The reasons for this partly come from two investigations: an intensive examination, occupying the body of the chapter, of the response of W.E.F. and especially of E.N.E.F., to the rise of the specialist counselling movement, and conversely, of the resistance to the parallel development of educational technology. These studies suggest that specialist counselling was accepted because it was seen to be a necessary expedient, and because it was not seen as trespassing on any basic Fellowship principles, but rather as supporting them. Where it was criticised, as at the conferences of 1968, 1969 and 1970, the main questions centred upon the difficulties of integrating specialist counsellors with existing teaching staff, and the deeper question of whether it was an evasion of the need for fundamental reform of the educational system. Criticisms were not generally made about the interpersonal relationships between counsellor and pupil which developed in specialist counselling. The point is significant because, as our studies of the meaning of creativity in Fellowship thought have shown, any such criticism would have implied that Fellowship members were unhappy at the level of basic principles. Such feeling did seem to underlie the generally hostile response to educational technology.

Two further points, related to what has just been said, require comment: the failure of the Fellowship in Britain to promote specialist counselling, and the general failure, in the areas surveyed, to perceive a relationship between specialist counselling and creativity in separate examinations of the writing in both fields. Let us, as in the conclusion to Chapter IV, consider two explanations. A superficial explanation is that these points further illustrate the absence of any philosophy, of any clear expression aims, in the movement; that its failure to be associated with the emergence of the specialist counselling field illustrates the post-war weakness of the movement and how far out of touch it had drifted from the driving forces of educational innovation. The swift response could then be suspected as bandwaggoning; the failure to see any relation with creativity a further instance of the lack of coherent, unifying thought or system in the movement or even among its leaders.

The second explanation, which is suggested by the course of this investigation in general, but by the detailed studies of the last two chapters in particular, is as follows:

the failure of the Fellowship to promote specialist counselling arose from a clear separation, in N.E.F. thought, between the egressive and specialist ingressive aspects of counselling. Although these terms as such were never used, the detailed evidence from chapters III to V is that from the 1920's onwards, the specialist areas of guidance were seen and described as relevant to teaching, but not as central to it. The non-

specialist, egressive aspects of guidance were seen as central both to teaching, and to N.E.F. principles. The importance of egressive counselling functions ~~was~~ further highlighted by their perceived close association with creative processes, supported both by the concept of creativity as developed in the Fellowship, and as portrayed independently in psychological research. This renewed emphasis on creativity had developed in the decade immediately prior to that in which specialist counselling emerged in Britain.

Specialist counselling was introduced to Britain and especially to the Fellowship, in a light which emphasised client-centred rather than directive test-centred approaches, and it was defended by arguments of expediency. Thus, specialist counselling apparently supported and promoted basic principles of Fellowship thought. While arguments from expediency often ring alarm bells, this particular one was powerfully backed by obvious needs generally and aggravated by the rise of large comprehensive schools in Britain. It has also withstood wider investigation, Vaughan (op. cit. 1975) having shown that in two countries of Eastern and two of Western Europe, educational reforms that enlarge the complexity and availability of educational choice in adolescence are accompanied or closely followed by, reforms that institute specialist counselling. Thus the support of the Fellowship was consistent with support for its own principles. That the Fellowship was not an educational bandwagon emerges further from our evidence of a generally hostile reception accorded to the rise of programmed learning about the same time.

The absence of a perceived relationship between creativity and specialist counselling reflected not a lack of philosophy, but a clearly marked tendency in the movement to associate creativity with long term, developmental processes in children; whereas specialist counselling was presented and discussed as a problem centred activity with short term goals. This does not imply any disagreement with the basic theme in the thesis that counselling had by the 1960's, evolved away from such an approach: but as argued earlier, that to be accepted in Britain specialist counselling had to succeed, and be seen to succeed, in small, local objectives; sharing this restriction with that of any other educational innovation in its early stages, according to a thesis promoted by E. King (op. cit.). That such a problem centred approach was quite consistent with an underlying philosophy of long term goals, is clear from the literature in the British counselling field about this time surveyed in Chapter I.

The absence of commitment to clearly defined aims is a common and fair criticism of W.E.F. However, the evidence in this thesis has clearly indicated that the Fellowship remained convinced of the continuing validity of its first principles as defined at Calais; and true to a notable and persistent reluctance to become committed to any further reduction or condensation of these around any one philosophy or movement. It may finally be said that the thesis closes an evolving scene, in which it is too early to say how the

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relationships between W.E.F. interest in creativity and  
counselling may move in contemporary times.

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CHAPTER VIISUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION

## (i) General Summary.

The specialist counselling movement which advanced rapidly in North American educational thought and practice, from its beginnings in the first decade of this century, had a much slower growth in Britain. It was speeded greatly in education after 1965, when the elaborated theory and practice of the American movement was introduced. One result was a confusion of terms, in particular the distinctions between 'counselling' and 'guidance', which remain vague. We explored this, and three broad priorities were defined, common to many British and American writers in the fields of counselling and guidance generally. We also explored a major pattern of differences in the role concepts of modern British counsellors, as found in recent empirical research, which offers one means of describing some important differences of viewpoint in the specialist field. We concluded Chapter I by studying the general relationship of guidance, counselling, and teaching, which suggested that from a crude, problem-centred start in vocational guidance and placement, the specialist counselling movement gradually developed educational bearings, first in North America and then in Britain, particularly in the concept of developmental counselling, which brought its aims closer to those of an educational movement.

