

Putting Sylvia in her Place: Ashton-Warner as New Zealand Educational Theorist

Sue Middleton

School of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand

School of Education
University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105, Waikato Mail Centre
Hamilton 3240
New Zealand.
Email: s.middleton@waikato.ac.nz

ABSTRACT:

Sylvia Ashton-Warner, a New Zealand teacher, won international acclaim in the 1950s-1950s with her novels, autobiographies, and accounts of her educational theory. Blurring genres between fiction and autobiography, much of her writing was centred on the 'creative teaching scheme' she developed in Maori Schools. At the heart of the scheme was the idea that literacy was best achieved when children captioned their experiences of fear and sex, the two great (Freudian) drives. In Sylvia's infant room, these erupted to the surface by means of captions (a child's 'key vocabulary'). I introduce Lefebvre's idea of 'rhythm analysis', applying it first to the teaching scheme, then to the 'system' in which Ashton-Warner taught. With reference to extracts from Ashton-Warner's Creative Teaching Scheme and *Myself*, I connect the rhythms of her life with her 'theory.' I identify Sylvia's own 'key words' (violence and war; ghosts; sex and the kiss) and their rhythmic engagements and collisions with educational 'authorities.'

Keywords: Sylvia Ashton-Warner; Lefebvre; history; space/place.

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Sylvia Ashton-Warner, a New Zealand teacher and writer, won international acclaim when her first novel, *Spinster*, was published in 1958.¹ The story of a passionately artistic teacher of Māori children in a remote rural school, *Spinster* and *Two Loves* (the Hollywood movie it inspired)² were translated into many languages.³ Ashton-Warner published five novels,⁴ two books of short stories,⁵ two autobiographies⁶ and two ‘non-fictional’ accounts of her educational theory in action including the influential *Teacher*.⁷ Towards the end of her life she assisted with the screenplay for *Sylvia*, a feature film based on her autobiographical writing, released in 1985.⁸

Blurring genres between fiction and autobiography, *Spinster*, *Teacher* and the film *Sylvia* were centred on the ‘creative teaching scheme’ Ashton-Warner developed in Maori Schools⁹ in the 1940s and early 1950s. At the heart of the scheme was the idea that literacy was best achieved when children captioned their experiences of fear and sex, the two great (Freudian) drives. In Sylvia’s infant room, these erupted to the surface by means of captions (a child’s ‘key vocabulary’). The most powerful ‘key words’ were ‘ghost’ and ‘kiss’: ‘Any child, brown or white, on the first day, remembers these two words from one-look.’¹⁰ Venting the fear/ destructive drive through the key vocabulary and other expressive arts could prevent violence and war:

I see the mind of a five-year old as a volcano with two vents; destructiveness and creativeness. And I see that to the extent that we widen the creative channel we atrophy the destructive one. And it seems to me that since these words of the key vocabulary are no less than the captions of the dynamic life itself, they course out through the creative channel, making their contribution to the drying up of the destructive vent. From all of which I am constrained to see it as creative reading and to teach it among the arts.¹¹

During her lifetime, Ashton-Warner’s books won awards and accolades,¹² but after her death in 1984 all fell out of print.

In 1988 Lynley Hood's biography *Sylvia* rekindled interest in Ashton-Warner's life and character.¹³ Interest in her teaching method was sustained amongst scattered groups and in 1996 Sydney Gurewitz Clemens published *Pay Attention to the Children*, a practitioner's ideas about its applicability in American classrooms.¹⁴ Ten years later, Judith Robertson and Cathryn McConaghy edited *Provocations: Sylvia Ashton-Warner and Excitability in Education*,¹⁵ an international collection of essays by feminist scholars marking a 'shift from subject to theory'¹⁶ in studies of Ashton-Warner.

In August 2008 the International Sylvia Ashton-Warner Centennial Conference was held in Auckland¹⁷ resulting in a book entitled *The Kiss and the Ghost: Sylvia Ashton-Warner and New Zealand*.¹⁸ Contributions include literary¹⁹ and historical²⁰ research as well as memoirs from her oldest son²¹, her teaching colleagues²², her biographer²³ and her American publisher.²⁴ With the aim of making her work available to a new generation of students and teachers, *The Kiss and the Ghost* also included a reprint of Ashton-Warner's first systematic account of her teaching scheme,²⁵ published two years before *Spinster* and seven years before *Teacher* under the pen name 'Sylvia.' It had originally appeared in eight instalments in *National Education*, the magazine of New Zealand's primary school teachers' union,²⁶ between December 1955 and October 1956²⁷ and at the time was much recommended to teachers by training college lecturers and inspectors.²⁸

Can a pedagogy conceptualised in rural New Zealand in the 1940s-1950s have appeal or relevance to educators working in today's complex conditions? As Madeleine Grumet argues, 'an educational theory grows where it is planted, soaking up the nutrients in the local soil, turning to the local light.'²⁹ This paper reads Ashton-Warner's 'Creative

Teaching Scheme' as *of* its time and place, placing Ashton-Warner's original (*National Education*) version alongside her autobiographical accounts of its beginnings.

Of particular interest here is her book *Myself*. Although not published until 1966, *Myself* originated as a diary Sylvia kept in 1941-1942, 13 years before her scheme was published. It shows how during the World War Two years, when Sylvia was beginning serious writing, she was already 'living' and working on themes and 'key words' that would later emerge in the scheme. The ideas were 'sparked' amidst competing demands for time and space: 'This programme I have set myself, or rather that has set itself upon me like an invisible aggressor, this pace at which I live: wife, mother, lover, teacher and what I call my 'work.'"³⁰ As Henri Lefebvre suggests, 'What we live are rhythms – rhythms experienced subjectively'.³¹

Lefebvre's idea of 'rhythm analysis' will be applied first to the teaching scheme, then to the 'system' in which Sylvia and her husband Keith Henderson taught in the 1940s and early 1950s. With reference to extracts from Ashton-Warner's *Creative Teaching Scheme* and *Myself*, I connect the rhythms of her life with her 'theory.' I identify Sylvia's own 'key words' (violence and war; ghosts; sex and the kiss) and their rhythmic engagements and collisions with educational 'authorities.'