The main perspective of the work was then reached: that if priorities in modern specialist counselling can be described

in terms which are closely similar to those in many areas of educational thought, it might be possible to discover them at a much earlier date in an educational movement, particularly in one which had emphasised the pupil-centred aspects of teaching as being of central importance; and that if this should be so, a basis would be provided for examining historically the stability of such concepts, and their interaction with other areas of thought and achievement in education, over a period of several decades. The New Education Fellowship founded in 1921 is such an organisation, and the records of its first conference at Calais in that year were intensively examined in Chapter II, to see how far they could be described in terms of modern counselling priorities and differences of viewpoint, described in terms of an open/system orientation, and a structure/non-structured perspective. This examination suggested that the earlier educational innovators at Calais did indeed vary in their priorities in the terms described. It also indicated that apart from the wide, global interests of the Fellowship, which lay and still lie, outside the area of specialist counselling interests, the three priorities common to modern counselling, described also the priorities of the New Education Fellowship. However, for greater clarification, these three common denominators were restated in terms of five points of similarity common to modern counselling priorities and those of the Fellowship in 1921. They were:

1. Emphasis on the individual.
2. Emphasis on continued personal development.
3. Emphasis on the non-cognitive quality of the emotional relationship between teacher/pupil, or counsellor/client (often described as rapport, or empathy).

4. Emphasis on activity by the pupil or client.
5. Concern with long-term goals, which, in some areas both of specialist counselling and N.E.F. thought, included spiritual goals.

These points were described in detail at the close of Chapter II. Their acceptance as part of the teacher's role in N.E.F. thought, allows us to describe the counselling movement examined throughout this study in two aspects: in terms of a specialist movement arising out of such fields as psychology and sociology, but having important educational bearings, described as the ingressive aspect of counselling; and a generally non-specialist or egressive aspect, in which the functions of counselling are seen as intimately associated with those of teaching. It was this non-specialist aspect of counselling which we found closely associated with the basic aims of N.E.F. in 1921.

Chapters III - VI constitute an examination of the stability of the non-specialist aspects of the counselling movement in N.E.F. thought, over the period 1921-1970; of their interaction with other movements in education; and of their perceived relationship with aspects of the gradually enlarging specialist movement.

In Chapter III we examined the attempt to promote educational change in the State systems of education in Britain through the introduction of these priorities, as part of a wider expansion of the Fellowship, then on the full flow of its fortunes. We found that it was not generally successful except in elementary

education. The reformist aspects of the movement were related to a concept of interventionism again derived from empirical research among modern specialist counsellors. The suggestion was found that while all the educational innovators of the Fellowship in the 1920's were interventionist, not all modern specialist counsellors are; and that the concept of interventionism used in modern counselling, is incomplete. Evidence also suggested that in common with the overall aims of N.E.F., the egressive counselling aspects tended not to become institutionalised, or incorporated within any one system of educational thought, and that their proponents rejected extreme viewpoints generally - whether libertarian or authoritarian. The influence of Beatrice Ensor on this trend appeared to be important, and was explored in depth. In Chapter III also early attitudes towards the field of specialist guidance were examined. It was shown that from the start, the specialist movement was seen as relevant to the work of the Fellowship, and was associated with its priorities. The first use of the term 'counsellors' in its modern connotation, so far found in British literature, was located in New Era in 1926. But the relevance of the ingressive field was seen as tangential only to the pattern of priorities of the Fellowship as a whole, whereas the egressive aspects of counselling (although not separately defined at that time) were seen as central to it.

In Chapter IV we defined a period called 'the Challenge', including the 1930's and most of the subsequent years of war, in

which the Fellowship was forced to take into account the changing and mounting economic and political pressures of the time, which threatened its survival. We noted, however, that even before these became urgent, the successful expansion of N.E.F. during the 1920's had encouraged a movement of interest away from the pupil-centred start of 1921 to wider social and educational horizons, and to a growing recognition of the importance of political and economic limitations upon national and international educational reforms. Yet when the Fellowship came to reconsider its aims in the early 1930's, the expressions of opinion which we examined pointed to the conclusion that the original aims were still seen as of central importance. We described the situation as comparable to that of a movement towards the periphery of a circle whose centre of reference remained the pupil-centred principles of 1921. We also noted the rise of organisational aims, in Millham's definition of the term, necessary to hold together an expanding, international movement; and the evidence that while these did to some extent displace the earlier pupil-centred expressive interests, they were not able to do so completely. We traced the rising and changing form of these organisational pressures through the period of the 'Challenge', and noted that even when these were at their more intense, in the period of the late 1930's and the early war years, the pupil-centred interests, with similar priorities to those of 1921, continued to be expressed. Emphasis on the importance of the individual was retained throughout this period by the restrictions of the horizons of much psychological research to empirical studies of child development. But the test-orientated movement in



psychology which dominated the specialist aspects of the guidance movement during this period, deepened the impression in Fellowship thought in Britain, that these services were peripheral to education, even if essential supports of it.

The post-war period surveyed in Chapter V showed, at its start, much uncertainty in N.E.F. about its aims. The hopeful internationalism which had developed in the earlier pre-war period had been rudely shaken by the subsequent international events. A new and powerful organisation, U.N.E.S.C.O., seemed to subsume many older N.E.F. aims in international education. Yet we saw that interest in those areas of education associated with the egressive aspects of counselling continued, apparently with similar priorities as before. During the 1950's these began to be associated with a deepening interest in mental health, and studies of conflict; and all three to be related to aspects of creativity. An upsurge of interest in this area led gradually to its acceptance as the central, unifying interest of the Fellowship in the 1950's, incorporating the pupil-centred movement with its egressive counselling aspects, the deepening concern with mental health, conflict, and educational innovation; and even important aspects of the traditional major involvement in international education. Consequently we examined the interpretations of creativity as they appeared at this time in N.E.F. thought, and discussed at length their relevance to counselling in its egressive aspects. We also examined the parallel upsurge of interest in creativity in empirical research in North America, remembering that