Rhythms of Place

In Lefebvre's work the 'concept of space denotes and connotes all possible spaces, whether abstract or 'real', mental or social.'³² He urges researchers to consider

... first the physical – nature, the Cosmos; secondly the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and thirdly, the social. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias.³³

He develops a conceptual trilogy for research: perceived, conceived and lived spaces.

The *perceived* spaces of everyday life are those of ‘social practice, the body, the use of the hands, the practical basis of the perception of the outside world.’³⁴ Rhythms of the perceived include those of nature - day-night, the seasons. Sylvia wrote: ‘the falling leaves supply us with endless dance design, both formal and informal, also the fin-movements of fish. And frogs.’³⁵ ‘Natural’ rhythms include those of the body. Some of these, wrote Lefebvre,

Are easy to identify: breathing, the heartbeat, thirst, hunger, and the need for sleep are cases in point. Others, however, such as those of sexuality, fertility, social life and thought, are relatively obscure. Some operate on the surface, so the speak, whereas others spring from hidden depths.³⁶

Through her ‘organic’ method, Sylvia could ‘see the creative channel swelling and undulating like an artery with blood pumping through.’³⁷ Classroom activities were patterned on ‘a design she had entitled “rhythm of the day,”’³⁸ based on the idea that ‘as with diurnal tidal oscillations, a pair of peaks of high nervous energy occurred in the child’.³⁹

Ashton-Warner claimed that fear and sex, the two ‘great instincts’ (or drives) were the key to reading, psychotherapy, and education more broadly. She wrote: ‘Inspiration is the richest nation I know, the most powerful on earth. Sexual energy Freud calls it; the capital of desire I call it; it pays for both mental and physical expenditure.’⁴⁰ Lefebvre saw the drive as ‘a transposition at the psychic level of the fundamental, but at the same time dissociated, idea of rhythm’.⁴¹ Sylvia invites readers to ‘Think of a room where we all come running in first thing in the morning to plunge into creativity! Ah ... tense orgasm! ... so that, detumesced, we could settle for number later’.⁴² Sylvia describes the ‘highs and ‘lows’ of her sexual emotions as not always consonant with the tempos of pedagogy: ‘If I was unhappy the schoolroom paid, if happy the classroom won.

If I thought my husband wasn't pleased with me I didn't teach in tune but if he had kissed me before school in the morning I did teach in tune.'⁴³

Conceived spaces are those of 'the mental, including logical and formal abstractions.' They are enclosures 'discursively constructed by professionals and technocrats.'⁴⁴ The 'system' of public schooling is such a space: school days are punctuated by bells; school years demarcated into terms, children classified by age and stage, teachers ranked by numerical 'grading.'⁴⁵ The linear sequencing of 'standardised readers' was antithetical to Sylvia's 'organic' approach: 'There's no occasion whatever for the early imposition of a dead reading, a dead vocabulary. I'm so afraid of it. It's like a frame over a young tree making it grow in an unnatural shape.'⁴⁶

'*Representations of space*' are codified visualisations of conceived spaces: architectural blueprints, flowcharts and timeframes. These assume 'generally a rectilinear form such as a mesh-work or chequerwork.'⁴⁷ Sylvia writes: 'I hate charts ... I like the moving current of children's interests ... We hoard our old ideas on charts to be used again and again like stale bread. Ideas are never the same again, even those of the masters; even if the only change is in our mood of re-approach.'⁴⁸

Lefebvre's 'third space' is *lived space*. Tapping the unconscious, imaginary and spiritual dimensions of experience, lived spaces encompass pre-linguistic imagery, symbols and dreams of earliest infancy. Expressed in the symbolic, lived spaces are 'kept alive and acceptable by the arts and literature.'⁴⁹ In Sylvia's scheme:

Out pelt these captions; these one-word accounts of the pictures within. Is it art? Is it creation? Is it reading? I know that it is integral. It is organic. And it is the most vital and the most sure reading vocabulary a child can build. It is the key that unlocks the mind and releases the tongue. It is the key that opens the door upon a love of reading. It is the organic foundation of a life-time of books. It is the key that I use daily with my fives, along with the clay and the paint and amid the singing and quarrelling.

It is the key whose turning preserves intact for a little longer the true personality. It's the key vocabulary.

The rhythms of lived space 'differ from one another in their amplitude, in the energies they ferry and deploy, and in their frequency. Such differences, conveyed and reproduced by the rhythms which embody them, translate into intensity or strength of anticipation, tension and action'.⁵⁰ There may be unanticipated 'explosive and endogenous' events; 'volcanic explosions' from the depths of the unconscious.⁵¹ The 'key vocabulary' scheme was designed to 'caption' eruptions from the child's unconscious:

The key words carrying their own illustration in the mind, vivid and powerful pictures which none of us could possibly draw for them – since in the first place we can't see them and secondly because they are so alive with an organic life that the external pictorial representation of them is beyond the frontiers of possibility. We can do no more than supply the captions.⁵²

The lived spaces of spirituality and the imaginary are also collective, finding expression in the *representational spaces* of a culture: 'Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people.'⁵³ Representational spaces include holydays, festivals and rituals, arts, myths and symbols. Human sciences translate representational spaces of 'others' into abstractions of the 'conceived:' 'Ethnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts are students of such representational spaces.'⁵⁴

Ashton-Warner's interventions in the 'imaginary and symbolic' worlds of Māori five-year-olds were filtered through her reading of 'Ethnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts,' and European literature. Her reading included:

Rousseau, Herbert Read, comparative religions, the Bible, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Blake and Coleridge; the English poets, French literature, history and poetry; Russell, Freud, Jung, Adler and Fromm; Māori mythology, history, culture and the language; the lives of the

musicians, music textbooks, and even ploughed through Havelock Ellis, believe it or not. Everything but education.⁵⁵

Lefebvre wrote, ‘These areas of specialised knowledge at once isolated and imperialistic – the two are surely interconnected – have specific relations with mental and social spaces.’⁵⁶

The key vocabulary scheme was not intended to be an end in itself: ‘Of course, as I’m always saying, it’s not the only reading: it’s no more than the FIRST reading. The bridge. It’s the bridge from the known to the unknown; from a native culture to a new; and, universally speaking, from the inner man out.’⁵⁷ Designed as a ‘transition’ from Māori children’s lived space into the ‘mainstream’ curriculum, the key vocabulary was also a conduit to the ‘conceived’.