psychology had been the main theoretical support for N.E.F. views in the 1920's, and a major support for pupil-centred interests in the 1930's. We found evidence, explored at length, to suggest that these fields were now developing separately, and that there were important differences of emphasis, and perhaps also of concept, in the two interpretations of creativity, with the N.E.F. interests emphasising its intuitive and mystical aspects to an extent not found among the empiricists in the North American studies of this field. We noted, however, that both the empirical research in creativity, and the interpretation of creativity favoured among writers within the N.E.F., both accepted the importance of a third party, or mediator, in the relationship between the pupil and his creative processes. The descriptions of the mediator's role in both areas of research, seemed consistent with the priorities of counselling as described in the present study. In Chapter V we also examined closely the perceived relevance of the specialist, ingressive aspects of the counselling movement to Fellowship interests, and again found a general continuation of the pre-war attitudes, modified by some recognition that specialisation might be necessary, but that in such cases the specialist functions should be undertaken by teachers, and should grow naturally out of the teaching relationships with the pupil. Thus the egressive aspects of counselling still received general support as being the most important, and the most closely related to the functions of the teacher in a creative setting. The ingressive, fully specialist aspects of counselling continued to be seen as peripheral but essential educational services, not in opposition

to N.E.F. priorities, but not central to them.

Finally in Chapter VI we examined very intensively the period from 1964-1970 inclusive, during which the specialist movement in British guidance was powerfully strengthened by the rapid development of counselling courses based on North American experience. We found evidence that the start of this process, with the emergence of specialist counselling training in three British Universities, was not assisted by the Fellowship. However, N.E.F. rapidly took up interest in this aspect of the movement in its research and conferences. The initial presentation to the Fellowship of specialist counselling as an expedient necessary to defend pupil-centred interests, encouraged its acceptance, but critical appraisal rapidly began. By the end of 1970 overall opinion in N.E.F. writing in Britain was divided on the issue of how far specialisation of function of the priorities central to N.E.F. principles should be supported. Also, although major figures within British Fellowship circles, in particular Raymond King, may have understood the full developmental implications of the modern specialist counselling movement, and seen their close association with traditional N.E.F. priorities, there is evidence that this was not generally emphasised: because specialist counselling was in the initial process of gaining acceptance in Britain through proven ability to help with small scale, short term difficulties. The importance of the older priorities associated with counselling in its egressive aspects, as an integral aspect of the pupil-teacher relationship, emerged again in the response of members of N.E.F.

in Britain to the rise of some areas of educational technology. Opinion on these matters tended to suggest resistance to forms of educational technology which seemed to threaten the role of the teacher in terms of the first priorities of N.E.F. as declared in 1921.

(ii). Discussion (a) : the main findings.

This work arose out of a general subjective expectation that the priorities of a counselling movement would reflect the economic, political, and social forces active within the wider society in which it developed. An historical study of a counselling movement might therefore be expected to show many instances of changes in priorities brought about by changes in the pattern of forces playing upon the society as a whole; it was thought that this would be particularly evident in studying the evolution of counselling over one of the most turbulent periods of European and world history. There were several reasons for thinking along these lines. That priorities in the specialist counselling movement in North America had not been stable, but had changed gradually throughout this century, was well known among counsellors, as we noted in Chapter I. That such priorities were open to political influence was suggested by the United States National Defense Act of 1958, in which large sums of money were allocated to counselling services for the identification and encouragement of the scientifically most able. A study of specialist counselling services in four European countries, recently completed before I began the present investigation, likewise suggested a relationship between the economic and political security of the countries concerned, and priorities

in the aims of their respective counselling services, as these began to be organised within their various educational systems (Vaughan, op. cit. 1975). The main conclusion of this comparative study was that counselling seems not to be a true innovation, but rather a new battlefield on which the old arguments about the relation of the individual to his society are again fought out; and that in this duality, preference may be given to the individual in those societies which are wealthy and have been generally free from major political upheaval in the present century (evidenced by the United States and Sweden), and preference to the State, representing the interests of society, in those which have seen much poverty and major political upheaval over the same period (evidenced by Bulgaria and Romania); and that where complex political, social, and economic situations existed, that complexity would be reflected in the organisation and discussion of specialist counselling provision (evidenced from a study of counselling in Belgium). Thus it was expected that the counselling aspects identified within the major priorities of the New Education Fellowship at Calais in 1921 would not be found to be stable, but would change. Since the period under study was to cover both the years of the Great Depression and the Second World War, it was expected that such changes might even be dramatic, especially in an organisation such as the New Education Fellowship, which through its extensive interest in international education, would inevitably be brought into close association with such events.

Our study has not, however, supported this expectation, but has suggested a more complex and interesting movement. The Fellowship

did indeed come under many of the expected pressures. Organisational aims, designed to ensure its survival, did indeed supplant the emphasis on the pupil-centred movement during the 1930's to some extent; and have always since then played an important part in the N.E.F., which has often had to fight for economic survival. Other pressures, unforeseen at the start of the investigation, also emerged from inside the movement, through the influence of dominant personalities with clear ideas about desirable educational reform, who promoted such concepts as persuasively as possible, especially in the first decade of the Fellowship's life. Examples included A. S. Neill and A. Ferriere. Yet as the study progressed through the 1920's and into the 1930's, evidence began to mount to suggest that although the Fellowship might be swept from time to time by various interests of widely differing kinds, yet the basic approach to the pupil-centred relationship, as described in 1921, tended to re-emerge apparently unchanged. Or, to reinterpret the finding in the terms used in our study, the egressive aspects of counselling tended to continue to be expressed and supported according to the pattern of priorities which we identified as common to modern specialist counselling in its developmental forms. We closely examined the evidence throughout the period from 1921 to 1970 which touched on the aims of the Fellowship; ideas and descriptions of guidance of many different kinds; attempts to reformulate N.E.F. aims, particularly in the early and middle 1930's (Chapter IV), and in 1947 (Chapter V), without being able to find any important evidence of rejection or significant modification of the original N.E.F. priorities in regard to the pupil-teacher relationship. Two further points

may be added here. The continuous and close interest which the Fellowship showed in the specialist aspects of guidance, and which we examined carefully throughout the whole period 1921-1970, provides corroborative evidence of a continuing interest in the pupil-centred approach to education, since the specialist guidance movement was geared to the understanding of individual differences and the resolution of problems which differed from person to person. Second, the Fellowship itself retained its own ideas about what this relationship should be, in terms close to the original concepts of 1921, even during times when the approach of the specialist guidance movement was heavily influenced by the test-centred trends of the 1930's. This influence is very apparent in the appendices to Chapter IV: the absence of any important effort by writers in New Era to relate these descriptions to the original pupil-centred interests of the Fellowship might be taken to imply that N.E.F. had no clear understanding of its position: that it was, perhaps, no longer clear about what priorities should be observed in discussing the pupil-teacher relationship. We did indeed note in Chapter IV, that in some areas, notably its internationalism, the Fellowship seemed to be at a loss during the earlier years of the 1930's. Yet, when we came to examine the reformulation of aims during the 'Challenge' (see the relevant heading in Chapter IV \*), we found clear evidence that the pupil-

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Footnote:

- \* 'Implications for counselling values in attempts to reformulate aims during the 'Challenge'.

centred approach to education was still seen as vital, in terms of priorities closely similar to those of 1921, and that it was seen also as consistent with the interests of the Fellowship in its international aims. Again, in the early post-war period, we examined carefully the argument between Boyd and Annand, without being able to find evidence of significant modification or rejection of the priorities in the older pupil-teacher relationships. As already emphasised, this continuity of older priorities finds its main thesis in the idea that counselling (not usually separately defined) is an inseparable part of teaching; hence our use of the term 'egressive' to describe a function which arises from within the teaching relationship itself. Even when, as we found in Chapters V and VI, some specialisation of guidance function was accepted within the thought of the Fellowship in Britain, it was seen during the late 1950's and early 1960's as dictated by expediency, and was supported mainly when the specialist functions were seen to have grown out of the teaching functions, rather than from other areas of knowledge; and such specialist functions were accepted in terms which kept their relationship with teaching close. Finally, we noted in the later 1960's that there was considerable criticism of areas of educational technology which appeared to some members to infringe the old, traditional priorities of the pupil-teacher relationship.

This evidence, then, points to the conclusion that the priorities common to modern specialist counselling, particularly in its developmental aspects, in Britain and North America, and to the



N.E.F. at its inception at Calais in 1921, have been generally stable in the movement throughout its history. They have formed always an important part of its central principles, and have been seen as relevant to its wider involvement in international education. They have tended to resist change by organisational or political pressures. The supporters of these priorities have tended to take the following positions:

1. The counselling priorities have been seen to function as an aspect of the teacher's role, rather than as a specialist activity.
2. The specialist aspects of the guidance movement have been seen as essential supports for furthering the development of the child and the teacher; but the development itself was seen as taking place through the teaching process, and through the broader experience of life, rather than through the aid of specialists.
3. During the 1920's the pupil-teacher relationship thus described, was seen as supported very definitely from the field of psychology, especially the depth psychologies, and above all, that of Carl Jung. During the later 1920's and earlier 1930's, the field of developmental psychology seemed to continue this support. The relevance of psychology to the central priorities of the teacher-pupil relationship seemed to become less clear during the remainder of the decade, although it was still seen as a powerful support; but in the post-war period important and relevant areas of research in psychology apparently developed in isolation from parallel N.E.F. interests: the

field of studies in creativity being one such.

4. The rise of specialist counselling in Britain after 1964 was supported enthusiastically at first, but rather more cautiously later. Opinion about its place and importance within the schools was divided by 1970.
5. The proponents of the N.E.F. priorities in the pupil-teacher situation, pressed their case eagerly in the 1920's in particular, and were successful in the elementary school area, by their own accounts. They also maintained a generally open approach to educational innovation, but tended to develop quite sharp criticism towards libertarian or authoritarian extremes of opinion, or to movements which seemed, on examination, to infringe central priorities of the pupil-teacher relationship

A second finding, is that the stability described above appears to be in contrast to the changing pattern of priorities in the specialist fields of counselling which developed outside the Fellowship. The overall picture is thus one of a changing pattern of priorities within the specialist areas of counselling, which gradually converged upon a much older, more stable pattern of priorities present in the N.E.F., in which counselling functions were not usually separately identified, but present as an essential aspect of teaching.

(b) Discussion on the main findings.

Any explanation of the different patterns of stability apparent within the specialist aspects of the guidance movement, and within the egressive aspects of guidance as perceived within the N.E.F.,

must at this stage be largely speculative. However, some of the following indications may be relevant:

1. There is almost no reference in specialist British or American literature on counselling, to N.E.F. thought, at least before 1964. Likewise, as we have seen, N.E.F. did not see the work of specialist guidance and counselling as being central to its own priorities before then. This clearly suggests that the pattern of priorities which we have explored is not peculiar to specialist counselling, or to Fellowship thought, but has a wider acceptance. Another reason for this conclusion is that the priorities have been stable and have tended to re-emerge, apparently spontaneously, over five decades, in an organisation whose members often expressed uncertainty about N.E.F. aims. That the priorities which have supported the counselling movement in education both in its specialist and non-specialist aspects, might be part of a wider liberal tradition, need not surprise us. The very great range of cultural backgrounds of individuals quoted in this study, illuminates the findings that counselling priorities are important widely outside both the specialist field and formal teaching situations. Theosophy itself cannot be simply described as specialist counselling or as an educational movement. McCallister (op.cit. 1931), traced the origins of pupil-centred thought in European education as far back as St Augustine's: "a free curiosity hath more force in children's learning than a frightful enforcement," (p. 93), finding a concept of empathy present in St Gregory's Panegyric on Origen; and the naturalist

tendency usually attributed to Rousseau in Huarte's Examen de Ingenios (1575), especially in the principle: "erudita est natura licet <sup>recte</sup> facere non dediscerit" (souls are directed what to do without the teaching of any master: McCallister p. 142). Likewise, the importance of the concept of a personal search for individual development, aided, but not dictated or coerced, by a helper, has been expressed throughout the Christian period in Europe by various forms of religious heresy. In more recent thought, it is present in Riesman's description of the 'inner-directed personality' (op. cit, 1961); Shostrom's concept of 'self-actualising man' (op. cit, 1968); Maslow's description of 'expressive behaviour' (op. cit. 1970). All of these show a loose but consistent agreement by implication, with Jung's earlier concept of 'individuation'. They are also contained within the thought of men writing from wider frames of reference than specialist counselling alone. We also found the principle of an aided, individual search for personal development present in the N.E.F. thought about creativity, especially in the 1950's; and noted that similar views were present in writers such as Liam Hudson who elsewhere in their work did not seem particularly knowledgeable about the work of the N.E.F. Thus the original priorities of the Fellowship in 1921 can be seen as restatements of a longer liberal tradition of which they formed part, and from which they received continual support during the period of this study.

2. The history of the N.E.F., as it has appeared in the present study, is that of a movement which has itself resisted institutionalisation. The point is not entirely tautological. Had the international movement, or possibly its British section

with which it was clearly associated throughout the period reviewed, become organs of another movement, or any one dominant system of patronage, the possibility that its priorities might have been diverted, and possibly narrowed, would have been increased. The consistent trend away from any such dominance throughout its history allowed it to remain a vehicle for the expression of liberal opinion, and for the preservation of its original priorities. But it should be noted also, that we have concentrated upon the history of the movement through its British and general international aspects, which were of course closely related; but we have not examined the history of N.E.F. in individual countries elsewhere, where other trends may have developed.

3. The situation within the specialist areas of counselling has been very varied and complex. We noted that whereas N.E.F. was, at its outset, a movement much concerned with long-term and global aims, the separate specialist guidance efforts began on small scale, problem-centred, and short term bases, from which they have gradually lifted their horizons, and, in the process, come to express more clearly certain priorities which gradually approached those of the N.E.F. It may well be, then, that many of the original specialists themselves would have supported liberal principles, but did not see them as directly related to the limited tasks of guidance within which they were involved, and about which they wrote. But it must also be noted that, particularly in Britain, important aspects of the specialist guidance area have in fact come closely under the influence of institutionalised forces: this is particularly evident in the history of the provision of vocational guidance, which we reviewed in Chapter I. Even today, the Careers

Service is the only body in Britain charged with the statutory duty of providing vocational guidance. We saw in Chapter I that the enlargement of concepts away from the problem-centred aims in which it began was slow. The explanation of this by one of its major authorities (Alec Rodger, *op. cit.* 1963) was the refusal of politicians to vote larger sums to it in the absence of public demand. We also noted that Shertzer and Jackson (*op. cit.* 1969) attributed the limited role of careers teachers in British schools to the influence of institutionalised forces working in education. In another specialist area, that of the child guidance movement, we saw that the broad individual and developmental approach which early in the present century developed under James Sully and Cyril Burt, rapidly narrowed upon the problem-centred approaches of Dr. Moodie in 1932; and how the clinics which developed extensively in the following decade were influenced by the educational, medical and occasionally also the religious organisations within which they grew. The specialist counselling movement in schools which gradually emerged in Britain during the 1960's has likewise expanded widely in State secondary schools, where the role expectations of counsellors have to take account of those of the school system, and in particular of the school head. Moore (*op. cit.* 1971: cited in Chapter I) and Law (*op. cit.* 1977) have notably explored this interaction in Britain.

We have already suggested that the change of priorities apparent in the history of the specialist field of counselling need not necessarily represent an origin in illiberal or narrow-minded principles. Likewise, the fact that many specialist aspects of it have come under the sway of institutionalised forces more

than those of the egressive aspects expressed in N.E.F. thought\* does not justify the conclusion that specialist counselling itself is necessarily a narrower, less liberal river of thought and practice. Were that so, we should not expect to have been able to trace within it the gradual emergence of priorities comparable with those of N.E.F. principles. But we have, in fact, only explored that evolution in the North American and British literature. These are both societies with powerful liberal traditions, and both of them have been involved in major warfare during the period studied, in defence of such traditions. The gradual movement of specialist counselling towards the longer, more liberal perspectives of developmental counselling; and the gradual enlargement of liberal practices in state education in Britain over the same period, are therefore both consistent with the suggestion that the specialist aspects of the counselling movement may, in fact, express the influence of important institutionalised forces in British society more generally.