While Ashton-Warner rejected the imposition of standardised readers’ ‘dead vocabulary’ on five-year-old Māori children, she did not reject conventional British notions of education. Her scheme was intended ‘as a plank in the bridge from the Māori to the European.’⁵⁸ Her curriculum ‘content’ was centred on European fairytales and arts: ‘the new piano ... Here was this Friedman in a Maori schoolroom.’⁵⁹ She would ‘never use other than classical music. Not only for my own sake but because it was a classic that brought them to their feet in the first place. So far I have used Schubert, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Chopin, Brahms and Grieg’.⁶⁰

In Sylvia’s scheme are traces of the human sciences of her time and place: she drew explicitly on psychoanalytic concepts and implicitly on anthropological notions of ‘race.’ Employed in New Zealand’s Native School system, she was at once a subject (a pedagogue) and an object (a recipient) of what Lefebvre referred to as ‘pedagogies of appropriation.’

Pedagogies of Appropriation

Lefebvre suggests that ‘rhythm analysis’ might help researchers to identify the ‘pedagogies’ through which bodies are appropriated into the social:

It is possible to envision a sort of ‘rhythm analysis’ which could address itself to the concrete analysis of rhythms, and perhaps even to their use (or appropriation). Such an approach would seek to discover those rhythms whose existence is signalled only through mediations, through indirect effects or manifestations. Rhythm analysis might eventually even displace psychoanalysis, as being more concrete, more effective, and closer to a pedagogy of appropriation (the appropriation of the body, as of spatial practice).⁶¹

To explore Sylvia’s ‘appropriation’ in education, a brief biography is necessary.

Sylvia and her husband Keith Henderson trained as teachers during the late 1920s. After marriage in 1931, Keith taught in rural schools and Sylvia cared for their three children. In 1938 the couple joined what was referred to until 1947 as the Native School system (and from 1948 until its abolition in 1968 as the Maori School system).⁶² In 1938-1940, they taught at Horoera - on a remote windswept East Coast beach inaccessible by road. Sylvia had a severe ‘nervous breakdown’ and during treatment in Wellington was introduced to psychoanalytic theory.

In 1941 the Hendersons moved to Pipiriki (in the Whanganui River valley). Here, Sylvia began serious writing, including the diary that 25 years later would be published as *Myself*. Returning to the East Coast, they taught at Waiomatatini School from 1945 until 1948, when they moved to Fernhill (close to the town of Hastings). During this time Sylvia’s first articles, including the serialised teaching scheme, were published. In 1957 Keith took the position of Headmaster at Bethlehem (near Tauranga). Sylvia left teaching to become a full-time writer.⁶³

During her teaching years Sylvia was both pedagogical ‘subject’ (as teacher) and object (as ‘taught’). An overview of the Department of Education’s policies of the time is

followed by discussion of Sylvia's accounts of her experiences of departmental 'inspections'. I explore her stories of the 'perceived' and the 'lived' dimensions of war and domestic life, showing how their interpenetrating rhythms were 'appropriated' into the 'conceived' realm of educational theory.

The Department as 'Pedagogical device'.

However original, teaching and writing are also 'performances'⁶⁴ (or 'citations') of the linguistic, discursive and conceptual resources available. As teachers, Sylvia and Keith Henderson were subject to surveillance and evaluation by the central government Department of Education. Through its mandated curriculum, its system of 'inspections' and its programmes of in-service training, the Department functioned as what Bernstein refers to as a 'pedagogical device.' It 'transmitted' criteria for the production of 'legitimate texts' by teachers (workbooks, programmes) and by children (according to age-groups, abilities etc.).⁶⁵ It 'projected' identities or qualities it considered desirable for teachers to acquire, and through the rhythms of regular inspectorial visits, evaluated teachers' compliance with this ideal.

During this time the political context was highly influenced by the international 'Progressive' (or 'New') education movement. Influenced by psychological and psychoanalytic theories of child development and 'progressive' conceptualisations of the school as a means of promoting democracy, 'the new freedom' increasingly dominated reports of education officials, ministers, politicians and inspectors:

Until after the First World War, the search was for more suitable subject-matter and better techniques for teaching it, but in the "twenties", largely as a result of the War, education began to set itself the wider objective of developing the whole person for life in a democracy, and the search began for achieving that objective.⁶⁶

Since 1929, the primary school curriculum had urged teachers to ‘feel free’ to adapt their programmes to ‘the interests of the pupils and to the environment in which they live’.⁶⁷

New Zealand’s First Labour Government (1935-1949) brought ‘New Education’ firmly into the centre of educational policy. While in later life Sylvia claimed to have read ‘nothing on education,’ her scheme referred to Caldwell Cook, Rousseau, Herbert Read, and A.S. Neill,⁶⁸ all leading figures in the international progressive education movement. Her access to these and other ‘great works’ of literature and social theory (‘Russell, Freud, Jung, Adler and Fromm’) was made possible by Labour’s adult education ‘pedagogies’: the new country library service, book clubs, reading groups, and correspondence courses. Sylvia attended at least one of the Department’s in-service courses⁶⁹ on ‘activity methods. Her scheme quoted Beeby (Director General of the Department of Education): ‘Life as a whole is too complicated to teach to children. The minute it is cut up they can understand it, but you are liable to kill it in cutting it up.’⁷⁰

A shift in the Department’s pedagogical expectations for inspectors was evident by 1941. A less frequent schedule of inspections

... was designed to free the Inspector of much of the former routine work which was of doubtful value. It has been possible to concentrate on the promulgation of new and progressive ideas, the giving of practical help and demonstration and bringing to the notice of teachers the latest literature on various aspects of their crafts. These were all stressed on our visits to Native Schools last year.⁷¹

Douglas Ball, Chief Inspector of Native Schools, was a leading figure in promoting the new methods:

[An] essential of social and individual well-being is re-creation, the strengthening of personality, which involves the whole man and is rooted in the unity of life. Beyond physical health, development of mind and character, appreciation of Nature and of art, re-creation is that from which flows the inspirational force that gives life its meaning. The Maori, once strong in racial idealism, is in need of this integration of character. The means adopted to assist in this strengthening of personality is the method of child activity, the encouragement of growth through exercise of emotional and intellectual powers, other than the mere acquisition of knowledge by absorption.⁷²

In Native Schools, progressivism intersected with changing anthropological and political ideas concerning Māori.