Although the last suggestion is partly speculative, there are other grounds for thinking that in its specialised forms, counselling may often express the influence of institutionalised forces. The original subjective expectation of this research, described earlier, (that the central priorities of counselling

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Italics are necessary to emphasise the limits of our discussion of the egressive aspects of counselling. In its non-specialist, egressive aspects, counselling is not the monopoly of any one school of thought, and may perhaps be supported by people who would not otherwise support N.E.F. principles. Law, for example, found system-orientation to correlate with acceptance of counselling functions as an integral part of teaching; but in such cases 'counselling' was defined by the group concerned in terms somewhat different than those used in the present study. See discussion in Law (op. cit.) around pages 387-388.

would generally be seen to respond to changing external pressures of economic, social, or political origins) was partly derived from research on the specialist aspects of counselling movements in four countries, in which it has developed as an aspect of central State planning (Sweden; Bulgaria; Romania); or under the influence of specific, and partly competing institutionalised interests within one state (Belgium). (Vaughan, op. cit. 1975; esp. chapters 5,6 and 7). Such patterns of organisation would appear to place counselling, both in its functions and to some extent also in its concepts, in a more exposed position to external pressures than in the N.E.F., where counselling as an egressive aspect of teaching, was protected from them, by support from a long, international tradition of liberalism within a movement which was not committed to any one specific task-description of counselling, and which resisted control by any single current of opinion or source of power.

(c). Other findings.

1. Certain orientations developed by empirical research in modern specialist counselling in Britain, appeared useful and relevant in interpreting differences of opinion within early N.E.F. thinking about what we have called the egressive aspects of counselling. The most important of these was the open/system orientation described by Law (ibid). This is discussed in detail in Chapters I and II. Since 'system' orientation relates closely to any consideration of how far counselling priorities are subsumed by those of the school or other organisation within which it takes place, Law's open/system orientation questionnaire would appear to



be a potentially useful tool for further exploration of the influence of institutionalised forces upon counselling priorities and practices. But our study has also suggested that the concept of 'system' as used by Law requires some modification for further application to educational thought, since 'conformity' may not only refer to conformity to a school system, but to a specific reform of such a system. (Examples of this attitude occur in Chapter III in quotations from early proponents of the Montessori system, and also in Chapter II in other contexts). Law himself recognised the limitations of his concept in a concluding chapter:

"There is no reason to suppose that this study has produced a complete or satisfactory account of what system orientation is in the minds of practitioners. All that can be claimed is that the presence of the variable has been identified and a beginning has been made on describing it" (Ibid, p. 367).

We have also seen (Chapter III) that the object of an open/system orientation needs to be described more carefully than may be realised. In particular, there are suggestions that the open/system orientation may express an attitude which varies within one individual. A. S. Neill and Mariella Johnson (Chapter III) can be described as open-orientated in their approach to the behaviour of children, but system-orientated towards criticism by adults of their viewpoints.

Likewise, the concept of interventionism which emerged late in Law's analyses, appears to need further revision for wider use in educational research. As a general concept it is partly related to rebelliousness. We noted in Chapter I that this was an important traditional priority in the philosophical origins of

N.E.F.; and in Chapter V we found it emerging from empirical studies of creativity as a central aspect. Law has produced evidence to suggest that interventionism subsumes rebelliousness in a wider context: for he argues that it can be used either aggressively to defend the status quo; or to attack it, in which forms he describes it as 'authoritarian interventionism' and 'subversive interventionism' respectively (see the diagram in Chapter III). We found, in reviewing the work of the Fellowship in Britain during the 1920's, that such polarities were too simple; and we described an approach of 'gradualist intervention' which seemed more appropriate to the work of the Fellowship at that time. Finally, in closing these comments on orientations, it should again be emphasised that their use in this study has been to aid a meaningful examination of relationships between two areas of thought at different times in the past; there is no implication that these are the only ways in which such rich and wide patterns of priorities might be compared.

2. The priorities of counselling, in their egressive aspects, were presented at Calais rather as assertions of faith rather than as the findings of research. Our study indirectly illuminates the ways in which many of these priorities have been supported by the findings of later empirical studies. The importance of the individual, and of individually different patterns of development, was indeed in the process of investigation in 1921, and was progressively indicated by the developmental studies of the 1930's and later. The importance of creativity, as a general variable,

and notes the gift of a limited few, has been upheld by the main research into creativity from an empirical standpoint in the United States. The importance of a helper, who promotes a climate of psychological safety, considered by Torrance and by Parnes (op. cit: see Chapter V) to be central to the effective functioning of creative processes, was likewise (but from rather different viewpoints) seen as important in the separate thought of the Fellowship : such conclusions support by direct implication the importance of the non-verbal emotional relationship which is usually described in the specialist counselling literature as empathy or rapport. The implications from the field of creativity even go further than this, because the reasons given for the establishment of a climate of psychological safety also are, to encourage an opening of the individual to new experiences. We have seen that at various times throughout the history of the Fellowship, emphasis on psychological openness has been stressed, both from educational and from philosophical perspectives. Indeed, it is implicit in the international interests of the N.E.F., and Lauwerys, in 1957 (see Appendix I to Chapter V) defined the concept of Fellowship itself in terms of open, undefended attitudes of faith, which he related to a condition of freedom. Likewise, in the context of the interpersonal relationship of teacher and pupil, Morris (Chapter VI) used almost identical terms to describe the essential characteristics of his concept of mediation. Openness is also clearly related to the concept of 'tolerance of ambiguity' also described by empiricists as one of the conditions of creativity: the length of time over which a condition of openness can be maintained. Some aspects of the concept of rebelliousness

may also be related to openness, in the sense that it involves a suspension or rejection of conventional judgements.