The 1930s-1940s marked a shift in race-relations policy from ‘assimilation’ to ‘integration’ (or ‘fusion’). In nineteenth century human sciences, Māori were conceptualised as more ‘highly evolved’ than other ‘Native’ peoples⁷³ and Native Schools charged with a ‘civilising mission’⁷⁴ to assimilated Māori into Pākehā (British) culture. ‘Crossing’ into European culture was ‘progress’; failure to do so ‘regression.’ By the 1930s, as Professor Fitt (an Auckland educationist) the success of assimilation was challenged,

... the main outcome of our attempts to educate the Maori has been failure. That this is so is substantiated by the reports from so many competent observers that the one longing of so many Maori boys and girls, once their schooling is over, is to ‘return to the mat’, that is, to the old paternal ways of living.⁷⁵

Over twenty years later, Sylvia’s teaching scheme used similar language:

This transition of Maori children is often unsuccessful. At this tender age a wrench occurs from one culture to another, from which, either manifestly or subconsciously, not all recover. And I think that this circumstance has some little bearing on the number of Maoris who, although well educated, seem neurotic, and on the number who retreat to the mat.⁷⁶

As Cathryn McConaghy argued, ‘Sylvia constructed her notion of race usually within the tropes of the day.’⁷⁷

High Māori mortality and susceptibility to European diseases led to a fear that Māori were a ‘dying race.’ By the 1930s the ‘assimilationist’ policy was seen as partly responsible: ‘We do not educate the Maori but rather we unwittingly assist in killing him in the spiritual sense of the word. And, with this spiritual killing, the physical death is not far off.’⁷⁸ A new policy, known at the time as ‘fusion’, was envisaged:

To return to the Maori, we must consider for a moment the problem as to whether his ultimate end (if indeed he survive long enough) will be fusion with the white race or the

maintenance of a separate existence alongside his countrymen. If the former case holds, and many high authorities on the Maori consider it will, then the education of the Maori must frankly face the problem of fusion. If the latter holds, it must be subject to certain limits, for much of the Maori's earlier life is quite inconsistent with our white civilisation. In fact, in this case too, it will not be the original culture which will survive, but a culture considerably modified in the direction of our white culture.⁷⁹

From the mid-1930s, Māori education policies aimed to restore what Douglas Ball called 'pride of race.' Native Schools would cultivate 'an interest in the old Maori arts and crafts, in their songs and dances, in their games, and in their history and mythology.'⁸⁰ Ball thought it 'essential for administrators and teachers concerned with Native education to study and understand the culture of the people in whose interests they are employed.'⁸¹ Native Schools would provide 'a kind of education which shall be closely related to Māori life and culture, and yet shall at the same time form a basis for the social and economic fusion of the two races.'⁸²

The objective of 'fusion' did not extend to the use of Māori language as a medium of instruction: fluency in English was the key to 'progress.' However, teachers were encouraged to create supplementary reading materials, consistent with the children's vocabularies:

Even in the infant room, in such a subject as reading, there is too much reliance on textbooks, to the neglect of the most effective material – the teacher's own blackboard and self-prepared reading matter. It must be admitted that the primer readers as supplied to the schools, have serious deficiencies, but so far there is nothing better available to supplant them as textbooks. They are not written for Maori children, and contain words that are unnecessary for a Maori child's vocabulary. The need is all the greater, therefore, to supplement these books by suitable reading material. A study of the words needed by the Maori child should be one of the first points to be considered.⁸³

As did Sylvia, Ball placed high value on the arts. For example, in 1939 he wrote:

Both children and audience reflect the intense pleasure derived from a vivacious and sympathetic interpretation of poetry. When this spirit of brightness has been attained it permeates the whole curriculum, for the children, conscious of their ability to express themselves forcefully, and inspired with self-confidence, are able to convert all their work into pleasure, and the school becomes a hive of industry, with the pupils taking a very active part in their own instruction.⁸⁴

Sylvia's classroom was 'loud with the sound of erupting creativity';⁸⁵ Ball wrote of the 'pulsating life of the classroom.'⁸⁶

Inspecting Sylvia

Sylvia's account of Ball's grading visit to Horoera offers insight into her 'pedagogical appropriation' into 'New Education'. While the rhythms of inspectorial visits under the former system had been notoriously unpredictable, 'This Mr Ball not only named the date of his visit but the time of day. How can you name a time of day when you're subject to the tidal system? He must have studied the tides chart.'⁸⁷ Through Ball Sylvia and Keith were drawn into the 'new wave' of policy. Renouncing the words 'Empire' and 'Native,' Ball

... spoke of Māori schools. His view of Māori education accommodated racial temperament and characteristics and their particular needs in the curriculum and the daily timetable, and he proclaimed there was a Māori culture worth preserving.⁸⁸

Ball suggested that Sylvia and Keith 'invite the Māori people to school to teach us the Māori culture: flaxwork, carving, weaving ... and even the discredited Māori language. Who'd ever heard of parents coming to school to teach the holy teachers? He brought an inspiring and powerful presence. Visionary.'⁸⁹ The Department's 'pedagogy of appropriation' was successful: 'Both Keith and I had good gradings from that visit.'⁹⁰

However, Sylvia's adoption of 'progressive' ideas cannot be understood purely at the level of rational persuasion. In *I Passed This Way*, Sylvia described Ball's arrival at Horoera:

He rode out on a mighty-boned horse, ploughing through rivers and signing the beaches like a Viking in the latest Jodpurs. He turned out to be very fair-haired and fair-skinned with extravagantly large blue eyes, all inquiry in them and comprehension, and when he dismounted and hitched his sweating horse, before me and my young Ash in arms, two at knee, he was so tall and so big that we nearly broke our necks looking up at his face.⁹¹

It was not only at the abstract or rational level (the ‘conceived’) that Sylvia was attracted to Ball’s ideas. The ebbs, flows and tidal waves of political and pedagogical change run deep. An educational theory ‘is lived directly before it is conceptualised.’⁹² Unlike many expositions of educational theory, Sylvia’s writing plunges into dark recesses of the ‘lived’.

In *Myself*, Sylvia described how

Love was my big trouble when I was young... My need and dependence on it. I couldn’t breathe without love in the air. I’d choke. I ceased to exist when not in love. The radiance within blotted out so that nothing would happen inside, nothing exploded into action. I can quite truthfully say that I never lifted a hand unless for someone: never took up a brush or a pen, a sheet of music or a spade, never pursued a thought without the motivation of trying to make someone love me.⁹³

A perceived slight—a glance, a silence—could be read as a sign of betrayal. Moods swung wildly between ecstasy and despair at the mercy of loved ones’ conduct toward her. An inspectorial grading visit (the Department’s ‘pedagogy of appropriation’) sometimes worked at the level of erotic arousal. She writes about overwhelming ‘love’ for and flirtations with progressive inspectors. The film *Sylvia* depicts this in a (chaste) ‘consummation’ of one such ‘affair’ in an inspectorial kiss.

Sylvia wrote, ‘I cannot love moderately or even singly, and I look for a mother in men and women the moment they reveal a regard.’⁹⁴ Sylvia’s mother had been a teacher, struggling through the First World War and the Depression to support an invalid husband and nine children. With continual ‘Inspector troubles,’ the family was always on the move. As a child, Sylvia attended 10 small primary schools and was often taught in an authoritarian and rigid manner by her mother.

While in some of Sylvia's texts, inspectors are cast as the allies of New Education that policymakers intended them to become, in others inspectors are phantoms, shades of their punitive force in her childhood: 'There's a ghoul from the past that haunts, I think, all teachers of my generation, from those five-year old days when we felt the tension of the teacher and the foreboding of the Inspector himself.'⁹⁵ More than an 'abstract authority' of the conceived, the figure of the Inspector/ Ghost is a caption in Sylvia's own key vocabulary: 'Just as in the minds of the Little Ones all goes down before the Ghost, so in my mind all goes down before this, this ... shall we say ... this Phantom of the Profession.'⁹⁶

Despite the good grading Sylvia had received at Horoera from the 'inspiring and visionary' Douglas Ball, 'the ghost' followed Sylvia to Pipiriki: 'Back on the Coast I'd been getting somewhere, I think, out of range of the Education department, - out of reach of criticism. I even taught the Māori language there ... O heresy! But here, with roads and bridges and no tidal rivers, an inspector could walk in any day.'⁹⁷ The new classroom had a 'tall ceiling, high rafters and a lot of air and echoes.'⁹⁸ As Bachelard writes, 'an entire past comes to dwell in a new house,'⁹⁹ and Sylvia sensed a 'frightening Inspector shade in the rafters, limiting and aborting all I do.'¹⁰⁰

Violence and War

Erupting from the depths of Sylvia's 'lived' spaces of fantasies and dreams, her writing 'not only transcends but also has the power to refigure the balance of popular "perceived space" and official "conceived space."¹⁰¹ During World War Two the rhythms of everyday life were in upheaval. Domestic routines accommodated War Institute meetings, Keith's Home Guard duties, a sister who 'arrived from the capital where her

home is between three targets just asking for Japanese bombs.’¹⁰² Sylvia read Freud’s *Introductory Lectures*, and formulated the theory expressed in her scheme: ‘that creativity in this time of life when character can be influenced forever is the solution to the problem of war. To me it has the validity of a law of physics and all the unstorable, irrepressible emotion of beauty.’¹⁰³

In *Myself*, she outlined this theory to a visiting inspector:

I suppose that schools in the big city slums ... If I were teaching there I ... And if I were allowed to I ... I mean children from criminal homes, starved and that. Throats cut in the night and that sort of thing, hungry, stealing ... I’d give them words like “knife” and “cutthroat” and ... “jail” and “police” and “blood”. I’d give them words they lived with. “Words they lived with,” repeated Mr Harrison. But he only repeated the last phrase, not stepping forward. It seemed as though he were stalled. “See, what I mean is”, I go on, “I’d relate through words the outside of a child to the inside of a child and then you’d get integration.”¹⁰⁴

While Sylvia tried to explain that repressed violence *inside* young children needs release, the inspector was focussed on practical matters *outside* the classroom:

“The thing to do”, flash of hands, “is to give them bad books like themselves, then you’d integrate them, then you’d get them peaceful.”
“Then you’d get them peaceful,” indulgently, “I say, Mr Henderson, eyes out the door, “where’s that spot where you plan to dig a trench for the children? There’s no telling when we’re doing to get this visit from the Pacific. Under the pines over there?”
“Impracticable. You can’t dig through the roots. No, Mr Harrison, I plan it nearer the school, just at the edge of the playground there.”¹⁰⁵

While Sylvia, inside her classroom, theorises about violence in the child’s inner world, the men focus on the outer world, planning a trench through the school grounds for protection against violence in the form of a Japanese air attack.

During the war, Beeby advised teachers

to act as a buffer between the world of the child and the warring world of the adult, to pass onto the child only such of the jarrings and jostlings of the adult world as he feels the childish mind can cope with at each stage. It is for the skilled teacher to say what burden of knowledge the child at each stage can and should bear.¹⁰⁶

Sylvia did not see herself as a ‘buffer’, but wanted to take the lid off repressed fears. In her scheme Sylvia would later write:

Inescapably war and peace wait in an infant room; wait and vie. True the toy shops are full of guns, boys’ hands hold tanks and war planes while the blackboards, clay boards and easels burst with war-play. But I’m unalarmed. My concern is the rearing of the creative disposition, for creativity in this crèche of living where people can still be changed must in the end defy, if not defeat the capacity for destruction.¹⁰⁷

In her teaching scheme, Sylvia wrote:

...when the war is over the statesman should not go into conference with one another but should turn their attention to the infant room since it is from here that comes peace or war. And that’s how I see the organic teaching. It helps to set the creative pattern in a mind while it is yet malleable and in this role is a humble contribution to peace.¹⁰⁸

Rhythms of Place

Summarising Lefebvre, Kisten Simonsen writes:

As part of the lived experience, the body constitutes a practico-sensory realm that is performed in the spatio-temporal rhythms of everyday life. In these rhythms, constituting and constituted, different modalities of social spatiality and social temporality are incorporated as cyclical and linear repetitions, and as the conjunction of the perceived, the conceived and the lived.¹⁰⁹