Empirical investigations into the reality of meditational experiences, which are closely related to mystical and religious experiences, have also tended to confirm the faith of many early N.E.F. thinkers, among whom Beatrice Ensor was, as we saw in Chapter III, a leader, that such practices were important and produced real and valuable effects. Research in this, and closely related areas, such as the voluntary control of autonomic nervous processes, is now extensive (see, for example, Wenger and Bagchi (1961); Kasamatsu and Hirai (1966) and Wallace, Benson and Wilson (1971). The bibliography in the major article by Wallace et al. (1971) includes 61 relevant titles, almost all of published empirical studies. An historical survey of psychological studies in Zen has been published by Akishige (1968). We have not examined this research here, because its educational bearings have not, so far, been investigated and incorporated within the main fields of specialist counselling. The states of wakeful relaxation reported as subjective experiences by meditators, and confirmed by detailed physiological and electroencephalographic measurements, would appear to be consistent with a broadening during meditation of their field of attention; and therefore with the conditions of 'openness' which, as we saw, have frequently been considered of the first importance among N.E.F. writers. Thus there are some grounds for thinking that further research may discover relationships between meditational states and the conditions thought to be important for original, creative work.

From these viewpoints, the present study can be seen as extending further this confirmation of basic N.E.F. positions, since we have traced the convergence of specialist counselling priorities upon a stable pattern of priorities within N.E.F. thought. It may be helpful here to note the limitations of our conclusions. We have not shown that modern counsellors are, in all important respects, similar in outlook to the progressive educationalists of the early N.E.F. Quite apart from the obvious differences in the historical and cultural background of any two such groups, we have some evidence from Law's research that counsellors in some of Britain's modern schools may not favour educational innovation, or may even actively oppose it. Some modern counsellors, such as Milner (1974) and A. Jones (1970) see counselling as being different from what they did as teachers. In British Universities, training courses for teachers, and for specialist counsellors, are still separate, if related, fields of study. We discussed these differences and relationships more extensively in Chapter I. What has been attempted, is to explore the large overlap which appears to be developing between the two areas of interest, basing our work upon a field of educational thought and activity in which that overlap seems to have been particularly significant.

(d) Implications, for educational practice.

Rawson, in his final chapter (Boyd and Rawson, op. cit. 1965, p.191) cited Boyd as fixing the overall priorities of the N.E.F. upon three criteria: wholeness, creativity and the unique value of the individual. Our study has been mainly in the area of the last of

these three, but we have had to take into account its inseparable relationship to creativity. But possibly the major implication of the findings, are that counselling functions should be related to the whole learning process, and not just to problem areas : this is consistent with the Fellowship thesis that the development of the pupil, the teacher, the family, the school, and the social context of the school : and, at a greater distance, but still very relevant, the national and international flow of events, form one interrelated pattern, which it is at least potentially dangerous to divide, and which needs continuously to be reintegrated. The long and continuous support for the egressive, rather than the specialist, aspects of counselling, is consistent with this broad basic perspective of the Fellowship. The teacher's role is thus changed from that of a directive agent of instruction to that of a mediator, who tries to encourage the development of psychological states within the pupil which reduce stress, widen and deepen his field of awareness, and promote a climate in which meaning can be easily enlarged, and creative development speeded. It is not possible to validate such viewpoints, in the sense that empirical hypotheses can be tested, because of the problem of defining generally acceptable criteria. Our evidence does, however, emphasise that these viewpoints, and the values that underlie them, are very persistent among certain educationalists and teachers both nationally and internationally, among whom have been included some of the most notable figures of educational thought in the present century. What, then, would be the implications of their application in education?

The role of the specialist counsellor would not end. It might, however, be further specialised in two ways: (a) in specific areas, such as vocational guidance, where there are large and continuously changing bodies of information and practice that need specialist concern; and (b) to provide counsellors as consultants for teachers. This last role assumes, however, that teachers are themselves going to take over important counselling functions. For this to be effective, certain conditions would seem essential:

1. There would need to be rather more emphasis than at present, in teacher training, to the development of what are sometimes called counselling skills: understanding of, and training in, interview techniques; an understanding of the bases, application, limitations, and moral and ethical problems in, the questionnaire methods; a deepening of the present attention to the processes of human growth and development, and personal relationships, as perceived from a number of different viewpoints, and not from that of a single school of thought. Such training might also be extended to enable the prospective teacher to understand more clearly his own values and prejudices, through the media of discussion, and physical activities which enlarge his understanding of his own emotional and physical horizons. The selection of candidates for such training would presumably need to take into account the undesirability of accepting individuals with rigid patterns of thought and emotional response, since these are generally considered unsuitable for training in British and American counselling courses at present.

2. Lower teacher/class ratios would be required than exist at

present. Although both N.E.F. and specialist counsellors themselves have experimented with various forms of group interaction and work, the emphasis on the importance of the individual in counselling and N.E.F. thought would appear to place limitations on the size of the class group.

3. More recognition of the danger to the interpersonal and group relationships, of formal structuring, either to define the teacher's role as an agent of discipline, or an an agent to speed the acquisition of formal skills.

4. Related to the above, less reliance upon narrow bases of assessment of pupils' (and teachers') attainment in terms of examination results.

Clearly some of these implications would be extremely difficult to introduce. The pupil/teacher ratio is obviously largely a function of economics. The diffusion of power, in educational systems, which is directly relevant to (3) above, varies from place to place, and expresses powerful traditional and institutionalised forces which as N.E.F. members themselves have found, yield, if at all, very slowly, to radical suggestions of change. This is not to say that such changes are impossible within an institutionalised framework. The example of Sweden suggests that where the desirability of continuous experimentation within the field of education is accepted centrally, it may rapidly be implemented throughout a whole State. Conversely, Edmund King ( op. cit ) has described the pattern of change in British education throughout the present century as one of 'revolution with reluctance', implying the slow yielding of established positions progressively



over a long enough period, to produce strikingly different outcomes in educational practice and thought. But it may also be true that the extent to which any national or local organisation of education willingly accepts the ideas contained in (3) and (4) above, depends upon public attitudes themselves influenced by perceived economic and political security. The evidence for this is at present only suggestive, and we have already discussed some of its aspects in earlier sections of the present Chapter.