When Sylvia began work in Pipiriki, her reading, writing, teaching, painting and loving body at home was ‘traversed by rhythms rather as the ‘ether’ is traversed by waves’.¹¹⁰

I have so much to do between school and home that I have to give every minute its value. I must keep my reading and learning of poetry going and mental exercises; Huxley, Russell and such, from the public library, the new book clubs; one book at least has been suitable: *This Hill is Mine*. Also there is the Maori language to continue learning, schoolwork, scheme, workbook and chart preparation. I practice Maori sentences that Mrs Hira has taught me; over and over again, whenever I am alone, doing dishes and sweeping. Whenever I rest I pick up my novel and last thing at night I read one poem. I do my school work in the afternoon and after tea. I paint charts in the conglomerate sun porch, but still there’s a book to be written; every night, dead or dying, after school work and letters, I get in those few lines.¹¹¹

The policy of ‘fusion’ (learning Māori language) was performed while sweeping; government ‘pedagogies’ of new book clubs and rural library services enhanced her evening study; family space (in the sun porch) was shared with the making of visual classroom resources advocated by the New Education. As Lefebvre argues, the

‘repetitions and redundancies of rhythms, their symmetries and asymmetries, interact in ways that cannot be reduced to the discrete and fixed determinants of analytic thought.’¹¹²

As lived spaces, houses are (as in Bachelard’s account)¹¹³ primal sites of ‘thoughts, memories and dreams ... The binding principle in this integration is the daydream. Past, present and future give the house different dynamisms, which often interfere, at times opposing, at time stimulating one another.’¹¹⁴ Sylvia requires a space outside her house for dreams and creativity: ‘no voices and no doors banging. No pace, no demand for answers... and no war news.’¹¹⁵

From an early age, she had dreamed of travel. Bachelard writes, ‘It is on the plane of the daydream and not on that of facts that childhood remains alive and poetically useful within us’¹¹⁶ In *Myself*, Sylvia describes

bleakly counting my bead-dreams that I dreamed when I was single about how I would live my life: a glamorous mysterious vivid life in the capitals of the world with those of my own kind – artists, musicians and writers. And lovers demanding a look from me, and friends thinking me wonderful. Paris, Rome, New York ... roaming, roaming, fascinated. Getting on and off ships and trains and planes, the last word in fashion. Without remembering those dreams and seeing them against what I am now: a forgotten girl on the top of a hill drearily teaching Maoris. A forgotten girl.¹¹⁷

Glamour, excitement, art and romance are ‘over there’, in cities she has never seen, where the authors of the European books she reads live and work. What and where she is ‘now’ (on a hill ‘teaching Maoris’) means oblivion, being ‘forgotten’ (invisible) to people she has never met, but desires to become.

She dreams of a separate place for creativity, removed from school and family. She rents a shack, calling it Selah¹¹⁸: ‘Selah is the house I’ve built before in the brilliance of wistful fantasy, emerging into reality. This is the geography of it. Here could be the fresh air of independence, the miracle of solitude, ... of music, study and painting.’¹¹⁹ Bohemian Europe might pass that way: ‘Elegant people will come with their hair quietly

parted. Terrific conversations plunging through till morning...¹²⁰ Like other ‘rooms’ in Sylvia’s psyche, this shack was haunted: shadows of a murder-suicide of two young (Māori) lovers there. She imagines ‘pretty curtains blowing the dead away.’¹²¹ Can she claim this space for art?

Sylvia’s own ghosts and ghouls follow: ‘I’ve always seen the artist as a monster coming in from the outside that inhabited my brain, my mind, quite distinct from me. I couldn’t have the monster in the family.’¹²² Accordingly, ‘I locked the artist away in the study. I locked him out. I had to go to him.’ Selah must contain the demons of her undermind – her dreams, illicit passions, and the writing that disciplined dreaming. The mad woman looms in the garret: ‘Asylums are full of artists who failed to say the things they must, and famous tombs with those who did.’¹²³

Conclusion

Lefebvre asks, ‘what intervenes, what occupies the interstices between representations of space [the abstract schemata of the conceived] and representational spaces [the imagery of fantasy and dreams]?’¹²⁴ In Sylvia’s view of her world, the ‘representational spaces’ of the lived can gain expression only in their own space (‘Selah’), physically distant from the ‘perceived’ reality of the domestic and the ‘external’ (bureaucratic) impositions of the conceived. But the ‘conceived’ spaces of ‘New’ education were based on psychoanalytic and progressive theories of child and social development. In her scheme’s written form, Sylvia’s ‘lived’ was inevitably mediated, or filtered, through the conceived.

In academic writing about teaching ‘the speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived causes “practice” to disappear along with life, and so does very little justice to the “unconscious” level of lived experience per se.’¹²⁵ Sylvia Ashton-Warner’s

autobiographical writings, together with her scheme, model for twenty-first century teachers how educational theories do not come solely from other people's books or from disembodied ideas but are rooted in all dimensions of our experience. As Sylvia wrote in *Myself*, 'not just part of us becomes a teacher. It engages the whole self—the woman, man, wife or husband, mother or father, the lover, the scholar or artist in you as well as the teacher earning money so that a worthwhile teacher is one of the blooms from the worthwhile person.'¹²⁶ Ashton-Warner gives teachers 'permission' not only to question today's 'system,' but also to release creativity, uncover theoretical affinities and aversions, express passions and connect life and work.

¹ For an account of the publication of Ashton-Warner's books in America, see Robert Gottlieb, "Publishing Sylvia: C.K. Stead Talks to Robert Gottlieb." In *The Kiss and the Ghost: Sylvia Ashton-Warner and New Zealand*, edited by Alison Jones and Sue Middleton, (Rotterdam/Boston/Tapei: Sense, 2009): 79-88.

² *Two Loves*, Directed by Charles Walters, 1961. Downloaded from: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0055557/releaseinfo>, July 27 2009. Screenplay by Ben Maddow, based on Sylvia Ashton-Warner's novel, *Spinster*. The film screened in Sweden (*Anna och kärleken*); Spain (*Dos amores*), West Germany (*Der Fehltritt*), Denmark (*Kærlighedens vildskab*), Italy (*Salverò il mio amore*) and Finland (*Toinen rakkaus*).

³ Translations of *Spinster* include Finnish (*Ikäeito*), French (*Anna et les Maoris*) and German (*Quelle meiner Einsamkeit*).

⁴ *Spinster.*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958); *Incense to idols.* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1960); *Bell call.* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964); *Greenstone*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966); *Three*, (New York: Knopf, 1970);

⁵ *Short Stories: Stories from the river.* Auckland, NZ: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986; *O children of the world.* (Vancouver: First Person Press, 1974).

⁶ *Myself*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972); *I passed this way*, (Wellington, NZ: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1980), (First published in 1979, New York: Knopf).

⁷ *Teacher*. (New York: Simon & Schuster), 1963; *Spearpoint: 'Teacher' in America*. (New York: Knopf, 1972).

⁸ Michael Firth (Director) and F. Fairfax (writer), *Sylvia* [Motion Picture]. (New Zealand: Cinepro, 1985).

⁹ A system of 'Native Schools' was established in areas with predominantly Māori populations in the late 19th century with the aim of assimilation into British society. The medium of instruction was to be English. Non-Māori children attended Māori schools if this was the closest school. From 1928 the curriculum in the Māori schools and the public schools was the same. The name 'Native' was dropped in favour of Māori in 1947. The system was abolished in 1968. See Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Nga kura Maori: The native schools system* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1998); Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native School System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001); and John Barrington, *Separate but equal? : Maori schools and the Crown, 1867-1969* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008).

¹⁰ Ashton-Warner, 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 15. For ease of access by readers, I have referenced the reprint in the *Kiss and the Ghost* rather than the originals in *National Education*.

¹¹ Ashton-Warner, 'Creative Reading Scheme', 10.

¹² As described by Gottlieb in 'Publishing Sylvia', *Spinster* made it onto Time Magazine's 10 best books list and the New York Times bestseller list. In 1980 *I Passed This Way* won The New Zealand Book Award. For an account of Sylvia's reception by New Zealand's literary establishment, see Emily Dobson, 'Far Too Original': Sylvia Ashton-Warner's Novels and her Complicated Relationship with New Zealand' in *Kiss and the Ghost*, 51-66.

¹³ Lynley Hood, *Sylvia! The Biography of Sylvia Ashton-Warner*. (Auckland, New Zealand: Viking, 1988). Hood also published a personal account of her research process, in which records the emotional as well as the methodological processes involved in researching Sylvia's biography; *Who is Sylvia? The Diary of a Biography*. (Dunedin, New Zealand: John McIndoe, 1990).

¹⁴ Sydney Gurewitz Clemens. *Pay attention to the children: Lessons for teachers and parents from Sylvia Ashton-Warner*. (Napa, CA: Rattle O.K. 1996).

¹⁵ Judith Robertson and Cathryn McConaghy, eds. *Provocations: Sylvia Ashton-Warner and Excitability in Education*. (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

¹⁶ Cathryn McConaghy & Judith Robertson, 'Sylvia Ashton-Warner: Reading Provocatively from Subject to Theory' In *Provocations*, 1-14

¹⁷ The conference marked 100 years since Ashton-Warner's birth.

¹⁸ Alison Jones and Sue Middleton, eds. *The Kiss and the Ghost: Sylvia Ashton-Warner and New Zealand*. (Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense, 2009). NZCER Press published the New Zealand edition (with the same title) under a joint publication arrangement. The page numbers in this paper refer to the Sense edition. The chapters originated as papers presented at the conference held in August 2008 in Auckland to mark the centennial of Ashton-Warner's birth.

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- 19 Emily Dobson, 'Far Too Original': Sylvia Ashton-Warner's Novels and Her Complicated relationship With New Zealand,' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 51-66.
- 20 McDonald; Middleton, 'Sylvia's Place.'
- 21 Elliott Henderson, 'Memoirs of my Mother' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 109-118.
- 22 John Kirkland, 'Teaching With Mere: Sylvia Ashton-Warner's 1973 Canadian University Class' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 89-88; Merimeri Penfold, 'Sylvia Ashton-Warner and Māori Children: 'I Do Not Think Sylvia Learned Much From the Kids' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 99-104; Iritana Tawiwhirangi, 'Learning Without Teaching: Sylvia Ashton-Warner's Classroom as a Seed For Kohanga Reo', in *Kiss and Ghost*, 105-108.
- 23 Lynley Hood, 'Who Is Sylvia? The Story of a Biography,' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 119-130.
- 24 Robert Gottlieb, 'Publishing Sylvia: C.K. Stead Talks to Robert Gottlieb' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 79-88.
- ²⁵ Sylvia Ashton-Warner, 'Creative Teaching Scheme' in *Kiss and Ghost*, 35-50.
- ²⁶ New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI). Sylvia and her husband Keith Henderson were both members of the NZEI. Russell Bond, the editor of National Education, worked with Sylvia on these eight articles. For an account of this first publication of the ideas that would later reappear, virtually unchanged, as the first half of *Teacher*, see Geraldine McDonald, 'Were Sylvia Ashton-Warner's educational ideas really ignored in New Zealand? The origins of *Teacher*,' in *The Kiss and the Ghost*, 67-77.
- ²⁷ Sylvia, 'No 1: Organic reading and the key vocabulary,' *National Education*, [NE} 406, (December 1, 1955): 392-393; 'No.2: Private key vocabularies,' *NE* 407, (February 1, 1956): 10-12; 'No 3: Organic writing,' *NE* 408 (March 1, 1956): 54-55; 'No 4: Organic reading', *NE* 409 (April 3, 1956): 97-98; 'No. 5: Organic reading is not new,' *NE* 410 (May 1, 1956): 141; 'The golden section,' *NE*, 413 (August 1, 1956): 248-251; 'The un-lived life,' *NE* 414 (September 3, 1956): 294-295; 'Tone', *NE*, 415, (October 1, 1956): 342-3.
- ²⁸ Lynley Hood, *Sylvia!*, 170.
- ²⁹ Madeleine Grumet, *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press), 14.
- ³⁰ *Myself*, 81.
- ³¹ Henri Lefebvre. *The production of space* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 206.
- ³² Henri Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991): 299.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.
- ³⁵ Ashton-Warner, 'Creative Teaching Scheme,' 27.
- ³⁶ *Production of Space*, 205.
- ³⁷ 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 13.
- ³⁸ John Kirkland, 'Teaching With Mere: Sylvias Ashton-Warner's 1973 Canadian University Class.' in *Kiss and the Ghost*, 90.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.
- ⁴⁰ *Myself*, 168
- ⁴¹ Lefebvre, 206.
- ⁴² *Myself*, 168

⁴³ *Myself*, 11.