In view of such difficulties, it may be more practical to think of the implementation of (1) above, and the experimental modification of the specialist counsellor's role along the lines suggested in (a) and (b) above. The development of specific and limited roles for specialist counsellors, as suggested in (a) clearly carries real dangers, in the proliferation of specialists, the potential splitting off of partly artificially defined areas of specialist knowledge, and the consideration of the individual as an object for investigation, treatment, and referral, rather than as a person. It is uncertain how far such difficulties can be overcome by the parallel development of guidance teams, and the topic is one of almost constant debate within specialist counselling circles and in neighbouring areas. The development of (b) appears, at present, more hopeful, for these reasons:

1. The establishment of a counselling relationship, as described in this study, is not a unilateral, but a bilateral process. It requires acceptance both by the counsellor-figure and by the client-figure. In everyday terms, there is no way of obliging

an individual to seek the services of a specialist counsellor. A pupil may establish a counselling relationship equally with a teacher, a schoolfriend, an adult outside the school, or possibly the school caretaker. The relationship may remain uncomplicated, or may change into an extremely complex interaction, involving patterns of emotional release at very deep levels indeed. (For this reason, it seems unreal to try and distinguish between the fields of counselling and psychotherapy on the basis of different levels of involvement with the client). Thus there would seem to be grounds for the provision of specialist counsellors, to whom the counsellor-figure in the relationship described above, could turn for assistance. The alternative, of using the specialist counsellor as an agent for direct referral, carries certain risks, and even questions of a moral kind. Thus, the client may well have chosen a non-specialist for personal reasons, perhaps because of feelings of friendship and trust, which he may not willingly transfer to the specialist. Again, it might be argued that when a person has been placed in the position of a counsellor in this way, a trust has been conferred on the counsellor-figure which is, in a certain sense, his alone, to discharge as far as he feels possible. The presence of a specialist counsellor, to whom the counsellor-figure could turn for assistance and advice in a complex situation, seems therefore, to offer possible real advantages. Such a specialist might also be used to extend as far as possible, an understanding of the characteristics of a counselling relationship, and the basic distinctions between a counselling relationship, and various coercive or exploitative relationships.

2. It seems unlikely, in the foreseeable future in British education, to think that economics will allow a very substantial increase in the numbers of specialist counsellors, or even of teacher-counsellors with a sharply reduced teaching load. Thus, in a large school, case-loading imposed on a single specialist counsellor used for direct referral, might very seriously modify his role. (Vaughan, op. cit. 1970, esp. pp. 111-116). A more effective use for such a specialist might therefore be along the lines just discussed. The problem of overheavy case-loading of specialists in various areas of counselling is by no means peculiar to schools, but is found also in the School Psychological Service, the Careers Service, and elsewhere, for example in general medical practice, where the personal relationship between doctor and patient is often limited by the numbers of patients waiting for attention in the same session.

In concluding this section on educational implications, it seems important to re-emphasise the need for experimental approaches to these complex and changing problems, and a process of gradualist intervention, such as that adopted by the N.E.F. during its most expansive period in the 1920's, rather than the sudden introduction of a major change of course in a school which has not been prepared for it. Such implications also emerge from the review of N.E.F. thought which we have made in the present study.

(iii) Conclusion.

At the end of our study we find that more issues are raised, than the study itself has been able to examine. This is a common

experience in the field of counselling, which opens outwards onto a vast field of interests. We have not, for example, explored the question of whether the attitudes of early proponents of specialist guidance services in Britain and America near the start of the century may have held more liberal viewpoints than are contained in their approaches to guidance. Is there evidence of a varying gap between the concepts of guidance, and its expression in the specialist forms of vocational guidance, educational and personal guidance, as these moved gradually away from the simple problem-centred form of their origins? Or was this movement due to the entry into these areas of more liberal viewpoints from elsewhere? Another question which calls for an historical approach is that of the relationship of N.E.F. thought to the movement in the specialist counselling field in Britain after 1970. The historical span will shortly be extensive enough for examination of this in its main aspects. Among what might be called comparative questions, we clearly need to know more about how institutionalised forces bear upon counselling priorities, both in its specialised and egressive aspects. Under what circumstances do counselling movements tend to reflect the needs of society? Our present study has disclosed an organisation which has resisted control by institutionalised forces, and in which counselling priorities have remained generally stable. But we have only examined it in its international and British contexts: what has been the fate of these initial priorities in other countries? The archives of the N.E.F. appear to contain sufficient material for a selective examination of some aspects of this question. Other, more empirical questions include the apparent need to review the present questionnaire of an open/

system orientation, and some aspects of the concept of interventionism, to take account of the points raised in the present survey. We have only explored some aspects of the relationship between creativity and counselling. What other areas of research in psychology and related fields, such as physiology, now developing, bear on these? The relevance of such questions has been discussed earlier in this Chapter. There are no doubt many other questions which could be asked, but these are some of the major ones that appear to emerge from the survey we have made.

We began this work with a recognition of the vagueness of the term counselling, as it is currently used in education, and with the difficulty of separating the concept from that of guidance. Our study has shown that in its various modern interpretations, counselling includes central priorities which have unmistakable educational bearings. In a long examination of these aspects, as seen within the thought of the New Educational Fellowship, we have found that they reach central issues of education, of the relationship between the teacher, the pupil, and the group, and through their relevance to processes of learning and personal development, touch on the deeper questions of man's understanding of himself and his environment. The further development of the counselling movement in British education (and elsewhere) clearly needs to be examined from these perspectives, and its more apparent specialist activities to be seen as merely one aspect of wider and deeper processes of educational change.

CHAPTER VIIBIBLIOGRAPHY

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