⁴⁴ Kirsten Simonsen, 'Bodies, sensations, space and time: The contribution from Henri Lefebvre'. *Geografiska Annaler* 87B (2005): 7.

⁴⁵ As a result of negotiations between the NZEI and the Department, at the time Sylvia was teaching, department Inspectors visited teachers and graded them on a numerical scale. The rationale for this was to ensure that jobs were won on 'merit' (higher grading) rather than favouritism.

⁴⁶ 'Creative Teaching Scheme,' 29.

⁴⁷ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 139.

⁴⁸ 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 26-27.

⁴⁹ Rob Shields, 'Henri Lefebvre', in *Key thinkers on space and place*, ed. Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin & Gill Valentine, (London: Sage, 2004), 210.

⁵⁰ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 206.

⁵¹ Lefebvre, 204.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵³ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 37.

⁵⁴ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 37.

⁵⁵ Ashton-Warner, *I Passed This Way*, 354.

⁵⁶ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 103.

⁵⁷ Ashton-Warner, 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 24.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁹ *Myself*, 31.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 34

⁶¹ Lefebvre, 205.

⁶² For a history of New Zealand's Native School system, see Barrington.

⁶³ For biographical details, See Lynley Hood, *Sylvia*.

⁶⁴ For a sustained discussion of performativity, see Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1997).

⁶⁵ This is a paraphrase of the central argument in Basil Bernstein, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique*. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

⁶⁶ F.C. Lopdell, E2 report, *AJHR*, 1952. p. 2.

⁶⁷ E3, *AJHR*, 1947, p. 3.

⁶⁸ For references to Ashton-Warner's citations of these writers, see Middleton 'I my own Professor', and 'Sylvia's Place.'

⁶⁹ See Hood, *Sylvia*, 105.

⁷⁰ Beeby, cited in Ashton-Warner, 'Creative Teaching Scheme, 17.

⁷¹ G.H. Stubbs, 'Report of the Senior Inspector of Native Schools', (E3 Report), *AJHR*, 1942, 28

⁷² D. Ball, Report of the Senior Inspector of Native Schools. E3, *AJHR*, 1936, p. 2.

⁷³ See Pat Maloney, 'Savagery and Civilisation: Early Victorian Notions' in *New Zealand Journal of History* 35, no. 2 (2001): 153-56; Colin McGeorge, 'Race and the Maori in the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum since 1877,' *Australia and New Zealand History of Education Journal* 10, no. 1 (1982): 13-23.

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- ⁷⁴ Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native School System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001)
- ⁷⁵ A.G. Fitt, 'Racial Contacts: Some Problems of Maori Children.' In *Maori and Education*, edited by P.M. Jackson, 220-29. Wellington: Ferguson and Osborn, 1931.
- ⁷⁶ 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 9.
- ⁷⁷ 'Teaching's Intimacies' in *Provocations*, 74.
- ⁷⁸ Fitt, 223.
- ⁷⁹ Fitt, 225.
- ⁸⁰ Fletcher, 1948, p. 2.
- ⁸¹ Ball, 1936, p. 7.
- ⁸² Mason, H.R.G, E1, *AJHR*, 1940, p. 4.
- ⁸³ Report of the Senior Inspector of Native Schools, *AJHR E3 Report*, 1940, p. 4
- ⁸⁴ Ball, 1939, p. 3.
- ⁸⁵ Spinster, 45.
- ⁸⁶ Douglas Ball, 'What Does Integration Mean?' in *Education* (New Zealand Department of Education, 1 (3) 1948): 114.
- ⁸⁷ *I Passed This Way*, 272.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 273
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 273
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 273.
- ⁹² Lefebvre, 34.
- ⁹³ *Myself*, 9.
- ⁹⁴ *Myself*, 72.
- ⁹⁵ *Teacher*, 197
- ⁹⁶ *Spinster*, 227.
- ⁹⁷ *Myself*, 67.
- ⁹⁸ *Myself*, 60.
- ⁹⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*. Translated by Maria Jolas. (1994 ed. Boston, MA: Beacon Press., 2002), 6.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Spinster*, 51.
- ¹⁰¹ Rob Shields, 'Henri Lefebvre', in *Key thinkers on space and place*, ed. Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin & Gill Valentine, (London: Sage, 2004), 210.
- ¹⁰² *Myself*, 61
- ¹⁰³ 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 31.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Myself*, 110.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ C.E. Beeby, 'Advice to Teachers', in *New Zealand Education Gazette*, (October 02, 1939), 129.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ¹⁰⁸ 'Creative Teaching Scheme', 29.
- ¹⁰⁹ Simonsen, 11.
- ¹¹⁰ Lefebvre., 223.
- ¹¹¹ *Myself*, 28

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- ¹¹² Lefebvre, 206.
- ¹¹³ Lefebvre refers to Bachelard in this vein, 121.
- ¹¹⁴ Bachelard, 26.
- ¹¹⁵ *Myself*, 74
- ¹¹⁶ Gaston Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. (Translated by Maria Jolas. 1994 ed. Boston, MA: Beacon Press., 2002), 16.
- ¹¹⁷ *Myself*, 20.
- ¹¹⁸ In *Sylvia*, 97, Lynley Hood writes, ‘Selah was a Hebrew word from the Old Testament Psalms which Sylvia understood to mean a pause or rest.’
- ¹¹⁹ *Myself*, 116.
- ¹²⁰ *Myself*, 116
- ¹²¹ *Myself*, 116
- ¹²² Transcribed from interview with Jack Shallcrass, Endeavour Television (1980).
- ¹²³ *Incense to Idols*, 169.
- ¹²⁴ *Production of Space.*, 43. The bracketed insertions are my own.
- ¹²⁵ Lefebvre, 34.
- ¹²⁶ *Myself*, 10